



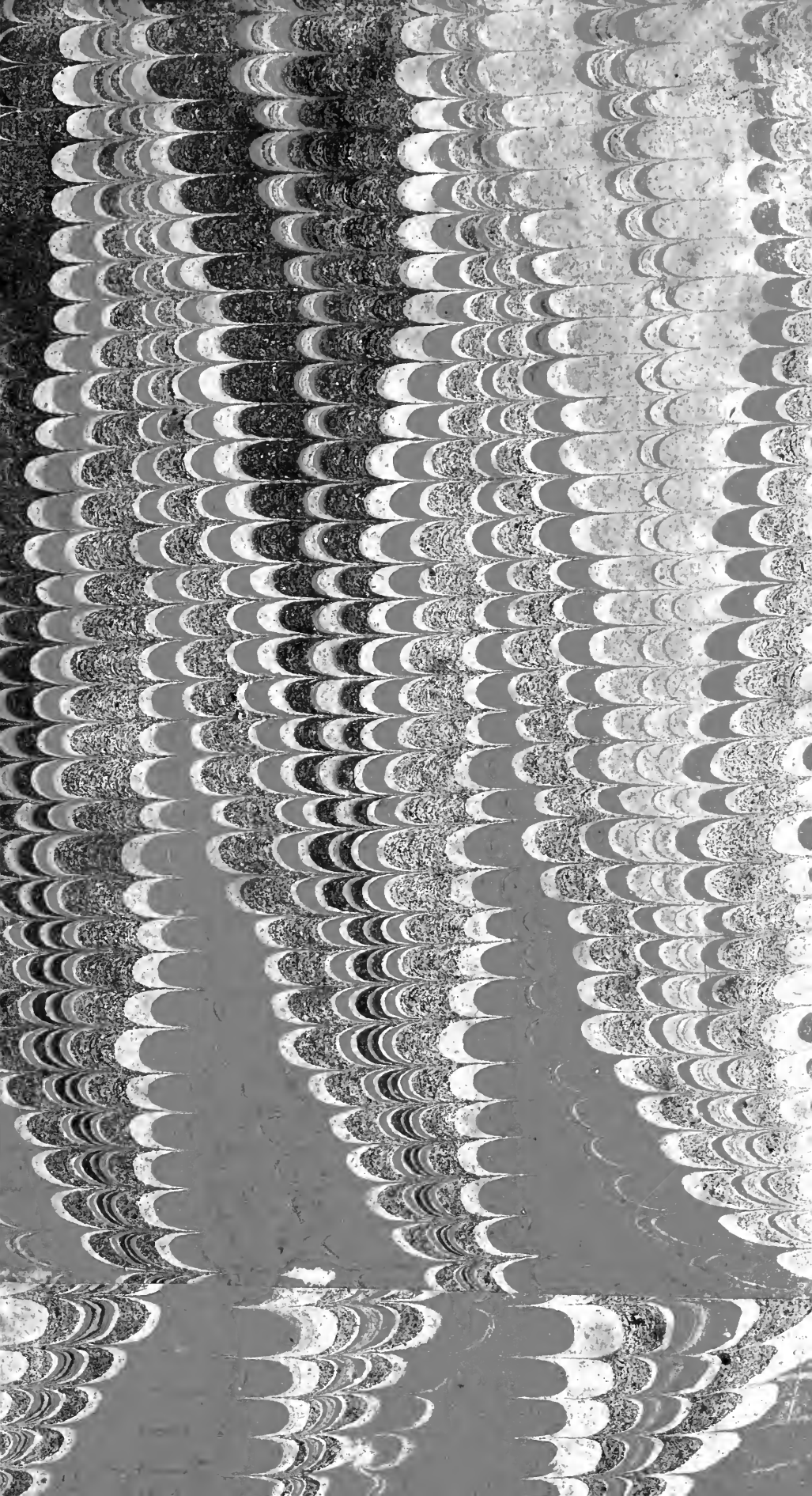
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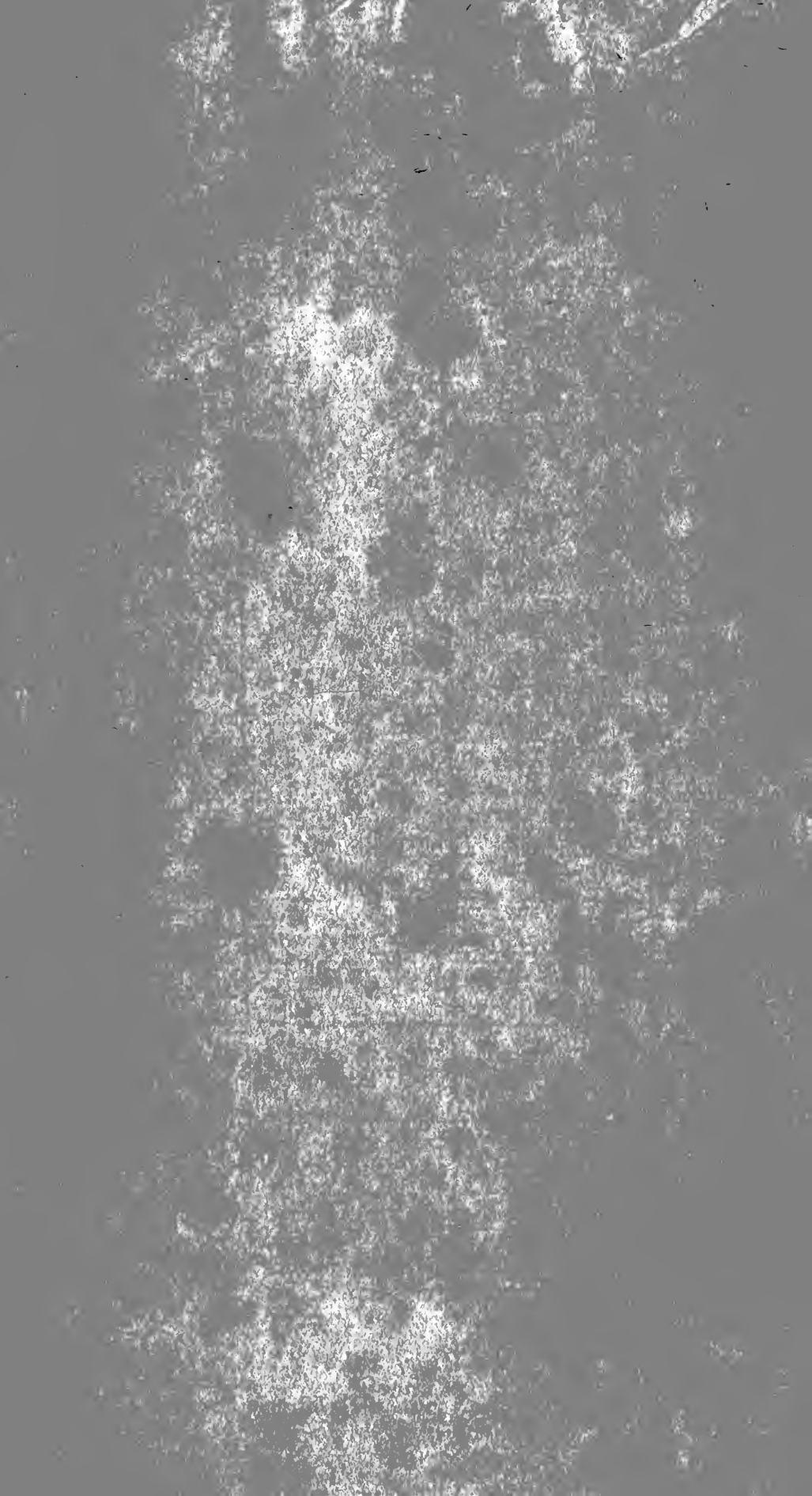
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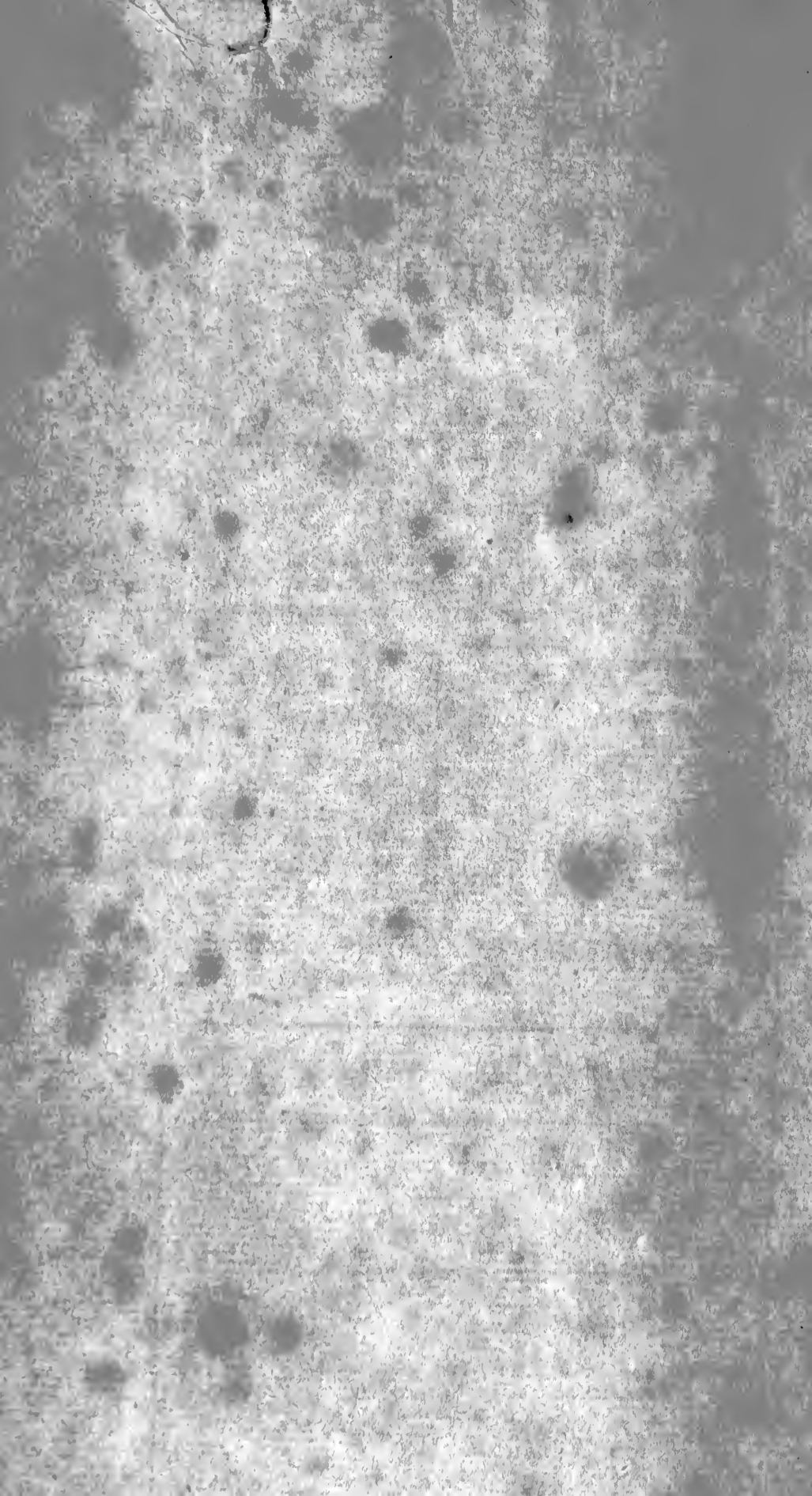
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T H E
UNIVERSAL ASYLUM,
A N D

Columbian Magazine:

C O N T A I N I N G,

A History of the AMERICAN REVOLUTION, for
the years 1775, 76, 77, 78, 79, and 80.

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REPORTS, &c. &c.

Illustrated with COPPERPLATES, and a complete INDEX to
each Volume.

BY A SOCIETY OF GENTLEMEN.

IN SIX VOLUMES.

VOL. VI.

P H I L A D E L P H I A :

PRINTED, FOR THE PROPRIETORS, BY WILLIAM YOUNG,
BOOKSELLER, No. 52. SECOND-STREET, THE CORNER OF
CHESNUT-STREET.

T H E
UNIVERSAL ASYLUM,
 A N D
Columbian Magazine,

FOR JULY, 1792.

BY A SOCIETY OF GENTLEMEN.

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 BOOKSELLER, N^o. 52, SECOND-STREET, THE CORNER OF CHESTNUT-STREET.

T O C O R R E S P O N D E N T S .

THE *Dialogue between a disabled soldier, of the late American army, and a speculating member of congress* ought to have been sent to some of the printers of newspapers. It does not come within the plan of this miscellany.

We should willingly appropriate a few pages to a discussion of the subject on which C. D. has written his very lengthy essay. Should our correspondent condense his performance, so as to suit our limits, it would be acceptable.

The author of the essay with this proverbial motto, "Truth ought not to be told at all times," has, in our opinion, gone too far, in his defence of a want of veracity. If circumstances sometimes render it prudent to suppress the truth, it does not follow that an untruth ought to be asserted. At any rate, we apprehend that few stand in need of our correspondent's exhortation.

Minerva has assumed a name to which we fear she has no good claim; at least, not on the score of *wisdom*. Her communication is of too frivolous a nature.

Every man to his humour does not suite our taste.

Myrtila's verses have some merit, as to sentiment; but not sufficient to counterbalance their *poetical* defects.—The *elegy*, by the same hand, will be inserted, provided permission shall be given, by letter, or otherwise, to make a few alterations.

Of sundry *verbal* and *epistolary* promises to correspondents, some have been complied with, in this and the preceding number. The remainder will, in all probability, be fulfilled next month.

Several communications, which were received late in the month, are under consideration.

P H I L A D E L P H I A , July 31, 1792.

C U R R E N T P R I C E S O F P U B L I C S E C U R I T I E S .

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TO CORRESPONDENTS

THE Dialogue between a dissenting minister of the late American army, and a Tory member of congress, ought to have been sent to some of the printers of New York. It does not come within the limits of this miscellany.

UNIVERSAL ASYLUM,

A N D

Columbian Magazine,

FOR JULY, 1792.

EXTRACTS from PAINE'S RIGHTS of MAN—Part II.

On the prevalence of revolution-principles.

AS revolutions have begun, (and as the probability is always greater against a thing beginning, than of proceeding after it has begun,) it is natural to expect that other revolutions will follow. The amazing and still increasing expences with which old governments are conducted, the numerous wars they engage in or provoke, the embarrasments they throw in the way of universal civilization and commerce, and the oppression and usurpation they act at home, have wearied out the patience, and exhausted the property of the world. In such a situation, and with the examples already existing, revolutions are to be looked for. They are become subjects of universal conversation, and may be considered as the *order of the day*.

If systems of government can be introduced, less expensive, and more productive of general happiness, than those which have existed, all attempts to oppose their progress will in the end be fruitless. Reason, like time, will make its own way, and prejudice will fall in a combat with interest. If universal peace, civilization and commerce, are ever to be the happy lot of man, it cannot be accomplished but by a revolution in the system of governments. All the monarchical governments are military. War is their trade, plunder and revenue their objects. While such governments continue, peace has not the absolute security of a day. What is the history of all monarchical governments, but a disgusting picture of human wretchedness, and the accidental respite of a few years repose? Wearied with war, and tired with human butchery, they sat down to rest and called it peace. This certainly is not the condition that Heaven intended for man; and if *this be monarchy*, well might monarchy be reckoned among the sins of the Jews.

Origin of the present Old Governments.

Of the origin of the present old governments.

IT is impossible that such governments as have hitherto existed in the world, could have commenced by any other means than a total violation of every principle sacred and moral. The obscurity in which the origin of all the present old governments is buried, implies the iniquity and disgrace with which they began. The origin of the present governments of America and France will ever be remembered, because it is honorable to record it; but with respect to the rest, even flattery has consigned them to the tomb of time, without an inscription.

It could have been no difficult thing in the early and solitary ages of the world, while the chief employment of men was that of attending flocks and herds, for a banditti of ruffians to over-run a country, and lay it under contributions. Their power being thus established, the chief of the band contrived to lose the name of robber in that of monarch, and hence the origin of monarchy and kings.

The origin of the government of England, so far as relates to what is called its line of monarchy, being one of the latest, is perhaps the best recorded. The hatred which the Norman invasion and tyranny beget, must have been deeply rooted in the nation, to have outlived the contrivance to obliterate it. Though not a courtier will talk of the curfew-bell, not a village in England has forgotten it.

Those bands of robbers having parcelled out the world, and divided it into dominions, began, as is naturally the case, to quarrel with each other. What at first was obtained by violence, was considered by others as lawful to be taken, and a second plunderer succeeded the first. They alternately invaded the dominions which each had assigned to himself, and the brutality with which they treated each other explains the original character of monarchy. It was ruffian torturing ruffian. The conqueror considered the conquered, not as his prisoner, but his property. He led him in triumph rattling in chains, and doomed him, at pleasure, to slavery or death. As time obliterated the history of their beginning, their successors assumed new appearances, to cut off the entail of their disgrace, but their principles and objects remained the same. What at first was plunder, assumed the softer name of revenue, and the power originally usurped, they affected to inherit.

From such beginning of governments, what could be expected, but a continual system of war and extortion? It has established itself into a trade. The vice is not peculiar to one more than to another, but is the common principle of all. There does not exist within such governments, a stamina whereon to ingraft reformation; and the shortest and most effectual remedy is to begin anew.

What scenes of horror, what perfection of iniquity, present themselves in contemplating the character, and reviewing the history of such governments! If we would delineate human nature with a baseness of heart, and hypocrisy of countenance, that reflection would shudder at, and humanity disown, it is kings, courts, and cabinets, that must sit for the portrait. Man, naturally as he is, with all his faults about him, is not up to the character.

Can we possibly suppose that if governments had originated in a right principle, and had not an interest in pursuing a wrong one, that the world could have been in the wretched and quarrelsome condition we have seen it? What inducement has the farmer, while following the plough, to lay aside his peaceful pursuits, and go to war with the farmer of another country? or what inducement has the manufacturer? What is dominion to them, or to any class of men in a nation? Does it add an acre to any man's estate, or raise its value? Are not conquest and defeat each of the same price, and taxes the never failing consequence?—Though this reasoning may be good to a nation, it is not so to a government. War is the Pharo-table of governments, and nations the dupes of the game.

Hereditary government tyrannical and absurd.

ALL hereditary government is in its nature tyranny. An heritable crown, or an heritable throne, or by what other fanciful name such things may be called, have no other significant explanation than that mankind are heritable property. To inherit a government, is to inherit the people, as if they were flocks and herds.

Government ought to be a thing always in full maturity. It ought to be so constructed as to be superior to all the accidents to which individual man is subject; and therefore, hereditary succession, by being *subject to them all*, is the most irregular and imperfect of all the systems of government.

We have heard the *Rights of Man* called a *levelling system*; but the only system to which the word *levelling* is truly applicable, is the hereditary monarchical system. It is a system of *mental levelling*. It indiscriminately admits every species of character to the same authority. Vice and virtue, ignorance and wisdom, in short, every quality, good or bad, is put on the same level. Kings succeed each other, not as rationals, but as animals. It signifies not what their mental or moral characters are. Can we then be surpris'd at the abject state of the human mind in monarchical countries, when the government itself is formed on such an abject levelling system?—It has no fixed character. To-day it is one thing; to-morrow it is something else. It changes with the temper of every succeeding individual, and is subject to all the varieties of each. It is government through the medium of passions and accidents. It appears under all the various characters of childhood, decrepitude, dotage, a thing at nurse, in leading-strings, or in crutches. It reverses the wholesome order of nature. It occasionally puts children over men, and the conceits of non-age over wisdom and experience. In short, we cannot conceive a more ridiculous figure of government, than hereditary succession, in all its cases, presents.

Could it be made a decree in nature, or an edict registered in heaven, and man could know it, that virtue and wisdom should invariably appertain to hereditary succession, the objections to it would be removed; but when we see that nature acts as if she disowned and sported with the hereditary system; that the mental characters of successors, in all countries, are below the average of human under-

standing; that one is a tyrant, another an idiot, a third insane, and some all three together, it is impossible to attach confidence to it, when reason in man has power to act.

Hereditary succession is a burlesque upon monarchy. It puts it in the most ridiculous light, by presenting it as an office which any child or idiot may fill. It requires some talents to be a common mechanic; but, to be a king, requires only the animal figure of man—a sort of breathing automaton. This sort of superstition may last a few years more, but it cannot long resist the awakened reason and interest of man.

ON GRATITUDE.

THERE is scarcely any point of moral obligation which has been more universally admitted, than that of Gratitude. We are taught it by the instinct of nature, nor is any degree of depravity sufficient to efface the impression. Let a man be ever so void of gratitude, he does not cease to look for it where he imagines it to be due to him; and he beholds ingratitude with detestation in another, even while he excuses it in himself.

It is therefore superfluous to dwell upon gratitude as a *duty*—but I would wish every man to remember, that the cultivation of a grateful temper is essential to his happiness.

Our earthly comforts arise, for the most part, from the good offices of others. The tenderness of our parents is the support of our childhood—and the kindness of our friends and brethren, the solace of our riper years; but without gratitude, our relish for these comforts must be cold and languid. We may receive and use the matter of a benefit, but a sense of the kindness which confers it, is that alone which renders our satisfaction vivid and lasting. Ingratitude has a morbid influence; the greatest benefits wither and shrink up as they approach it, for it lessens to itself, as far as possible, the kindnesses which it cannot bear to acknowledge. But the grateful mind feels the full value of a favour—it sees it through the most advantageous medium, and tastes a pleasure in acknowledging it, scarcely inferior to that of the generosity which bestowed it.

It may be observed farther, that the exercise of gratitude is essential to that circulation of good offices, which is the life of society.—Few are beneficent without, at least, a presumption of gratitude. The most disinterested look for it, as a proof that their kindness has been effectual, which it would not be, if it were not felt. Consequently, the ungrateful man is a public enemy: his baseness discourages generosity, and diffuses a chilling influence which freezes many a stream of beneficence. But he who shews a due sense of the kindnesses done to him, becomes, himself, a benefactor to the public; his grateful acknowledgments cast a clearer light upon virtue, and call all men to admire its beauty. Thus benevolence is roused to in-

creased activity; and even the unfeeling heart, losing its strong plea of universal ingratitude, is allured to seek the credit, if it cannot taste the luxury, of doing good.

There are various causes for that deficiency of gratitude which we so often have reason to lament—the most obvious are, pride, discontent, and irreligion.

The proud man cannot be grateful, because he cannot be obliged. He considers all men as debtors to his superior worth, and imagines himself entitled to their services. Perhaps he may think his benefactors sufficiently honoured by his acceptance of their kindnesses; or if even he should feel himself obliged, he is ashamed to acknowledge it. The expression of gratitude is, in this view, a humiliation not to be submitted to, and he chuses rather to appear ungrateful than mean.

Discontent is no less an enemy to gratitude.—The discontented man feels no benefit, and therefore can acknowledge none. He sees every thing through the false medium of a gloomy fancy, which deprives the brightest blessings of their splendor. Perhaps that which is happiness to another, may be misery to him. Thus, being incapable of enjoyment, he cannot feel the kindness of a benefactor; and he fails in gratitude, not because he is naturally ungrateful, but because he cannot form an estimate of the favours conferred on him.

But, the greatest foe to this desirable virtue, is irreligion—this precludes every principle that tends to nourish gratitude, tears up the very soil from whence it springs, and fills the soul with the most opposite tempers. The essence of irreligion is ingratitude to the Supreme Benefactor; and it is scarcely to be expected that he who is habitually insensible of infinite kindness, should be disposed to acknowledge those comparatively trifling obligations, which one frail mortal can confer on another.—But a religious man cannot be ungrateful; his piety to God necessarily brings every other virtue along with it, and it is impossible, that he who has learned to love his enemies, should be wanting in gratitude to his benefactors.

I shall conclude this essay with an anecdote, which will be the more acceptable to my readers, as they may be assured of its authenticity.

About the year 1744, a person was taken up in the neighbourhood of Letterkenny, in the county of Donegal, in Ireland, on suspicion of being a Popish emissary, employed to promote sedition amongst the Roman Catholic Irish, and carried before Mr. F. a gentleman of fortune, and a magistrate in that part of the country. Being indulged in a private hearing, he acknowledged himself an Italian Jesuit, but so fully satisfied Mr. F. as to his designs in travelling through Ireland, that he not only declared him at liberty, but invited him to dinner, and afterwards to a bed. Mr. F. was highly pleased with his conversation; and, convinced that he deserved to be protected rather than molested, gave him, the next morning, warm letters of recommendation to the principal gentlemen in those parts of the country through which he intended to travel.

Some time after this, Mr. F. was surprized at receiving a very valuable present of wines and fruit from Italy, but without any notification of the hand from which they came. This donation was con-

tinued yearly for some length of time, and Mr. F. concluded that they could come from no other than the grateful Jesuit.

In a few years Mr. F. and his lady went to the continent, and passing through Italy, they rested some time at Rome. One evening, happening to fall into conversation with an ecclesiastic, he was led to speak his sentiments on some religious topics with more honesty than discretion, but without suspecting any consequences. That night, however, at a very late hour, he was surprized by a visit from an unknown person, who, on being introduced, told him, abruptly, that if he regarded either his liberty or his life, he must not remain an hour at Rome. He refused to answer any questions, only adding, that if Mr. F. would leave one of his servants behind him, he might soon be satisfied as to the danger to which he was exposed.

Mr. F. obeyed the admonition—instantly ordered his carriage and horses, and travelling with all speed, soon got beyond the Papal territories.—His servant who had been left behind at Rome, came up with him in a short time, and informed him, that shortly after his departure, the officers of the Inquisition had surrounded the house, and searched every chamber in order to find him.

The means of this deliverance were still a mystery—but it was speedily developed. Mr. F. after having been some time in Florence, received a letter to the following purport: “One good turn deserves another; I owed my liberty and the safety of my person to you, and I am happy in having rendered you a similar service. From this you know who it was that visited you at mid-night.”



HINTS to DEALERS in PORK.

IT is well known that Irish provisions have been, and still are, generally used throughout Europe; the quality is a good recommendation, and the mode of preserving them contributes in no small degree, to their value; yet there is another point in which they differ from the salt provisions of almost every other country, simple in itself, yet extremely useful, as it saves labour in the distribution, and of course gives it the preference to those who have the power of approving or discountenancing it—I mean, that they are cut in pieces of a proper size to suit a small mess, either of a navy or army. If American pork of the first quality was manufactured in the same manner; viz. *fifty* pieces of about *four* pounds each in a barrel, it would command, not only a ready sale at foreign markets, but it would also produce a better price; and as this mode of curing it can be attended with no possible injury at any market, it is earnestly recommended to all dealers in pork, that they will begin and promote a system which, if practised, must tend to their own emolument and the good of their country.

A MERCHANT.

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

HISTORY of the AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

(Continued from our last—page 352.)

COUNT D'ESTAING having repaired and victualled his fleet at Boston, after the unsuccessful expedition against Rhode-Island, failed, in the beginning of November, 1778, for the West-Indies, whither the theatre of naval operations was, for some time, transferred. The count, having taken St. Vincents and Grenada, retired to Cape-Francois. Here he was warmly solicited, by letters from general Lincoln, governor Rutledge, and others, to sail for the American continent, where it was confidently hoped, that he might render essential service, in operating against the common enemy. Having been instructed by the king, his master, to act in concert with the forces of the united states, as far as might appear beneficial to both, he readily yielded to the solicitation, and, on the 1st of September, arrived on the coast of Georgia, with twenty sail of the line, two of fifty guns, and eleven frigates. His arrival was so unexpected by the British, that the Experiment, of 50 guns, commanded by sir James Wallace, and three frigates, fell into his hands.

General Lincoln was no sooner apprised of d'Estaing's arrival, than he marched for Savannah, with the army under his command. The militia of Georgia and South-Carolina were ordered to rendezvous near the same place; which they accordingly did, in great numbers. They were sanguine in the hope of driving the British out of Georgia, and therefore turned out with uncommon alacrity. Nor were the British less diligent in preparing for the defence of the place. Officers and privates vied with each other, in the most laborious exertions, to strengthen and extend the works. In this business great numbers were employed, day and night, under the direction of major Moncrieffe, an excellent engineer. That the French frigates might not get too near the town, some armed ships and transports were sunk in the channel, and a boom was thrown across it. The seamen were landed, and posted at different batteries.

Count d'Estaing, on the 16th of September, shortly before he was joined by Lincoln, summoned general Prevost to surrender to the arms of France. Against this mode of summons Lincoln afterwards remonstrated, as being improper, when the Americans and French were acting in conjunction. The matter, however, was amicably settled; and the manner of carrying on negotiations in future was adjusted, to the satisfaction of both.

Prevost wished, if possible, to gain time, that he might strengthen the works, land the artillery of the shipping for their defence, and give lieut. col. Maitland an opportunity of arriving from Beaufort, with his detachment, consisting of about 400 men. He therefore returned a polite answer to the count's summons, declining to surrender on a general summons, and requesting that specific terms might be proposed. He was informed, in the count's reply, that it was the part of the besieged to propose terms; upon which he artfully re-

July, 1792.

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requested a truce, for twenty-four hours, for the purposes of deliberating upon the subject, and preparing proper terms. During this interval, which was injudiciously allowed him, he was joined by Maitland and his party, who had made their way through many obstacles. By the arrival of this detachment, the garrison was augmented to about 3000 men; with which Prevost determined to defend the place, to the last extremity.

It was now a question with the allied army, whether they should besiege the garrison formally, or attempt it by storm. The former mode being adopted, it became necessary to erect batteries, and to land cannon; which, with the different military stores, were to be transported five miles by land. This, owing in a great measure to a want of proper carriages, consumed much time; during which, the works of the town were greatly strengthened. When the garrison was first summoned, the lines were not only weak and imperfect, but almost destitute of guns. Such were the exertions of the garrison, that, before the termination of the siege, the works were covered with a numerous artillery, consisting of nearly 100 pieces.

On the 4th of Oct. the besiegers began a furious cannonade upon the town, with nine mortars and thirty-seven pieces of cannon from the land side, and with fifteen from the water. These continued to play for four or five days, with short intervals, but without much effect. About this time, major l'Enfant, with five men, advanced through a brisk fire from the British lines, and attempted to set fire to the abbatis; but the moisture of the wood, which was green, prevented the success of this daring enterprise.

After the commencement of the cannonade, Prevost requested permission to send the women and children out of town; but this was refused, from motives of policy. The combined army was confident of success; and it was suspected that a desire of secreting the plunder, lately collected in South-Carolina, was covered under this specious veil of humanity. It was presumed, moreover, that a refusal would expedite the surrender of the garrison. The conduct of the besiegers, on this occasion, has, however, been branded by some British writers, with every epithet of barbarism and inhumanity.

The time which count d'Estaing had assigned for this expedition being elapsed, and it appearing from a report of the engineers, that a considerable length of time would be still necessary, to reduce the garrison by regular approaches, his marine officers remonstrated against his continuing longer to risk so valuable a fleet, on such a dangerous coast, in the hurricane season, and at so great a distance from the shore that its destruction must be inevitable, should it be surprized by a British fleet, in good repair, and well manned. Under these critical circumstances, d'Estaing was unwilling to hazard the safety of his fleet, by any further delay; there was, therefore, no alternative, but to make an immediate assault, or to raise the siege. Prudence would have dictated the latter; but a sense of honour induced the besiegers to adopt the former. Had count d'Estaing been active on his arrival, and attacked the British lines, in their original weakness, before the garrison was strengthened by the accession of Maitland's detachment, there is reason to believe he would have

experienced a greater degree of success. Indeed, to delay an attack, when he had limited his stay to a short period, and while the strength of the garrison was daily increasing, seems to have been a capital error.

On the morning of the 9th of Oct. before day-light, an attack was made upon the Spring-hill battery, by d'Estaing and Lincoln, at the head of 3,500 French troops, 600 continentals, and 350 of the inhabitants of Charleston. To favour the success of this attack, two feints were made by the American militia. Those destined for the assault, marched up to the lines, with great firmness; but a heavy fire from the batteries, which took them in almost every direction, and a cross fire from the galleys, threw the front of their columns into confusion, and a retreat was ordered, after they had sustained this destructive fire for fifty-five minutes. Such was the spirit and perseverance of the allied troops during this attack, that two standards were placed on one of the British redoubt, though it was bravely defended by capt. Taws, who was the only British officer that fell. The works and ditches near his redoubts exhibited, after the retreat, such a spectacle of killed and wounded as, in the opinion of the officers present, had only been equalled at Bunker's-hill. Of the French and Americans, nearly one thousand were killed or wounded. The loss of the garrison, who fired from behind their works, was very trifling. Count d'Estaing and count Pulaski were both wounded; the latter mortally, as he was riding into town, full gallop, between the redoubts, at the head of 200 horsemen, with an intention of charging the enemy in the rear. On the part of the British, gen. Prevost, lieut. col. Maitland, and major Moncrieffe, acquired great reputation, by their successful defence of a post, which was in a very weak state, when first invested by the fleet and troops of France, under count d'Estaing.

The siege being raised, the continental troops retreated into South-Carolina. Exhausted with fatigue, dejected by defeat, and exposed to the vicissitudes of an autumnal atmosphere, in a climate unfriendly to health, sickness was very generally prevalent among them. Immediately after the repulse, the militia returned to their homes, almost to a man. Count d'Estaing reembarked his troops and artillery, and left the continent.

The inhabitants of the southern states were much elated, when this expedition was undertaken. They looked forward to no less important an event, than the expulsion of the invaders from that part of the continent. The disappointment of this expectation was attended with a proportional depression of spirits. The situation of the Georgia exiles was particularly distressing. Many of them, who had collected from all quarters, in hopes of being enabled to repossess themselves of their estates, were now obliged to flee, a second time, from their country and possessions.

But if the manner in which this campaign was terminated in the southern states, disappointed the hopes of the Americans, and excited gloomy apprehensions in their minds; neither did it afford much matter of exultation to the British. The visit of the French fleet to the coast of America, though it was unsuccessful, as to its main object,

disconcerted the plans of the British commanders, and caused a considerable waste of time, before they could determine on a new plan of operations. Besides, the campaign had been productive of no decisive advantage. After having over-run the state of Georgia, to the distance of 150 miles from the sea-coast, and penetrated South-Carolina, as far as the lines of Charleston, they were now reduced to their original limits, in Savannah. Their schemes of co-operation with the Tories had failed; nor could they expect much, in future, from that class of inhabitants, whose spirits were thoroughly broken by repeated disappointments.

While the allied army lay before Savannah, an exploit, well worthy of being recorded, was performed by col. John White, of the Georgia line. Capt. Trench was stationed, with 100 men, near the river Ogeechee, at the distance of about twenty-five miles from Savannah. At the same place were five British vessels, four of which were armed; the largest with fourteen guns, the smallest with four, and the whole were manned by forty-one sailors. All these men, with the vessels, and 130 stands of arms, were surrendered to col. White, capt. Elholm, and four others, one of whom was the colonel's servant. On the 30th of September, late at night, this small party kindled a number of fires in different places, practised various other stratagems, to give themselves the appearance of a large force, and summoned the captain, in the most peremptory terms, to surrender immediately. The deception succeeded. Captain Trench was so fully impressed with an opinion, that nothing but an instant compliance could save his men from being cut in pieces by a superior force, that, without attempting to make the least resistance, he surrendered. The prisoners were secured, and afterwards conducted, by three of the captors, twenty-five miles through the country, to an American post.

Throughout the year 1779, the military operations of the British, in the states to the northward of Carolina, were almost entirely of a predatory nature. Their commissioners had, in the preceding year, threatened the Americans with all the horrors of devastation; in order to render "the colonies of as little avail as possible to their new connections." This threat was accordingly executed by the British commanders, to the utmost extent of their power. This mode of warfare, unprecedented among civilized nations, was undoubtedly sanctioned by the ministers of Great-Britain. Several members in both houses of parliament, shocked by the inhumanity of the commissioners' declaration, and desirous of wiping away a stain so disgraceful to their country, moved for a disavowal of that part of the proclamation, in which the commissioners had taken upon them to denounce a barbarous system of war, no less inconsistent with sound policy, than with the dictates of humanity, and the law of nations. But every motion of this kind was negatived, by the usual ministerial majorities.

In the beginning of May, sir Henry Clinton dispatched sir George Collier and general Matthews, with a considerable naval and land force, for the purpose of making a descent on Virginia. They landed at Portsmouth, which was destitute of defence, and consequently fell into their hands; as did the remains of Norfolk, on the

opposite side of the river. On the approach of the enemy, the Americans burned a number of vessels; but others were saved, and made prizes. The British made a forced march, by night, to Suffolk, where they destroyed a large magazine of provisions and naval stores, together with the vessels which they found there. A similar destruction was carried on at Kemp's-Landing, Gosport, Tanner's-Creek, and other places in the neighbourhood. The frigates and armed vessels were equally active and successful, along the margins of the rivers, and the adjacent parts of the bay. Within a fortnight, that the fleet and army continued on the coast, the loss sustained by the Americans was prodigious. Three thousand hogheads of tobacco were taken at Portsmouth. Upwards of 130 vessels were destroyed or taken. Several vessels upon the stocks were burned; and every article of naval stores was either carried off or destroyed. The town of Suffolk, the store-houses at Gosport, and sundry public buildings, in different places, were burned. The houses of several country gentlemen shared the same fate. The fleet and army arrived safely at New-York, with their booty, before the end of the month.

The troops, immediately upon their return from the Virginia expedition, were joined to others, going up the north-river, to attack the posts of Stoney-point and Verplank, where the Americans had begun to erect strong works, for the purpose of preserving an easy communication between the southern and eastern states. General Vaughan, with the greater part of the troops, landed on the east side of the river, about eight miles from Verplank. Sir Henry Clinton landed on the west side, and took possession of Stoney-point, without opposition. Directly opposite to Stoney-point, across the river, the Americans had finished a strong fort; which was defended by four pieces of artillery, and a garrison of about seventy men. It was untenable, however, after the loss of Stoney-point, by which it was entirely commanded. During the night, the British dragged up a number of mortars and pieces of cannon, to the high rocks of Stoney-point, from which a dreadful fire was poured upon the fort early next morning. In the mean time, Vaughan had taken a circuitous rout, and completely invested the fort by land. The garrison finding themselves overpowered, and having no prospect of escape, surrendered prisoners of war. Sir Henry Clinton gave immediate directions for completing the works of both posts; and for putting Stoney-point, in particular, in the strongest state of defence. And at the same time, the numberless small cruizers and whale-boats, from Connecticut, which infested the sound lying between that state and Long-Island, were so continually watchful and active, and their situation afforded them such opportunities, that they had nearly destroyed the trade to and from New-York, on that side, to the great inconvenience and distress of the British fleet and army. This furnished a pretext to the British for a desultory invasion along the Connecticut coast, the ostensible motive to which was, that they might effect the destruction of the American vessels, and of the materials for ship-building. But they did not confine themselves to this object.

The troops destined for this expedition were about 2600. They were commanded by *genl. Tryon*, who was seconded by brigadier-

general Garth. The transports, which conveyed the troops, were covered by a number of armed vessels, commanded by sir George Collier. In the beginning of July, they sailed from New-York, and landed, in two divisions, at East and West-Haven, whence, after burning the greater part of East-Haven, they proceeded to New-Haven. The town was delivered up to promiscuous plunder, a few instances of protection excepted. The inhabitants were stripped of their moveable property of every kind. Such articles as could not be carried off, were wantonly destroyed; and almost every species of enormity was perpetrated. The militia, however, was collecting so fast, that the enemy made a sudden retreat, without executing their original design of burning the town. They next proceeded, by water, to Fairfield. To col. Whiting, who commanded the militia near this place, Tryon sent a flag, with an address, by which the inhabitants were invited to return to their allegiance, and all, except civil and military officers, were promised protection, on condition of remaining peaceably in their usual places of residence. In this address the lenity of the royal army was enlarged upon; and the existence of a single house on the defenceless coast, was said to be at once a monument of British mercy, and of American ingratitude. The col. was allowed an hour for his answer; that he might, if he thought proper, save the town, by a compliance with the terms of the address; but he had scarcely time to read it, before the town was in flames. He, nevertheless, returned a spirited answer. The militia gave the enemy some annoyance, as they were advancing; but were soon obliged to retreat. On the approach of the British, most of the inhabitants quitted the town. A few women, imagining their sex would protect them, remained, in expectation of being able to save their property; but they had reason to repent of their conduct. The soldiers plundered the deserted houses, before they committed them to the flames. They robbed the women of their buckles and rings, and even of their bennets, aprons, and handkerchiefs; abusing them, at the same time, with the foulest language; presenting their bayonets to their breasts, and threatening to deprive them of their lives. The women, together with Mr. Sayre, an episcopal clergyman, who had suffered for his attachment to the royal cause, besought Tryon to spare the town; but their joint supplications were disregarded. The British burned the meeting house and episcopal church, and the buildings in general, to the distance of two miles, around the town, including the greater part of Green's farms. The militia, though joined by numbers from the country, were not sufficiently numerous for an effectual opposition. The British concluded their scenes of devastation in this quarter, by the total destruction of the flourishing town of Norwalk. The inhabitants feared that the whole coast, 120 miles in extent, would share the fate of Fairfield and Norwalk; but after the enemy had rioted in the most wanton destruction of property for ten days, they were suddenly stopped in their career, by an order from sir Henry Clinton, to repair immediately to New-York.

The loss sustained by the Americans on this occasion was great. Besides their dwelling houses, and the effects contained in them, a con-

siderable number of ships, some finished and others on the stocks, with whale-boats, and a large amount of stores and merchandise, were destroyed. The number of houses and barns burned was upwards of 300, among which were five houses of public worship. The loss of the British, during the expedition, did not exceed 150 men.

These devastations, particularly the burning of the houses, were loudly complained of by the Americans. The only apology offered by the British was, that the houses gave shelter to the Americans, while they fired upon them; that the burning of them served in some instances to conceal the retreat of the troops, and was therefore justifiable, upon the principle of military necessity. Certain it is, however, that no such necessity could with truth be urged, either to excuse or palliate the burning of the greater part of the houses. General Tryon attempted to justify the measure, upon principles of policy. In a letter to general Clinton, he said, he should be very sorry, if it were thought less reconcileable with humanity, than with the love of his country, duty to his king, or the law of arms, to which America had made her appeal; that the usurpers had professedly placed their hopes of severing the empire, in avoiding decisive actions, upon the impoverishment of the British treasury, and the escape of their own property, during a tedious war; that their power was supported by the general dread of their tyranny, and the artifices practised to inspire a credulous multitude, with a presumptuous confidence in the forbearance of the royal forces; and that he wished to detect this delusion.

These devastations were the subject of an elegant and pathetic poem, entitled "The burning of Fairfield," written on the spot, a few days after the mournful catastrophe, by col. Humphries.

Congress, on receiving satisfactory proofs of the ravages of the British, in this and other expeditions, of a similar nature, resolved (July 19) that their marine committee should be directed to take the most effectual measures, for retaliating upon the enemy, agreeably to their manifesto of the 30th of October, 1778, by burning or destroying the towns of the British, in Europe and the West-Indies. This resolve, however, was never carried into effect.

In this desultory mode of warfare, the British had great advantages. By means of their marine force, they could command the numerous rivers, harbours, and bays, of the united states; and make descents where they pleased, with such rapidity, and in so many different quarters, nearly at the same time, that it was impossible for the American land-forces to march and counter-march with sufficient expedition to cover the country, or check the depredations of the enemy. The invaded citizens, as well as those whose local situation exposed them to the ravages of the British, incessantly pressed general Washington to detach continental troops from the main army for their protection; but he could spare very few. Besides, he was apprehensive that the enemy wished to draw off a part of his army from the defence of West-point, with a view to make an attack upon that important post. He was moreover aware of the impolicy of dividing his army into several bodies; since this would render his whole force liable to be cut to pieces in detail. It was

therefore his uniform practice, to attempt no more towards covering any particular part of the country, than appeared consistent with the general safety. He was at this time posted with the main army at some distance from New-York, on both sides of the north river; a position to which he had marched, from his late encampment at Middlebrook, soon after sir Henry Clinton's capture of the posts at Stoney-point and Verplank. The security of West-point being a principal object of his attention, he was by no means desirous of hazarding the loss of any part of his army, either by a general or partial engagement. At the same time, he kept a strict watch upon the enemy: for this purpose, a party of 300 infantry and 150 cavalry, commanded by col. White, patrolled constantly in front of the British lines, for several months. This corps had frequent skirmishes with parties of the British; and rendered essential service, by checking their excursions, and procuring intelligence of their movements.

(To be continued.)

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FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

EULOGIUM ON MODERN IMPROVEMENTS.

(Intended to have been spoken at a late Commencement.)

THE improvements in modern times are so great, and so superior to what our forefathers could pretend to, that they ought not to be passed over, without their deserved eulogium. We live in the reign of philosophy and the sun-shine of the sciences; and our advance in the arts and the happiness of life bear a proportion to this grand illumination. I have, for some time, wished for an opportunity to display our superiority in these respects—and as I have now the good fortune of possessing a clear stage, with a respectable audience before me, it is my purpose to attempt it. I could wish, indeed, that my abilities were more equal to the arduous task which I have undertaken; that I might celebrate, as it deserves, our happiness, my countrymen and fellow-citizens, in being born in these latter ages, when human sagacity, refined by long experience, produces fruits of a most delicious pulp. Yet what I can, I will attempt; but O for the hundred mouths of Fame, with each an hundred tongues, which honest Virgil describes, that I might proclaim the gigantic strides, which we at present make towards perfection, beyond what was ever seen in the world before! Indeed I know not how sufficiently to congratulate my hearers, upon the excellence and sublimity of our discoveries and improvements, both natural and artificial, beyond what has ever been seen in ancient times. Our superiority in knowledge, taste, ingenuity, politics, virtue, and religion, cannot be modestly contested.

I know some sour philosophers, and visionary men, will be ready to spurn at any idea of this sort; and resist that full blaze of evidence

which may be poured upon the subject. I am well aware that they will scuffle hard for their favourite ancients, and kick up no little learned dust to blind the eyes of their antagonists. Such people, when pressed closely in argument, fly to recrimination and silly reproach, instead of reason and proof—and, when we oblige them to confess that we excel the ancients in wisdom and ingenuity, very sagaciously discover, that we also advance in depravity; and thus, what we gain or establish in one point, we lose in another. Our fathers, say they, after their oracle Horace, were worse than theirs, and we are more corrupt than they. But with the good leave of these musty objectors, I think their shallow assertion is not supported by fact and experience—and that, on the most moderate allowance in favour of modern virtue, we must oblige them to confess, that our ancestors, we, and our posterity are pretty much alike, being all of one kindred, and of a very bad family to boot.

However, not to enter further into dispute about this matter at present, I beg your attention to our improvements of another kind: and here I think it will be easy to establish our decided superiority over the ancients, in science, taste, ingenuity, and various other particulars which we may have occasion to mention.

They boast, it is true, of Homer, Pythagoras, Euclid, Solon, Plato, Aristotle, and others, whom they impudently assert, to be the originals of every useful branch of science, and that we only repeat their discoveries, and plume ourselves upon what is at best only borrowed;—but were they to appear amongst the philosophers, poets, historians, romance-writers, and politicians, of Europe and America, how would they shrink back from the lustre of our glory?

Homer had the art perhaps of swelling to the sublime in poetry, but he wanted *depth*; he was not acquainted with the profound, the bathos of many modern poets, who shall be nameless, lest they should be disgraced in the comparison; who, as Pope luckily hits it off,

True to the bottom, ever careful creep

The cool, long-winded, natives of the deep.

And whose works, as they suit the comprehension of the great majority, possess an excellence in this most important respect, that is unrivalled. The poetical morsels in our museums, magazines, and news-papers, are ready at any time, to be produced in comparison with the odes of Horace, or the trifles of Anacreon—and our witty essays, with the humours of Lucian.

Pythagoras is highly celebrated as a philosopher by the ancients, and it is pretended that all our modern improvements in commerce, agriculture, and mechanical arts, are founded on principles discovered by him;—but alas! he was as far from some modern lecturers on philosophy, and modern remarkers on the appearances of nature, as from this earth to the tail of the last comet. Did he know that the earth was twenty thousand years old? or would he have thought of proving it by the antiquities near the Mississippi? Would he ever have dreamed of sailing to the moon in balloons, or mounting by art beyond the orbit of the earth, to sail between worlds and worlds, and with eagle-flight to approach towards the centre of our system, and gaze upon the sun? Did it ever enter into his heart to conceive that

moral evils were to be corrected by physical causes, and that the vice of lying, so prevalent in many ages, could be annihilated by a due exposure to a freezing atmosphere—a most important discovery of recent date? Would he have believed it, that the time would arrive when slander and lies might be banished from the parties of the gay and rich by a few doses of ice, duly administered; and that for this reason, the wealthy and public-spirited inhabitants of this metropolis, should multiply contrivances for the preservation of so choice a medicine through all seasons of the year?

The ancients boast much of the profound researches and conclusive reasoning of Euclid, Aristotle, and some other long-winded champions of that sort; but I fancy we should confound them and their reasoning too, by the more concise and pithy mode of assertion. This cuts matters short, and precludes the necessity of tedious discussion—and in addition to this, we boast of the argumentum ad crumenam, or, the argument of the purse; by which, in a summary way, we resolve questions of the greatest depth in every science, without difficulty. Yes, the modern invention of deciding disputes by a wager, was reserved for these ages of invention and improvement! In this way we get rid of a world of trouble, where we meet with opposition; and besides, not only does it free us from the labour of understanding subjects of debate, but it restores that natural pre-eminence to the wealthy, of which, for a period of ages, they had been deprived, by the abilities of poor fellows, who can always parade more arguments than cash upon any point:—For want sharpens the wits;—

And, as the tuneful Flaccus sings,
It is the very best of things
To give the true inventive fire,
And screw the peg of genius higher.

As to taste and refinement of manners, there surely can be no comparison. Who is so blind as not to see how vastly, nay how infinitely I may say, the taste of the moderns exceeds the ancient simplicity, or rather rusticity of manners! Their clownishness was such, that they had no word, in any of their languages, which could be translated Gentleman or Lady. They had, to be sure, philosophers, orators, historians, legislators, patriots, heroes, demigods, nymphs, and goddesses; but alas, they had not one fine gentleman or fine lady! There were a few indeed, who shot above the manners of the rest; such as Cataline, Piso, Claudius, and Mark Anthony, amongst the men; and Julia and Messalina, amongst the women; who would have been allowed to be very pretty gentlemen and ladies in modern times: for they could dress, and dance, and drink, and game, and swear to perfection. But those boorish people had so little relish for such a character, that they scrupled not to call them drunken, gambling, cheating, lying, and lewd wretches. Unfortunate people! they happened unluckily to be born in times when merit suffered an eclipse, and was discouraged by an infernal spirit of persecution! Had they lived amongst us, they might have ranked with the foremost—they might have risen to the height of the beau monde, and shone with a superior lustre at our assemblies, routs, and Sunday even-

ing parties. They might have handled their cards with the fine ladies in our polished circles at present—and speculated and debauched, to admirable advantage, with our very fine gentlemen;—yet as it happened, circumstances were not favourable to their advancement in their own times—and their sinking into infamy among their contemporaries, sufficiently proves the dulness of taste which generally prevailed. Our prevailing taste, in dress and amusements, in equipage and ornaments, in luxury, and the haut ton of living, beggars all description, and leaves all antiquity behind.

In those rude, unpolished days, their old-fashioned notions were such, that they prided themselves upon a fear of the gods, a reverence for religion and its ministers, a respect for their parents and other superiors, and a scrupulous observance of the laws, and regard to the duties of morality.—But what a pitiful, groveling set must they not have been? Where is any liberality of sentiment in all this? Are we not born free? Free as the winds—and what right have any to insist upon the subordination of others, or to attempt to controul them? Such are the sentiments of liberal men in the present age, who are the ornaments of human nature.—They free us from the shackles of constraint in education, and inculcate an utter contempt of every thing that would cloud mirth, and hinder enjoyment. They destroy those dikes and mounds which imaginary fears and squeamishness of conscience had raised for the guarding of morality and religion. They demonstrate to us that the deity can make no great difference between virtue and vice without crying injustice, and pour salvation upon us like a flood.—Thus we learn to live without constraint, and to die without fear. Happy ages, so long foretold! You have begun to roll upon the world.—How silly would Plato, or Socrates, or Cicero appear amongst modern philosophers! *They* talked of the soul and its capacities—of being like the gods, and of the excellence of piety and virtue. But modern philosophy has dealt so much in matter, and developed so minutely its subtle properties, as sufficiently to prove universal materialism, and triumphantly to evince that there is no soul at all—and I suppose the inference would be clear enough from this, that there is neither god, angel, devil, nor spirit.—Our celebrated philosophers have sufficiently ridiculed the idea of sin, and assured us that even female infidelity is but a peccadillo when it is known, and when not known, it is nothing at all—that the doctrine of a providence which particularly regards the virtuous, or remarks the vicious with disapprobation, is an impious tenet, as far as impiety can exist—and that the clergy or ministers of religion, are the great disturbers of the public repose, and as such ought to be rejected from society, with the utmost abhorrence. In this last respect, our modern philosophers have gloriously freed the world from bondage—As they can easily demonstrate, that God has no rights, of consequence it is ridiculous to pay any duties, and therefore our enlightened patriots and scholars, agree to treat those who pretend to inculcate the contrary with the most sovereign contempt. By shewing the clergy to be a set of pragmatic fellows, not worth minding, they rid us at once of a deal of trouble, which would ensue from attending or believing their lectures, and smooth the principal rub in the road.

of free and liberal manners. A few chain-shot which have not been levelled at a single mark, but with an enlarged compass of aim, have struck at the character universally, have knocked down, not only the men, but the business. And now, it is expected the halcyon days are taking place, when we may all do as we please, without conscience or account—that we may range through every scene of pleasure unconstrained, and conscience be totally subdued.

Our principal characters have set the example of a total disregard to the public, but now antiquated institutions of religion—and have recommended the pleasing succedaneum of the stage, and theatrical exhibitions, in their room. Plato, indeed, was fool enough to say, that “plays raise and pervert passions, and are dangerous to morality;” and Cicero, that “comedy subsists upon lewdness, and the pleasure which it encourages is the root of all evil.” Seneca, under a fit of the spleen, complained, that “while the play-houses were open, nobody would apply to the study of nature and morality,”—and Tacitus audaciously records a reflexion, that would seem to imply a brutish censure upon our female attenders on the theatre; his remark is, that “the German women were guarded against danger, and kept their honour safe, by having no play-houses amongst them.” But our legislators, more discerning and better acquainted with human nature, have pronounced these same stage-plays, the pleasing and liberal amusement of the polite, and the promoters of all the virtue that is necessary in the world.

It would be useless in this place to enlarge upon our advances in the science of politics and government:—These are so obvious and incontestable, that I should but mock your discernment to state them at large. The wheels of government run so smoothly—the well-born have such due and natural weight—the balances are so trimmed—our rights are so many, so well ascertained, and so distinctly enumerated—our obligations so few—our departments all so virtuously managed, and the auri sacra fames so utterly banished, that antiquity may forever be blotted from our remembrance, or be brought forward to view, only as a foil to our superior excellence, in this important science.

Upon the whole, therefore, I hope I have elucidated the point in hand, with sufficient clearness, and I presume on the patience of this respectable audience further, only to repeat the song of a modern bard; which, though it is not exactly in agreement with some of the sentiments which I have delivered, yet supports the opinion which I have inculcated, that the present are the best and happiest of times:

Of all the ages ever known,
The present is the oddest;
For all the men are honest grown,
And all the women modest.

No lawyers now are fond of fees—
No clergy of their dues;
No doctors now charge heavy fees—
At church no empty pews.

Our rulers, heaven defend us all !
I'll nothing say about 'em :

For they are great, and I'm but small,
So let's jog on without 'em.

Our gentry are a virtuous race,
Despising earthly treasures ;
Our youth are sober, temp'rate, chaste,
And quite averse from pleasures.

The ladies seem so plain indeed,
You'd think them quakers' all—
Witness the dresses on their head,
So comely and so small.

No races now to drain the purse,
No bets on cards are laid ;
And as for dice, so long our curse,
They all are burnt 'tis said.

No drunken sot neglects his spouse,
For bowls of brimming nappy ;
Nor taverns tempt him from his house,
Where all are pleas'd and happy.

All cuckold-making is forgot,
No ladies now in keeping ;
No batter'd beaux now go to pot,
Whose wives are kill'd by weeping.

No gentlemen now take a freak,
To crowd the roads on sunday,
So horses, lab'ring thro' the week,
Obtain a rest for one day.

Happy's the nation thus endow'd,
So void of wants and crimes ;
Where all are rich, and none are proud ;
O these are glorious times !

I see you all, with wond'ring stare,
Think this is mighty high, fir ;
But pray forgive us, if we dare,
To say 'tis all a lie, fir.

If you think thus, pray do not frown,
But take another light on't :
Just turn the picture upside down,
And this will be the right on't.

On the BEAUTY of EPISTOLARY WRITING.

ITS first and fundamental requisite is, to be natural and simple; for a stiff and laboured manner is as bad in a letter, as it is in conversation. This does not banish sprightliness and wit. These are graceful in letters, just as they are in conversation; when they flow easily, and without being studied; when employed so as to season, not to cloy. One who, either in conversation or in letters, affects to shine and to sparkle always, will not please long.

The style of letters should not be too highly polished. It ought to be neat and correct, but no more. All nicety about words betrays study; and hence musical periods, and appearances of number and harmony in arrangement, should be carefully avoided in letters. The best letters are commonly such as the authors have written with most facility. What the heart or imagination dictates, always flows readily; but where there is no subject to warm or interest there, constraint appears: and hence, those letters of mere compliment, congratulation, or affected condolence, which have cost the authors most labour in composing, and which, for that reason, they perhaps consider as their master-pieces, never fail of being the most disagreeable and insipid to the readers.

It ought, at the same time, to be remembered, that the ease and simplicity which I have recommended in epistolary correspondence, are not to be understood as importing entire carelessness. In writing to the most intimate friends, a certain degree of attention, both to the subject and the style, is requisite and becoming. It is no more than what we owe both to ourselves, and to the friend with whom we correspond. A slovenly and negligent manner of writing, is a disobliging mark of want of respect. The liberty, besides, of writing letters with too careless a hand, is apt to betray persons into imprudence in what they write. The first requisite, both in conversation and correspondence, is to attend to all the proper decorums which our own character, and that of others, demand. An imprudent expression in conversation may be forgotten and pass away; but when we take the pen into our hand, we must remember, that "*Littera scripta manet*."

The most distinguished collection of letters in the English language, is that of Mr. Pope, Dean Swift, and their friends; partly published in Mr. Pope's works, and partly in those of Dean Swift. This collection is, on the whole, an entertaining and agreeable one; and contains much wit and ingenuity. It is not, however, altogether free of the fault which is imputed to Pliny's epistles, of too much study and refinement. Those of Dr. Arbuthnot, in particular, always deserve praise. Dean Swift's also are unaffected; and as a proof of their being so, they exhibit his character fully, with all its defects. Several of Lord Bolingbroke's, and of Bishop Atterbury's letters, are masterly. The censure of writing letters in too artificial a manner falls heaviest on Mr. Pope himself. There is visibly more study, and less of nature and the heart in his letters, than in those of some of his correspondents. He had formed himself on the manner of Voiture, and is too fond of writing like a wit. His letters to ladies are full of

affectation. Even in writing to his friends, how forced an introduction is the following, of a letter to Mr. Addison: "I am more joyed at your return, than I should be at that of the sun, as much as I wish for him in this melancholy wet season; but it is his fate too, like yours, to be displeasing to owls and obscene animals, who cannot bear this lustre." How stiff a compliment is it, which he pays to bishop Atterbury: "Though the noise and daily bustle for the public be now over, I dare say, you are still tendering its welfare; as the sun in winter, when seeming to retire from the world, is preparing warmth and benedictions for a better season." This sentence might be tolerated in an harangue; but is very unsuitable to the style of one friend corresponding with another.

On the IMPROVEMENT of the MEMORY.

THE only infallible method of augmenting the powers of the memory, is frequent, regular, and well-directed exercise.

In order to improve the memory, it is necessary to acquire a confidence in it. Many render it treacherous by fearing to trust it; and a practice has arisen from this fear, really injurious, though apparently useful. It is the practice of committing to writing every thing which the student remarks, and desires to remember. Nothing is more common, and nothing more effectually frustrates the purpose it means to promote. It is better that many things should be lost, than retained in the table-book, without confiding in the memory. Like a generous friend, the memory will repay habitual confidence with fidelity.

There are injudicious and illiterate persons, who consider the cultivation of the memory as the first object in education. They think it is to be loaded with historical minutiae, and with chronological dates. They entertain a mean opinion of the scholar, who cannot recite matters of fact, however trivial, and specify the year of an event, however doubtful or insignificant. They expect to have the chapter and verse mentioned on every citation, and are more pleased with that little accuracy, than with a just recollection of a beautiful passage, or a striking sentiment. But to labour to remember unideal dates, and uninteresting transactions, must ever be an irksome study to a lively genius; and he who shall train young persons in this laborious track, will give them a disgust for literature. It is to feed them with the husks of learning, which, as they are both dry and hard, afford neither pleasure nor nourishment. Let the reading be pleasant and striking, and the memory will grasp and retain all that is sufficient for the purposes of valuable improvement.

There is one circumstance, which has had an unfavorable influence on aspiring at the excellence of a retentive memory. An idea has prevailed, that memory and genius are seldom united. To be possessed of memory in a great degree, has led some to conclude, that genius was deficient; and all pretensions to memory have been readily sacrificed for the credit of possessing genius. Pope's famous lines,

in which he says, that the beams of a warm imagination dissolve the impressions on the memory, seem to have induced those who wished to be thought to possess a fine imagination, to neglect their memory, in order to possess one symptom of a fine imagination.

In giving great attention to the cultivation of the memory, there is danger lest it should be overladen with minute objects; a circumstance highly injurious, especially in the course of education. Let it therefore be considered, that a good memory, according to a similitude of Erasmus, resembles a net, so made as to confine all the great fish, but to let the little ones escape.



A general VIEW of SIBERIA and its INHABITANTS.

[*By M. Patrin.*]

A DESIRE to become acquainted with the northern part of Asia, and to bring home useful knowledge, and interesting productions, has induced me to reside eight years, amidst all the rigour of those severe climates, and to study nature in the vicinity of the pole.

This vast country, to us so little known, offers to our view some curious objects in plants and minerals. To these I principally directed my researches, and had the happiness to bring home some collections highly valuable. These are materials proper for extending our knowledge in natural history. But before I enter into any detail respecting them, it may be proper to give a general notion of the country, and its inhabitants.

Siberia, which is subject to the Russian empire, is separated from it by a long chain of mountains, which extend north and south for near five hundred leagues. The Russians emphatically call it, 'The Girdle of the Earth.' It is the natural limit between Europe and Asia. Towards the south it is bounded by an immense cluster of mountains, extending from west to east as far as the frontiers of China; north and east by the frozen sea, and the streight which separates it from America.

This vast tract is traversed from south to north, by many of the largest rivers in the world.

The inhabitants of this country, as dismal as it is extensive, in which the frost continues for nine months in the year, are not numerous. In a space of fifteen hundred leagues long, and six hundred leagues broad, they scarcely amount to 1,200,000 souls, which consist of Russians and hords of Tartars.

As to the Russians, there appears the most singular uniformity. In the extremity of Siberia, the human race appear precisely the same as at Moscow; the same language, the same kind of clothing, and the houses on the same plan.

The physical constitution of the Russians is well known; they are the most robust and vigorous people on the earth. The Russian women are not elegantly made, but their faces are of a beautiful carna-

tion; their language, the sound of their voices, and all their manner, have such a bewitching softness, and are so strongly attractive, that few men can be near them with indifference. To a Russian it is impossible; for though born in a frozen climate, their constitutions are extremely hot. The electric fluid, which abounds so much towards the poles, produces the same effect on them, as the rays of the sun do in the tropical climates.

The Russian women, who are extremely fond of dress, although their education is rather strict, know how to use the advantages nature has given them; they are scarcely out of their infancy, before they are able, by the price of their charms, to satisfy their vanity; and the luxury of their cloathing, among the inferior class, would astonish, if we were not able to judge by what means they procure them.

All their cloathing is of silk or cotton, of the most brilliant colours, never of woollen or linen, although Russia has those commodities in great plenty. These remarks will also apply to Siberia, except for a very few who inhabit the most retired villages.

The Russians speak French, and many foreign languages, with astonishing facility. Their tongue, which we should believe to be equally rude as their climate, is, on the contrary, soft, flexible, and one of the finest existing. The diminutives which abound in it, give it an infinite grace in the mouths of the women. Its mechanism is much like the Greek, and is so easy, that few languages are learned in shorter time.

The language of the Tartars is, on the contrary, of a most disgusting nature.—These people are dispersed in tribes through Siberia, and live under the protection of Russia; part of those which inhabit the frontiers of Europe are Mahometans, and apply themselves to agriculture and commerce; their language is a dialect of the Arabic; those which inhabit the eastern part of Siberia are *nomades*, or wanderers, and live in tents; they speak the Mogul language, and are idolaters.

The Mahomedan Tartars, who inhabit the Russian villages, live in quarters by themselves, which are always the best built and most agreeable. They appear to enjoy easy circumstances. They give tea and other refreshments in vessels of silver.

During my residence in Siberia, I had an opportunity to see a great many of these Tartars, and found many of them remarkably honest.

All the hords of Tartars have great resemblance to each other. The religion of the wandering Tartars appears to be idolatry, but they acknowledge a Supreme being. They have a Delai Lama, who is sovereign and pontiff of a large state on the frontiers of China. Their priests, whom they call lamas, are men better informed than they are generally thought to be.

On the tops of hills, in the deserts inhabited by these Tartars, I have seen places for prayer, a kind of temple, of the simplest structure; they are in the shape of cones, about thirty feet high, formed from young trees, brought from the neighbouring forests, hung round with the skins of animals. These are offerings to the Deity, whom they emphatically call the GREAT BEING. Wherever I saw these re-

ligious monuments, I observed that there extended from the cone, for several toises each way, four heaps of stones, directed to the four cardinal points of the compass.—This was not the effect of chance. I observed many of them with a compass in my hand, and found them very correct.

I once asked a lama the meaning of this. ‘Does not the Great Being,’ said he ‘breathe on us from the four points of the compass, and ought we not to answer him each way by our prayers? Look at these stones, they are written on.’ I admired the sublimity of the idea, and observed some characters on the stones.

Among these people adultery is very rare, and is punished in a very singular manner: the guilty person is carried into the middle of a forest, and left there, with a bow and some arrows, but no horse, and is left to his destiny. A Tartar, used to be on horseback from his cradle, knows not how to walk; none of these unfortunate beings were ever known to appear again.

Notwithstanding the severity of their manners, no people are more hospitable than the Tartars. Wherever I went I was received like a friend. I was fond of living in their tents, as I there breathed an air of liberty. The haste these people make to receive strangers, arises partly from a natural curiosity. At night, when I have employed myself in arranging my collection of plants, I have observed the family ranged round me, in profound silence, attentive to my plants. I asked them what they thought? They told me they perceived I was preparing offerings to the GREAT BEING. The notes I wrote and fastened to the different species, confirmed them in this; they thought they were prayers. When I endeavoured to undeceive them, they would scarcely believe me.

The wandering life of these people is proper for hunting, it forms one of their principal occupations; but they do not much quit the plains. They cannot climb the mountains, where the finest fables are to be found. The exiles in Siberia were formerly employed in hunting this animal, but they have lately become scarce, and these unfortunate wretches are employed in the mines. Some few free Russians, actuated by a hope of gain, alone employ themselves in these huntings; the occupation is truly frightful.

Furnished with a sack of meal, some salt, a kettle to dress his meat, and two long snow-shoes and a musket, the hunter sets off in the midst of winter, at which time the fur is the finest. Thus equipped, he goes for three months into the most frightful and retired solitudes, across rocks and precipices, passing the nights in huts of snow, and exposed all day to the rigour of a most piercing cold.



DETRACTION *and* GOOD-NATURE. A VISION.

I FOUND myself, during the slumbers of the night, in a very extensive region, which was subject to the jurisdiction of a fury named Detraction. The fields were wild, and carried not the least appearance of cultivation. The tops of the hills were covered with

snow ; and the whole country seemed to mourn the inclement severity of an eternal winter. Instead of the verdure of the pleasing herbage, there sprang up to sight hemlock, aconite, and other baneful plants. The woods were the retreats of serpents ; while on the boughs were perched the birds of night, brooding in doleful silence.

In the middle of the plain was a bleak mountain, where I discovered a group of figures, which I presently made up to. The summit presented the fury of the place. There was a peculiar deformity attending her person. Her eyes were galled and inflamed ; her visage was swollen and terrible ; and from her mouth proceeded a two-edged sword. A blasted oak was the throne which she sat on : her food was the flesh of vipers, and her drink was gall and vinegar.

At a little distance from her, I observed Ignorance talking loud in his own applause, Pride strutting upon tiptoe, Conceit practising at a mirror, and Envy, like a vulture, preying upon herself.

The multitudes who paid their addresses to this fury, were a composition of all nations and professions, of different characters, and various capacities. There was the mechanic, the tradesman, the scholar ; but the most zealous votaries consisted principally of old maids, antiquated bachelors, discarded courtiers, and the like. Each strove to ingratiate himself with the fury, by sacrificing the most valuable of his friends ; nor could proximity of blood move compassion, or plead exemption from being victims to her insatiable passion. Some addressed this infernal Moloch with the very fruits of their bodies, while others were triumphantly chaunting forth the extent of her power, and expatiating on the numbers of her conquests. At this instant arose in my breast all the tender sentiments of humanity that I had ever cultivated ; and I began to blame my criminal curiosity, which had prompted me to ascend the mountain. But in a few moments the whole scene was very agreeably reversed : for, towards the southern boundaries, I observed the clouds parting, the sky purpling, and the sun breaking forth in all its glory ; when immediately there appeared marching towards us Good-nature, in all her pomp and splendor, arrayed like a sylvan nymph, and blooming with unstudied graces. She was of a fair and ruddy complexion, which received additional beauty from the frequent smiles that overspread her countenance. On her right hand shone Good-sense, with much majesty and diffidence in her mien. She was an essential attendant on the young lady, who never appeared to such advantage as when she was under her more immediate direction. On her left was Generosity, carrying a heart in her hand. The next that presented was Modesty, with her eyes fixed on the ground, and her cheeks spread with roses. Then followed a train of beauties, who, by the unaffected charms of their persons, made me desirous of a nearer inspection. Upon a close approach I discovered that they were a tribe of amiable ladies, who were always fond of appearing in the retinue of the goddess, from whose indulgent smiles they received an additional lustre to their charms. I then turned my eyes towards the monsters I have above described ; the principal of which turned pale, and fell down in a swoon from her throne. Pride shrunk into a shade ; Envy fell prostrate and bit the ground ; while Igno-

rance vanished like a morning cloud before the rising sun. As the goddess drew near, the whole collection of fiends disappeared. The basilisk skulked into the glade, and the oak, on which the fury was seated, budded forth afresh. Wherever the goddess walked, the flowers sprang up spontaneous at her feet. The trees, animated with new-born life, displayed the enamelled blossom. The tender roe was seen bounding over the mountains, and the little lamb sporting on the hill. Instead of the briar and the thorn, there shot forth the myrtle, and every odoriferous shrub. The voice of the turtle was heard in the groves, and the dales resounded with the melodious harmony of the nightingale. In a word, the whole region confessed the happy influence of the deity, and charmed in all the genial softness of the spring.



A VINDICATION of the FAIR SEX, against the Charge of preferring COXCUMBS to Men of WORTH and GENIUS.

IT has frequently been observed, by the petulance of wit, and the peevishness of unsuccessful lovers, that genius and learning are small recommendations to the favour of the fair; and that the sex, so far from holding in due estimation the superior endowments of the mind, are always ready to prefer the flimsy tribe of sycophants and coxcombs, to those whose labours have tended to advance the happiness of society, or whose talents have given splendor to their age and country. 'If you mean,' say they, 'to conciliate the favour of these children of affectation and frivolity, you must renounce at once the deportment and dignity of a rational being, consult their fantastic whims, flatter, with incessant praise, their silly vanity, and devote your whole attention to the most unmanly and degrading trifles; in short, you must assume the pliancy of a spaniel, and the pert vivacity of an ape.'

But this heinous charge, however generally admitted, and however apparently supported by the frequent disappointments, in their tender attachments, of literati and men of genius, I am inclined to consider as destitute of solid and rational foundation; nay I will venture to assert, that when facts are properly examined, we shall find that the want of success, in this particular, of which men of letters so frequently complain, is chiefly to be ascribed to their own folly, (to give it no harsher name) and is, in many instances, rather a proof of the good sense, than of the weakness of the sex so unjustly satirised.

That mere coxcombs are sometimes caressed, is undoubtedly true; and so are lap-dogs, and monkies: but what is the proportion, or the description of females, who bestow their caresses upon either? The question is easily answered. There are undoubtedly fribbles and idiots of either sex; and it is fit that they should keep each other in countenance. But if we consult the conduct and sentiments of females, whose understandings are not greatly below the common stan-

dard, we shall find them almost universally prepossessed in favour of those who have distinguished themselves by their learning, their genius, or their good sense: and if they who are fortunate enough to procure favour by their reputation, forfeit it afterward by their conduct, it cannot be difficult to assign the censure to its proper cause.

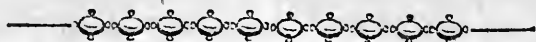
The annals of gallantry, could they be fairly presented to our view, would convince us that men are generally successful, in proportion to the extent of their capacities; and if we are obliged to make a mortifying exception, with respect to men of superlative talents, shall we not also be compelled to assign a cause for this exception, still more degrading to literary pride; and to confess, that, if even fribbles and coxcombs sometimes succeed, while poets and scholars are rejected, there is but too much reason to suspect, that the latter are sometimes less calculated to make a rational being happy; since innumerable facts will support the assertion, that they are frequently more sullen, more tyrannical, and unsocial; more devoted to selfish pride, and even less communicative and entertaining (within the circle of their own families) than their most illiterate rivals? And what degree of happiness can superior talents confer, if the soothing graces of a sociable, affable, accommodating disposition are entirely wanting?

‘I understand you,’ cries the surly student. ‘It is not for the superiority of our capacities; it is not for our talents and acquirements that we are to expect regard; it is by sacrificing these endowments at the shrine of female vanity. The cause of our failure is sufficiently evident: we cannot submit to those little, idle, fribbling, and servile attentions, with which other men conciliate their favour, by degrading themselves.’

Nor is it necessary. Civility, common respect, tenderness, good humour, and some little vivacity, will be more gratifying to the female mind, than all the flattering servility of fools, or the light impertinence of fops: and the man of learning or of genius, who cannot *condescend* thus far, has no right to complain, if the esteem of his talents is not able to subdue the disgust which his manners must inspire; nor is the fair one to be censured for the rejection of a man, who is too proud of his talents to treat her with tenderness and esteem, or whose scholastic roughness renders him neglectful of all the social softness, which gives to life its sweetest charms, and without which conjugal happiness, or even the pleasures of friendship, must be sought in vain. Learning and genius, like beauty and feminine vivacity, are to be considered but as the ornaments of life, the essentials of which are good temper and virtue; and wherever these latter, or either of them, are wanting, no talents, however brilliant, can give their possessor any genuine title to love, or even to esteem.

I do not mean to insinuate, that moroseness and ill-humour are necessary concomitants of genius; or that great mental acquirements unfit a man for happiness and social enjoyment. There are certainly many, who blend the greatest learning with the most engaging good humour, and to the fire of genius add the brilliancy of elegant manners; and such are ever secure of the most gratifying reception from

the fair. All I mean to insinuate is, that when men of letters are neglected by the sex, they owe not their disgrace to the eminence of their abilities, but to some qualities or habits, which, as they might remove them without injury to their talents, it is their duty to themselves and society to reform, instead of cherishing them with irrational pride.



The ADVANTAGES of ECONOMY, illustrated in the Character of FRUGAL.

MY neighbour Frugal orders his family to bed so early, that they may rise with the sun the year round. Thus he saves candles; for the sun lights him for nothing; and he reckons the sun affords a better light than a candle. Morning drams, and flip before dinner, he has disused for many years. This is a considerable saving: and he now enjoys better health, and eats with a better appetite, than when he used them. He keeps a plenty of wholesome food—good beer and cider; and requires of his labourers no more work than they can perform with the strength of these. Ardent spirits, he thinks, ought to be reserved for occasional use. And he says, his people do more work, and do it much better, than they did four years ago, when he indulged them in the free use of rum. Besides, they seldom quarrel with one another. When he sees a young fellow turn down two or three glasses of rum in quick succession, “There,” says he, “is a fellow who will always be poor: he will be a drunkard before he is forty years old.” As he was once on a visit to a friend’s house, in a town at some distance, he saw a man in a poor habit, with a bottle in his hand, passing the street before sun down, on saturday. He observed that the man went into a retailer’s shop, and soon returned, and went into a small house. “There,” says Mr. Frugal to his friend, “is a miserable family, soon to be maintained by the town. They waste the earnings of the week in rum. They cannot keep saturday without a bottle. They never go to meeting. I dare say, the women and children are as nasty and ragged as Hottentots, and almost as ignorant. They plead, I suppose, in excuse for not going to church, or sending their children to school, that they are so poor, and have so many rates to pay, that they cannot procure clothes. If one of the family happens to be sick, I presume the neighbourhood must be called upon, to supply them with the necessaries of life. And all this for rum.”—“You have hit it exactly,” says the gentleman of the house: “And this is the case of several other families among us. Rum is the ruin of them.”

Frugal never goes to a tavern without business, nor tarries longer than to finish the business that called him there. If he meets a friend, whom he is glad to see, instead of treating him at the tavern, he invites him to his house; for he says, he can better give a friend a dinner or supper at home, than half a mug of flip at a tavern; and can enjoy more social chat. He observes, that some men invite their

friends to the tavern, because they love the place themselves; and then, by tavern-expences they are become so poor, that they cannot entertain a friend at their own houses. At the tavern, they can go upon tick, and pay off all by and by, in a lump, with a cow or a piece of land.

Frugal is punctual to pay his debts; and never contracts more than he can pay in a season. Thus he saves interest, the expense of suits, and the vexation of contentions with his neighbours. I need not tell you, that Frugal is a thriving man; and there never was a better neighbour.



On the MISAPPLICATION of FRUGALITY.

THE economist recommends *saving*, as the way to make *gain*. But he will be asked, whether a man's *gains* are always in proportion to his *savings*? Certainly they are not so, unless he saves with discretion. There is an extreme in saving, as well as in spending. The former may be as inconsistent with thriving, as the latter. "There is that withholdeth more than is meet; but it tendeth to poverty." Parcus is a husbandman. His father, twenty years ago, left him in possession of a good farm, which he has industriously occupied ever since; but he has made no progress. He has only just kept his ground; and the only difficulty is, he is afraid of every thing that looks like expense. He carries all his savings to an extreme.

If he buys a coat, he aims at the cheapest cloth in the shop, and thus always gets the poorest. The trimmings, the taylor's bill, and the time spent in going half a dozen times to the taylor, before the coat is finished, are about the same, as if he had bought a good substantial coat; but it does not afford half the service.

There is not a farmer in the town, who, with the same quantity of hay, keeps so numerous a stock. But though he seldom sells or kills a beef, or a mutton, he only just keeps his number good. His sheep shed half their wool before shearing time; his cattle arrive not to their growth, until they are five or six years old; and then they are but dwarfs: and his yard, every spring, is the rendezvous of all the neighbouring crows; and all because he is too saving of his hay. If he can make his creatures live through the winter, he thinks he does well. His object is to keep a large stock on a little hay.

If he buys a breeding mare, what he principally regards is a low price. He does not consider that a low-priced animal will eat as much as any other; and that her foals are not of half the value. His buildings fall into ruins, because he dreads the expense of repairing: and the very timbers are rotting, while he tries to make the old covering last as long as possible. Rather than be at the expense of convenient implements for his husbandry, he depends on borrowing; and the time lost for want of them, and spent in borrowing and returning, every year amounts to five times the value. Thus

Parcus carries on his business, and, with great industry, on a good farm, he just supports a moderate family; while several of his neighbours, on farms no better, and with less labour, are growing rich, only by discretion in saving, and judgment in spending.



On the FOLLY of ENGAGING in TRIFLING STUDIES.

IF some persons be prevented from acquiring useful knowledge, by their intellectual incapacity, there are others, who, possessing talents, fail of important attainments, by wearing away their time in trivial studies. A person generally supposes he gives a satisfactory account of employing himself, when he can say he has been engaged in reading. He may, however, deceive himself, as well as others, in this respect. It is not more common, or more disagreeable, to find men deficient in their ideas, from a neglect of books, than it is to observe them bloated with false and frivolous notions, by an injudicious choice of authors. An acquaintance of mine, who is celebrated for his literary taste and ingenuity, invited me, the other morning, to look at his library, which is said to be an excellent one. If singularity can give a claim to merit, my friend deserves great praise for his collection of books; for he has certainly filled his shelves with such performances, as scarcely any man but himself would ever think of purchasing. After expatiating upon a variety of authors I had never heard of, and a still greater number I had never read, he told me he had taken immense pains to ascertain every minute circumstance relative to the building of Noah's ark. No history, either sacred or profane, that threw any light upon that interesting subject, had escaped his notice. "It is," he said, "to be regretted, that the particulars of that celebrated work of antiquity, are not more generally known." The vast delight he had found in his researches, he assured me, were not to be described. As I considered myself uselessly employed in hearing his descriptions, my readers would make the same remark, if this essay communicated a conversation so unimportant. My friend informed me of many other equally curious discoveries or attainments; and his pride seemed to consist in knowing, what none of his acquaintance knew, or had any inclination to know.

The design of reading, is not so much to increase the quantity of our knowledge, as the quality and utility of it. Men of leisure, who have patience of investigation, may, perhaps, employ themselves in useless enquiries, without producing any hurtful effects: indeed they may happen to strike upon some discovery from which benefit will result. But where such an ardour of curiosity prevails, as to induce people to researches from which no practical advantage is derived, it disqualifies them for active pursuits in life.

It should be an established rule with every person who reads to enquire of himself, when he lays aside his book, whether he have gained any ideas at all, and whether they be just and useful. To read, and yet to acquire no ideas, is, at any rate, a destruction of time: but the mere loss of time is not so pernicious, as to catch sentiments that are fallacious or trifling.

EXTRACT from a "Practical Essay on raising APPLE-TREES and making CIDER;" communicated to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, by Mr. A. CROCKER.*

THE business of the cider-maker comes next under consideration; and therein much labour and attention must be employed, or the nursery-man has been working in vain.

About the beginning of October he will find his apples, in general, sufficiently ripe for gathering; this he will know by slightly shaking a loaded bough of an apple tree; for if the apples fall freely it is an indication of their being sufficiently matured for his purpose.

He must then progressively shake the boughs of his trees, (but not pole any, leaving the unripe apples for further maturation,) and gather into heaps this golden harvest of *Pomona*, keeping each kind of fruit by itself. These heaps of apples (which should not be more than a foot deep) must remain in the orchard, or some other open place, for a fortnight or more; in which time they will, in general, acquire a sufficient degree of melioration to be made into cider. Should severe frost set in, these heaps of apples must be covered with straw.

His mill, press, and vessels being previously cleaned, † he must now grind his apples to a pretty fine pumice, and, without much delay, proceed to the expressing of the juice; putting the pumice, for that purpose, into very clean horse hair cloths, or making a cheese thereof with bandages of sweet, clean, wheat reed; taking care not to mix the pumice of various kinds of apples in one cider-cheese, especially of sweet and sour fruit.

The juice thus expressed must be strained through a fine hair-sieve into an open vessel, and from thence conveyed to the casks, which should previously be placed in an open cellar: the bungs of which must be left unstopped, that the gross fæces of the first fermentation may be discharged thereat.

Very particular attention must now be paid to the cider, to catch (as it were) the very moment of the first fining thereof, ‡ and immediately to rack it off into a clean, open vessel; where it must remain eighteen or twenty hours; after which it must be tunned into another cask, properly cleaned, and, if need be, matched. § This first

* It is proposed to publish the whole essay in the Memoirs of the Academy.

† "In none of which must any lead be used, lest a poison be thereby administered to those who drink the cider."

‡ This is best observed by drawing out a glass-full frequently, and holding it to the light: Or it may pretty accurately be known by the discharged fæces becoming brown, and beginning to crack.

§ Matching a cask is intended either to suppress an improper fermentation in the cider; to give some particular flavour thereto; or to increase the spirit thereof; and is thus performed. Take a strip of canvass cloth, about eighteen inches long and two broad; one half of which must be dipped in brimstone, [melted in an earthen pan] whereon some pounded Oris root, grains of Paradise, Coriander seeds, Winter's bark, ginger, cloves, cinnamon, or other pungent aromatics have been strewed,

fining of the cider, made at this season of the year from sour fruit, will happen within thirty or perhaps twenty hours after making; that of sweet fruit in not less than forty or fifty hours. Hence appears the necessity of keeping the different kinds of apples separate: For should a commixture of fruit be admitted, the juice of the sweet apple will not get fine until the second fermentation of that of the sour has begun, and a perpetual, unnatural fermentation will ensue, and continue perhaps for months, robbing the cider of its saccharine parts, and converting the whole into an acid liquor, unpleasant to the palate, and far less wholesome than it would have been if duly managed.*

In a very short time after the cider is become fine, if it be not racked, as before directed, the acid fermentation begins. This may be perceived by a hissing noise, very distinctly heard on applying the ear to the bung of the cask; and its effects can only be remedied (and that but in part) by drawing it off, as soon as perceived, into an open vessel, and suffering it there to remain for thirty or forty hours, before it be again turned into a fresh cask, and by mixing therewith some good French brandy, about the quantity of a quart to a hog-head of cider, or by matching the cask, in manner spoken of in a preceding note.

But permit it to be supposed that the cider-maker has been cautious enough to catch the first fining above mentioned, and to have managed it according to the preceding directions, he will then have nothing more to do therewith until the February or March following, when it will be proper, in a mild season of fair weather, to give it another racking; and, if need be, to commix that which was made from sour fruit (which may be too pale) with that which was made from sweet fruit, (which is generally dark coloured) thereby giving it as well a proper flavour, as that high amber-colour, which, in the glass, is pleasing to the eye. †

When this match is dry, it must be lighted, and put into a cask, [pendent from the bung] in which a few gallons of cider have been before hand tunned; where it must remain until it be burnt out. The cask must remain close stopp'd for an hour or more, and then roll'd to and fro, to incorporate the fumes of the match with the cider. After which it must be nearly filled with the remaining cider. If the matching be intended merely to suppress an improper fermentation, the brimstone alone will be sufficient; but if an additional flavour and spirit be required, take such of the other ingredients as may be liked best. For increasing the spirit, it seems unnecessary to be over curious in the choice of the ingredients; for "all the pungent aromatics have a surprizing property of increasing the quantity of spirit." [Shaw's Chymical Essays.]

* Chymists inform us, and experience confirms the position, that vegetable juices undergo various fermentations, very different in their effects: The first is called *vinous*, and to changes the property of the *must*, that, by distillation, an inflammable spirit may be extracted; which, before, could not be done: The second is called *acetous*, converting the liquor into vinegar: All the succeeding fermentations are of the *putrefactive* kind, forming mucilage, volatile alkali, &c. Hence appears a philosophick reason for attending particularly to the cider in its early stages; that the acetous and future fermentations may be prevented, and the first only permitted.

† Should the colour be still too pale, some lump sugar, melted in an iron stew-pan and commixed with some cider, whilst in a fluid state, will heighten it to any degree of colour required.

The vessels should, at this time of racking be placed in a close cellar. At the return of the season, when apple trees are again in bloom, the cider will be found in a slight fermentation: Until this operation of nature is past, the vessels must remain unstopped; but as soon as this is perfected, the cork may be placed on the bung, and daily pressed more and more tight. Should the cider be intended for bottling, it will be best to do it in the beginning of April, leaving the bottles uncorked, for eighteen or twenty hours after their being filled.

Thus, by the month of June or July, the cider-maker will be possessed of a sparkling, vinous, animating liquor; fit for the best subjects of "the free and independent states of America" to regale themselves with.



DESCRIPTION of the MISSISSIPPI RIVER.

[By THOMAS HUTCHINS, Esq. late Geographer to the United States.]

THE great length and uncommon depth of this river, and the excessive muddiness and salubrious quality of its waters, after its junction with the Missouri, are very singular*. The direction of the channel is so crooked, that from New Orleans to the mouth of the Ohio, a distance which does not exceed 460 miles in a straight line, is about 856 by water. It may be shortened at least 250 miles, by cutting across eight or ten necks of land, some of which are not thirty yards wide.—Charlevoix relates that in the year 1722, at Point Coupee, (or Cut Point) the river made a great turn, and some Canadians, by deepening the channel of a small brook, diverted the waters of the river into it. The impetuosity of the stream was so violent, and the soil of so rich and loose a quality, that in a short time the point was entirely cut through, and travellers saved 14 leagues of their voyage. The old bed has no water in it, the times of the periodical overflowings only excepted. The new channel has been since founded with a line of thirty fathoms, without finding bottom.

In the spring floods the Mississippi is very high, and the current so strong, that with difficulty it can be ascended; but that disadvantage is compensated by eddies or counter-currents, which always run in the bends close to the banks of the river, with nearly equal velocity, against the stream, and assist the ascending boats. The current at this season descends at the rate of about five miles an hour. In autumn, when the waters are low, it does not run faster than two miles; but it is rapid in such parts of the river, as have clusters of islands, shoals, and sand-banks. The circumference of many of these shoals

* In a half-pint tumbler of this water, has been found a sediment of two inches of slime. It is, notwithstanding, extremely wholesome and well tasted, and very cool in the hottest seasons of the year: the rowers, who are then employed, drink of it when they are in the strongest perspiration, and never receive any bad effects from it. The inhabitants of New Orleans use no other water than that of the river, which, by keeping in jars, becomes perfectly clear.

being several miles, the voyage is longer, and in some parts more dangerous, than in the spring.—The merchandise necessary for the commerce of the upper settlements on or near the Mississippi, is conveyed in the spring and autumn in batteaux, rowed by 18 or 20 men, and carrying about 40 tons. From New Orleans to the Illinois, the voyage is commonly performed in eight or ten weeks.—A prodigious number of islands, some of which are of great extent, intersperse this mighty river. Its depth increases as you ascend it. Its waters, after overflowing its banks below the river Ibberville, never return within them again: These singularities distinguish it from every other river in the known world.—Below New Orleans the land begins to be very low on both sides of the river, across the country, and gradually declines as it approaches nearer to the sea. This point of land which in the treaty of peace in 1762, is mistaken for an island, is to all appearance of no long date; for digging ever so little below the surface, you find water and great quantities of trees. The many beaches and breakers, as well as inlets, which arose out of the channel within the last half century, at the several mouths of the river, are convincing proofs, that this peninsula was wholly formed in the same manner. And it is certain that when La Salle sailed down the Mississippi to the sea, the opening of that river was very different from what it is at present.

The nearer you approach to the sea, this truth becomes more striking. The bars that cross most of these small channels, opened by the current, have been multiplied by means of the trees carried down with the stream; one of which, stopped by its roots or branches, in a shallow part, is sufficient to obstruct the passage of thousands more, and to fix them at the same place.—Such collections of trees are daily seen between the Balize and the Missouri, which singly would supply the largest city in Europe with fuel for several years. No human force being sufficient for removing them, the mud carried down by the river serves to bind and cement them together. They are gradually covered, and every inundation not only extends their length and breadth, but adds another layer to their height.—In less than ten years time, canes and shrubs grow on them, and form points and islands, which forcibly shift the bed of the river.

Nothing can be asserted, with certainty, respecting its length. Its source is not known, but supposed to be upwards of 3000 miles from the sea, as the river runs. We only know, that from St. Anthony's fall, it glides with a pleasant clear stream, and becomes comparatively narrow before its junction with the Missouri, the muddy waters of which immediately discolour the lower part of the river to the sea.—Its rapidity, breadth, and other peculiarities then begin to give it the majestic appearance of Missouri; which affords a more extensive navigation, and is a longer, broader, and deeper river than the Mississippi. It has been ascended, by French traders, above twelve or thirteen hundred miles; and from the depth of water, and breadth of the river at that distance, it appeared to be navigable many miles further.

From the Missouri river to nearly opposite the Ohio, the western bank of the Mississippi is, (some few places excepted) higher than the

eastern. From Mine-à-Fer to the Ibberville, the eastern bank is higher than the western, on which there is not a single discernible rising or eminence, the distance of 750 miles. From the Ibberville to the sea, there are no eminences on either side, though the eastern bank appears rather the higher of the two, as far as the English turn. Thence the banks gradually diminished in height, to the mouths of the river, where they are not two or three feet higher than the common surface of the water.

The slime which the annual floods of the river Mississippi leave on the surface of the adjacent shores, may be compared with that of the Nile, which deposits a similar manure, and, for many centuries past, has insured the fertility of Egypt. When its banks shall have been cultivated as the excellency of its soil and temperature of the climate deserve, its population will equal that of any other part of the world. The trade, wealth, and power of America will, at some future period, depend, and perhaps centre, upon the Mississippi.—This also resembles the Nile in the number of its mouths, all issuing into a sea, that may be compared to the Mediterranean, which is bounded on the north and south by the two continents of Europe and Africa, as the Mexican bay is by North and South America.—The smaller mouths of this river might be easily stopped up, by means of those floating trees with which the river, during the flood, is always covered. The whole force of the channel being united, the only opening then left, would probably grow deep, as well as the bar.

An objection has been often made by misinformed men, otherwise of great abilities, who too credulously believed that the navigation of the Mississippi river, on account of its rapid current, was more difficult than it is in reality. It appears, from the calculation made by several skilful and experienced travellers, that in the autumn, when the waters are low, the current descends at the rate of about one and a half or two miles in an hour; and that the waters are in this state more than one half of the year. In the spring, when the freshes are up, or at their greatest height, the current runs at the rate of five or six miles. It is true, that the navigation would be difficult at that season, to those who sail or row up against the stream; but there is no example of such folly. When the waters of this river are high, the commodities and produce of the interior country are gathered, and prepared for exportation with the descending current; and when the waters are low, the produce of the interior country is growing to maturity. This is the time for the navigator's importation. Great advantages are likewise taken then from eddy currents. At present, there are few builders skilful enough to construct vessels better calculated for that navigation, than those already mentioned. Time and experience will doubtless produce improvements, and render the navigation of this river nearly as cheap as any other.—But that the Mississippi can answer every purpose of trade and commerce, is proved to a demonstration, by the rapid progress the French, German, and Acadian inhabitants on that river, have made. They have attained a state of opulence never before so soon acquired in any new country; and this was effected under all the discouragements of an indolent and rapacious government. It may be further asserted, that

no country in North America, or perhaps in the universe, exceeds the neighbourhood of the Mississippi, in fertility of soil and temperature of climate. Both sides of this river are truly remarkable for the very great diversity and luxuriandy of their productions. They might probably be brought, from the favourableness of the climate, to produce two annual crops of Indian corn, as well as rice; and with little cultivation would furnish grain of every kind in the greatest abundance.—But this value is not confined to the fertility and immensity of champaign lands; their timber is as fine as any in the world, and the quantities of live and other oak, ash, mulberry, walnut, cherry, cypress, and cedar, are astonishing.—The neighbourhood of the Mississippi, besides, furnishes the richest fruits in great variety; particularly grapes, oranges, and lemons in the highest perfection. It produces silk, cotton, saffras, saffron, and rhubarb; is peculiarly adapted for hemp and flax, and in goodness of tobacco equals the Brazils; and indigo is at this time a staple commodity, which commonly yields the planter from three to four cuttings. In a word, whatever is rich or rare in the most desirable climates in Europe, seems natural to such a degree on the Mississippi, that France, though she sent few or no emigrants into Louisiana but decayed soldiers, or persons in indigent circumstances; (and these very poorly supplied with the implements of husbandry) soon began to dread a rival in her colony, particularly in the cultivation of vines, from which she prohibited the colonists under a very heavy penalty; yet soil and situation triumphed over all political restraints, and the adventurers at the end of the war in 1762, were very little inferior to the most ancient settlements of America in all the modern refinements of luxury.

The Mississippi furnishes in great plenty several sorts of fish; particularly perch, pike, sturgeon, eel, and cats of a monstrous size. Crawfish abound in this country; they are in every part of the earth, and when the inhabitants chuse a dish of them they send to their gardens, where they have a small pond dug for that purpose, and are sure of getting as many as they have occasion for. A dish of shrimps is as easily procured; by hanging a small canvas bag with a bit of meat in it to the bank of the river, and letting it drop a little below the surface of the water, in a few hours a sufficient quantity will have got into the bag. Shrimps are found in the Mississippi as far as the Natchez, 348 miles from the sea.

A CURIOUS ACCOUNT OF DRESS, *in ENGLAND, in the Fourteenth Century.*

[From Dr. HENRY'S History of Great Britain.]

WHAT would exhibit a more fantastical appearance than an English beau of the fourteenth century? He wore long pointed shoes, fastened to his knees by gold or silver chains; hose of one colour on one leg, and of another colour on the other; short breeches, which did not reach to the middle of his thighs, and disclosed the

shape of all the parts included in them; a coat, one half white, and the other half black or blue; a long beard; a silk hood, buttoned under his chin, embroidered with grotesque figures of animals, dancing men, &c. and sometimes ornamented with gold, silver, and precious stones. This dress was the very top of the mode, in the reign of Edward the Third.

The dress of the gay and fashionable ladies, who frequented the public diversions of those times, was not more decent and becoming. It is thus described by Knyghton, A. D. 1343. These tournaments are attended by many ladies of the first rank and greatest beauty, but not always of the most untainted reputation. These ladies are dressed in party-coloured tunicks, one half being of one colour, and the other half of another. Their lirripipes or tippets are very short; their caps remarkably little, and wrapt about their heads with cords; their girdles and pouches are ornamented with gold and silver, and they wear short swords, called daggers, before them, a little below their navels; they are mounted on the finest horses, with the richest furniture. Thus equipped, they ride from place to place, in quest of tournaments, by which they dissipate their fortunes, and ruin their reputation. The head-dresses of the ladies underwent many changes in the course of this period. They were sometimes enormously high, rising almost three feet above the head, in the shape of sugar-loaves, with streamers of fine silk flowing from the top of them to the ground. Upon the whole, I am fully persuaded, that we have no good reason to pay any compliments to our ancestors of this period, at the expense of our cotemporaries, either for the frugality, elegance, or decency of their dress.



Account of a subterraneous Passage, and the sudden Descent of a very large Current of Water from a Mountain, near Carlisle; also of a remarkably large Spring, near Reading, in Pennsylvania.

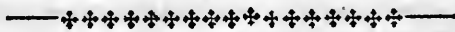
[By BENJAMIN LINCOLN, Esq. F. A. A.]

ON the 2d of August, being at *Carlisle*, in the state of *Pennsylvania*, I went to view a subterraneous passage, which had its entrance near a river into a rock. I followed it about two hundred and fifty feet: to this distance it was, in general, from six to seven feet high, and about the same in width. At the end of two hundred and fifty feet it divided into three branches.—As they were smaller, and more difficult to follow, and finding myself exceedingly chilled (which cost me one of the sickest nights I ever suffered) I gave up the pursuit, though I had proceeded but about half the distance, as I was informed by Col. *Butler*, who had been near the end. It appeared to me that it was a water-course, as the rocks were worn smooth, and indented in the manner they usually are by a long running of water over them. The appearance overhead was curious; some parts were smooth like the sides; other parts represented various figures, form-

ed by the water which had penetrated through the pores of the rock, and was now petrified and petrifying on its surface. The bottom was apparently earth and small stones.

About three years since, the people in the vicinity of this town, who lived near the mountain, which is about ten miles from the village, were alarmed by a current of water overflowing the banks of the river. The cause they could not investigate, as there had been, the night before, but a small rain: however, they soon found the first effects of the water appeared within about twenty feet of the top of the mountain. Whether it burst forth from the mountain, or was a column of water from the clouds, has not yet been ascertained. The course in which it ran down the mountain was dry the next morning. It was confined to the width of twenty feet, perhaps less. It appeared to be about thirty feet deep, as could be discovered by its effects on those trees which were not carried away by the water. It cut a passage in the side of the mountain, of about seven or eight feet wide, and near that depth. The traces of it are seen from the town, though, as I said before, it is ten miles distant. One rock, of a very considerable weight, was thrown into the crotch of a tree, twelve feet from the ground, in which it remained for some time. When the water came into the valley, its impetuosity was so great that it was not immediately diverted, but reached a small rising ground, through which it cut a passage; then followed the valley, and so on to the river, which was at some considerable distance. In its course, it carried off all the fences, and came upon the floors of some of the houses. I have had some conversation with Mr. *Rittenhouse* on the subject, who has been twice to see the effects of the water. It is his opinion, that it was not a column of water which bursted forth from the mountain, as it was near the top of one of the highest.

On my return to *Philadelphia*, in the neighbourhood of *Reading*, I came to the greatest spring of water I had ever seen.—It is about fourteen feet deep, and about one hundred feet square. A full mill-stream issues from it. The water is clear and full of fishes. To account for this body of water, was my enquiry. I soon found, that it was probably the rising and bursting forth of a very considerable river, which sunk into the ground and totally disappeared, one mile and an half or two miles distant from this place.



The raising of MULES recommended to Farmers.

A PERSON well acquainted with the emoluments arising from Mules, recommends the raising of that laborious and lucrative animal to the more general attention of American farmers. Mules command a ready sale, at forty or fifty dollars each, at one year old, though produced from mares of not half that value. They would be a valuable article of export to the West-India islands, where they are much used, on the sugar estates, and sell for twenty, and from that to thirty guineas. For drudgery, they are far superior to horses; and require not one sixth of the keeping, as they live upon the very refuse of a farm. Their strength and longevity ought to recommend them to the husbandman, for the cultivation of the earth.

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

IMPARTIAL REVIEW

Of American Publications.

An ENQUIRY into the CONSTITUTIONAL AUTHORITY of the SUPREME FEDERAL COURT, over the several States, in their political capacity. Being an answer to Observations upon the Government of the United States of America; by James Sullivan, Esq. Attorney-General of the State of Massachusetts. By a Citizen of South-Carolina. — Charleston, 1792—price 25 cents.

ALTHOUGH we have laid it down as a rule, to exclude from our review of new publications, every production which aims at no higher object than the propagation of religious or political feuds and animosities; yet it affords us no small degree of pleasure, to announce to our readers, from time to time, the dispassionate observations of men of talents on constitutional questions, or on political subjects, which appear to be so general in their nature, as to render them interesting to our fellow-citizens.

Of Mr. Sullivan's ingenious "Observations upon the government of the united states," we have already taken notice, in our review for September last. He appears to have been actuated by a keen republican jealousy, for the sovereignty of the individual states, consistently with which, or with the constitution of the united states, he contends that they cannot be called, directly, to answer to a plaint preferred against them in the federal courts.

The author of the enquiry now before us, espouses the contrary opinion; and enters into an able and elegant discussion of the subject, which he introduces by the following observations on the importance of guarding against pernicious precedents, in the outlet of our national government.

The discussion of constitutional questions will always be matter of general concern; but it is peculiarly interesting at this period, when the constitution itself is new, its various modes of action undefined, its relative powers not fully unfolded, its principles not drawn out into practice, nor its virtues and defects compleatly ascertained. As every movement under it must be considered almost as an experiment, to every thing established under it will form a precedent, which may ripen into a rule.

Precedents established in the infancy of government will have their lasting effects. Bad ones may vitiate and even destroy the best constitution; good ones may modify and almost reconcile the worst.

Mankind have always been found disposed to submit to the authority of precedent; and from whatsoever principle, in human nature, this proneness may arise, it cannot be denied to be productive of very beneficial effects. It stands a barrier against *versatility* in general, which, in every department of life, and particularly in government, is radically dangerous. For since human nature is ever struggling to accommodate herself to her situation, the struggles would be endless, if the situation were always changing. Indeed, a constitution cannot be said to be fully established, until this desirable conformity is effected—its best security lies in the settled habits, the manners, the sentiments, and the confirmed acquiescence of the people. The river flowing in its ancient channel, which time has worn into uniformity, glides majestically on with

an established momentum; but frequently conducted into new meanders, it becomes a noisy boisterous stream; or splitting into petty rivulets it loses both its force and beauty. The benefits of uniformity are not less observable in government, than in the broad expanse of nature's works, in the systems of morals, or the regions of science. It operates to harmonize the parts into a correspondence with each other, to adjust and proportion them to the whole, keeping them consistent in their proper station; and, on the other hand, to make the whole a homogeneous system, capable of being analysed into its parts, and of preserving equability of action throughout. This principle, co-operating with others, will ere long, I hope, settle our present constitution firmly upon its base; that it shall be recognized by the next generation, not as a system to be tried by experiments, to be altered or repaired, but as one already ripened into use and approved—to be enjoyed by them, and transmitted down in successive ages. Nor is it a gratification unworthy of being indulged, to view in anticipation, its future prosperity; when besides its intrinsic excellence, it shall, by the the heavy honours of antiquity, collected about it, attract the love, command the veneration, and ensure the obedience of generations long to come.

The benefit of good precedents, and the danger of bad ones, must bear an exact proportion to this promptitude in human nature to be thus influenced; and by an obvious consequence, the importance of examining well all institutions, at the outset of the government, must correspond in degree with both. Like a young man just upon his entrance into life, whose character will be fixed by his first transactions, our inceptive government will carry down into futurity the habits, the tone, and the disposition which it may now receive.

To the gentleman whose principles and arguments our author opposes, he gives the most unqualified credit for purity of intention, and for patriotic virtue.

He, no doubt, believed as he wrote—and had it occurred to him, that in placing every state superior to the jurisdiction or controul of the supreme court of the union, he had left them without any constitutional umpire to decide their differences, but arms; or had rendered a civil war almost inevitable, whenever those differences should happen; he would have drawn his conclusion with reluctance, and perhaps have been impelled to test with a severer scrutiny, the arguments which induced it.

This being a constitutional question, our author draws his arguments from the *principles*, the *spirit*, the *tenor*, and the *words* of the charter itself. Ours being a government *sui generis*, he contends that the decision of the question, ought not to be influenced, in any degree, by examples taken from the political institutions of other countries. Aware that the mode of resolving constitutional questions, by arguments drawn from the *spirit* of the charter, might be objected to, by some, as dangerous and indefinite, he endeavours to shew that objections ought not to be made against the *use* of this mode of discussion, but only against the *abuse* of it.

They conclude, that it is dangerous to trust to so enlarged a scope of construction. These scruples have their foundation in the excess of republican jealousy, rather than in solid reasoning. While men are to legislate without the aid of inspiration, much must be confided to their virtue, their wisdom, and their patriotism. To these we must trust in the end, let our constitution be framed as it may. If passion, prejudice, faction, and interest protrude themselves into the system, or if persons of weak minds, or grasping ambition, are entrusted with the administration, the fault must be sought for elsewhere than in the constitution. Against these no constitution can effectually guard. While the people are not wanting to themselves, the errors or evils springing from these sources cannot be apprehended, or if they casually occur, may be corrected.

Our author, in elucidating his subject, from the principles of the constitution, states the distinction between a *confederation* and a *government*, and infers “that the constitution of the united states is exclusively neither the one nor the other, but a composition of both.”

Like the old confederation, the *states* are represented by delegates chosen by their respective legislatures; and they form one branch of the federal legislature in the senate. Like an original and simple government, the *people* are represented by delegates biennially chosen by them; and they form the other branch of the federal legislature in the house of representatives.

Thus constituted and thus balanced, we may say that the *states*, in their political capacities, deliberate in one house, and the *people* in the other. In the senate, the rights of the state governments, so essential to their own existence, and to the peace and harmony of the whole, will be peculiarly consulted and protected; in the house of representatives, the rights of the *people*, whom they represent, will always be the pole-star of their deliberations.

And here one might pause for a moment, to observe and to admire this skillful combination of principles; as new in its nature as it is wise and profound. *A consolidation of the states, and a consolidation of the people.* Thirteen sovereignties made to blend and harmonize in one sovereign unity—or in other words, leaving in the *states* severally, their favourite independence, as to all the objects about which they ought to cultivate any great solicitude; and clothing the general government with complete sovereignty, as to all the objects which the general weal requires should be placed under their agency. And all this without engendering the political monster of *imperium in imperio*. Warned by the fruitful examples of the Grecian confederacies, the framers of the government have steered clear of those sources of anarchy, which subsist in a mere confederation of unequal states; while on the other hand, aware of the genius of the people of America, they have cautiously avoided intrenching too much upon the cherished doctrine of state independence. By drawing the power from the primary fountain, the people, they have infused into the system all the vigour which is necessary for its ends; while that power happily tempered by defining the objects, and skilfully distributed between the states, and the people represented in their respective branches, leaves the one nothing to fear, and the other nothing to complain of.

The distribution of the powers seems to contemplate these three variations, 1. With regard to some particular objects, the federal power is original, exclusive and supreme. 2. The same may be said of the state powers, as to some other objects. 3. The power is co-equal and concurrent between the two, as to some other objects. The sovereignty of the individual states, is as complete in the second class, as that of the united states is in the first. With regard to the third, it is evident, that there is no definite supremacy in either; but as they may alternately occupy the objects of it. Thus the united states are sovereign as to peace and war, alliances, coinage, the making uniform rules of naturalization, and the like; each state is sovereign, as to all the objects of its internal police; and concurrent with the federal government, as to all the forms of direct taxation.

We are brought to this conclusion, that the *states*, being represented as well as the people, form an integral part of that mixed system which we have adopted. This is the great principle that runs through the constitution, and must be adhered to for the conducting of our enquiries as to constitutional points. It teaches us that the *states*, as well as the *people*, are made the subjects of *federal legislation*. Now it is a truth, too evident, and too generally recognized to need demonstration, that in all governments, the judicial department must be co-extensive with the legislative. What the one commands, the other must decree the obedience of, and the executive must enforce it. All constitutional acts of power, proceeding from the executive and judicial, have as much legal validity, and import as much obligation, as those proceeding from the legislative department. Thus *treaties* made by the one, and no doubt solemn decisions or adjudications by the other, become the supreme law of the land.

He next adduces a variety of arguments, from the *spirit and tenor* of the constitution, to prove, “that the states, in their collective or political capacity, are and ought to be amenable to the federal judiciary; where they ought to be decreed to do justice.” With respect to the *sovereignty* which the several states possess, it cannot, he observes, be a *sovereign* power to do as they please; for the constitution contains both positive and negative injunctions upon every state.

Our author, in the last place, supports his opinion by the *words* of the constitution. The arguments arranged under this division of his subject, are plain and forcible. The following extract will give our readers some idea of the substance of them.

The *words* of the particular clause, which constitutes the judicial power, with obvious fitness to the principles, the spirit and tenor, expressly declare, that the judicial shall have cognizance, not only of cases, where the united states may be a party, but of all *controversies between two or more states, a state and citizens of another state, citizens of different states, and of the same state, claiming lands under different states.* The import, spirit, and necessary construction of which words are, that as on the one hand, every state may apply to this tribunal for justice against any state, any individual, or any corporate body, in the nation; so they, in their turns, possessing reciprocal rights, may appeal to this great and paramount source, and obtain *justice* when it is unconstitutionally withheld by any state; on every of which its obligations are equally binding.

Our author shows the impropriety of applying the term "corporations" to the state governments. The following are detached extracts from his observations on this subject.

It may be demanded, is the present system then not a confederation? Is it true, what has often been vehemently asserted by its opposers, that the constitution adopted by the united states, concentrating within itself all the efficient power of America, has stripped the individual states of all their prerogatives, and reduced them to the contemptible standard of subordinate corporations?

The want of proper distinctions, has often caused the people to be alarmed with language like this. The term *corporations* has artfully, or injudiciously, been made use of, while in fact it has not the smallest application. What is a corporation? In the general it no doubt applies to the idea of government, in as far as it is composed of organized bodies with privileges defined and duties enjoined. All governments may, in this view, be called by that name. But what is understood by the term in its ordinary sense; in that which is contemplated by those who employ it to represent the individual states, and to excite alarms about the general government? It is an inferior dependant body, vested with particular immunities for particular purposes; deriving its existence from the government, and liable to be disfranchised by that government, whenever its good pleasure shall so determine. Now do the state governments derive their existence from the federal? The reverse is more true—and if the term could ever apply to either, it would be to the federal government itself.

The state and the federal governments are co-ordinate in some cases, and respectively supreme in others; the state governments are no more subject, within their respective spheres to the general authority, than the general government is subject to them in its own sphere. Like the principle of gravitation in the planetary system—each orb has its proportionable agency in fixing the common centre, round which each of them, and the sun himself, constantly revolves.

Our author concludes with answers to such objections of Mr. S. as appear to militate against the doctrine he contends for. These answers are no less ingenious than candid. Our author never descends to those petty quibbles, for which some gentlemen of the bar are remarkable. Instead of sifting out trivial inaccuracies of thought or expression, magnifying apparent contradictions, or treating his antagonist, or his arguments, with disrespect, he states the substance of the objections with fairness, and delivers his answers, like a man of dignified sentiments and polished manners. Such ought ever to be the manner of discussing a subject, if truth be the author's object. Controversy is generally managed with too little either of decency or of candour; and this may be one reason, why few become proselytes even to the true doctrines of controversial writers. Asperity never yet convinced an opponent, nor failed to excite the disgust of every sensible reader.

Columbian Parnassiad.

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

The following verses were written by a lady, on the anniversary of her marriage. She had been obliged to flee from Philadelphia, with her husband and children, when the city fell into the hands of the British; and was just returned, after their evacuation of it. Sundry elegant productions, with the same signature, and from the same pen, have, at different times, adorned our Parnassiad. Such of our fair readers as are nobly ambitious to shine as wives and mothers, will, we doubt not, be gratified by the perusal of a performance, the glowing sentiments of which, must be, in some measure, congenial with their own. It is to be lamented, that the amiable writer lived but a short time after, to partake of those domestic enjoyments, which she so feelingly describes, and of which she appears to have formed so just an estimate.

HAIL, honoured Wedlock! source of
fond delight!
Nature's first law, and Eden's sacred rite!
Oh! let the muse, on each returning day,
Wake at thy shrine her long forgotten lay!
This day which saw us, in thy blissful
bands,
Unite our hearts, and join our willing
hands.
Nor pomp nor grandeur dignified the
scene;
But *Constancy* and *Laura* blessed the green.
Beneath her friendly roof our vows
were sealed,
And sure I boast they have been strict
fulfilled!
Three suns have now their annual courses
run,
Since *Hymen's* tender joys have made us
one;
Yet each succeeding year more sweet does
glide,
And meets the *wife* more happy than the
bride.
Our fond affection, oft severely tried,
Surmounts each storm, and stems each
adverse tide;
Remains unchanged mid direful war's
alarms,—
Softens its horrors, and its shafts disarms.

When forc'd by *British* arms abroad to
roam,
Far from our humble roof and native
home,
My *Damon's* love each anxious fear repress;
Hushed every sorrow, and composed to
rest:
With him, the dear companion of my
way,
Each object pleased, and every scene
looked gay—
Yon wood-crowned hills,* you mountains
rudely great,
Where nature reigns in wild majestic
state.
Charmed by the native grandeur of the
scene,
Beyond the *sloping lawn* and *level green*,
By *Lehigh's* sylvan stream † I happy
strayed, [shade.
While *love* and *liberty* still blessed each
We lived contented in the peaceful grove,
With the dear pledges of connubial love;
And, far remote from all the world calls
joy,
Tasted those pleasures which could never
cloy.
But heaven has since vouchsafed, with
powerful hand,
To send from hence *Britannia's* martial
band;
To us our homes and much loved friends
has given,
And distant far the clash of arms has
driven.
Great are these blessings. May they justly
raise
Our hymns of gratitude, and warmest
praise!
Great as they are, to me they'd tasteless
prove,
Unless to them were added *Damon's* love.
Unshared by him, *wit, music*, lose their
power;
Dull's the gay dance, and grave the fes-
tive hour.
Tis his dear presence makes my heart
rebound,
And fondly flutter at each well-known
sound;

* *Lebanon*.

† *Bethlehem*.

Gives *life*, and *health*, and friends, their
power to charm ;
Can heighten pleasure, and e'en pain
disarm.
And Oh ! thou most beloved of all below !
How does my grateful heart with joy
o'erflow ;
That we together are again restored,
To the loved circle, and the social board ;
Where honest joy, and guiltless mirth
are found,
And friends and dear connections smile
around !
For this my muse shall raise her grateful
song,
And pray that heaven these happy scenes
prolong ;
Secure our freedom, and our peace restore,
And drive stern war to earth's remotest
shore.
These golden moments may we still im-
prove
To the blest purpose of a virtuous love !
And while the tender objects of our care,
Hang round our knees, and our attention
share,
The task be ours to stamp the infant mind
With seeds of *knowledge* and *religion* joined.
And may kind heaven its needful grace
impart,
To fix each youthful blessing on the heart ;
Reward our cares, and raise their grate-
ful love,
As they in virtue's paths each day im-
prove !
So shall thy goodness to thy son descend ;
Like thee he'll shine, as *husband*, *brother*,
friend.
May Providence his choicest favours shed,
In purest blessings, on my *Damon's* head ;
Secure his life 'gainst danger and disease,
And grant thy *Sylvia* still the power to
please !
Blessed in thy presence, tenderness, and
health,
I ask no other joy, no other wealth ;
But, whilst I live, my favoured home
thy breast ;
And may I sink on that to endless rest !
But hush, my *muse* ! nor one sad thought
impart ;
Touch not a string to wound my *Damon's*
heart :
Enough that blessings crown the present
hour,—
The *future* leave to *Heaven's* protecting
power.

SYLVIA.

Philadelphia, 30th Nov. 1778.

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM,

ODE to SENSIBILITY.

(Written by a Lady, in 1770.)

COME, Sensibility, divine !
Thy vivid joys impart
Let thy bright beams extatic shine,
To animate my heart.

'Tis thou that wav'st the mantling blush,
Quick through the azure veins ;
Swift as the wand of magic touch,
Which wondrous spells contains.

A vital spark of heaven's own soil,
Is this keen sense of heart :
'Tis this which heightens *pleasure's* smile,
And sharpens *sorrow's* dart

Language here fails to shew thy force ;
Words are a medium faint :
The soul alone contains that source,
Which eloquence can't paint.

Is it the nerves fine texture wrought ?
Or dwells it in the brain ?
Is it abstract ethereal thought,
Which does the spark retain ?

Thy joys near verge upon distress ;
Thin barriers form the line.
We almost wish thy raptures less ;
Thy beams less keen to shine.

In social life, how soft thy charms,
When kindred spirits meet !
Thy thrilling joy each bosom warms,
In bowers of calm retreat.

E'en *beauty's* self's a lifeless form,
If thou grace not the whole ;
Thy touch can plainest features warm,
And draw their speaking soul.

Without thy influence, what is love ?
Gross, sensual, unrefined !
But roused by *thee*, the heart does move
To hail its kindred mind.

As *chaos* lay, a fordid heap,
When first creation sprung ;
A dark abyss, profound and steep,
Then lighted by no sun ;

God's spirit darted forth a ray—
Earth instant felt delight :
At once shone forth refulgent day,
Dispelling gloomy night.

Thus dost thou wake us from the sleep,
Which dull *Indifference* sheds
May she remote her mansion keep,
Nor hover o'er our heads !

Yet if in future 'tis my lot
To meet some gloomy mind,
Be every former scene forgot,
Where joy and peace were joined.

For sure the height of human woe,
Is to compare the past,—
(If soft did soothing moments go,
Short moments! not to last.)

To view lost bliss and present pain,
And mourn the change severe—
The mind cannot the task sustain,
Without a bitter tear!

The view swift steals all peace away;
Keen feelings prove our curse;
Our peace the poisoned dart does slay,
And former joys reverse.

Then *Sensibility* no more
Breathes forth her group of joys;
She, the dread portress, bars our door,
And every scene annoys.

If *thorns* and *brambles* strew our road,
A coat of mail let's wear,
(Best fitted for the harsh abode,)
Lest darts our bodies tear.

Then in thy room, *celestal* power!
Let cold *Indifference* stay;
Drag heavy through life's tasteless hour,
And faunter time away!

So if I breathe no raptured wish,
I shun each pang severe;
I shall each keen vexation hush,
With dull *Indifference* near.

LAURA:

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

ODE to AUTUMN and HUMANITY.

(By the same.)

SEE! bounteous *Autumn* pours his goods,
In rich profusion round!
What various tinges dye the woods!
What plenty decks the ground!

The dulcet apple's sprightly juice,
The purple loaded vine,
With joint consent their wealth produce,
And in thronged clusters twine.

The bursting barns, with *Ceres'* grains,
Unlock their golden stores;
Reaped from the mellow, fertile plains,
Where earth her treasure pours.

Taste, colour, form, at once combine,
To cheer the heart of man;
Declare Jehovah's fond design,
His grand paternal plan.

Let mild *Humanity* appear,
And tenderly impart
Some social good, some action dear,
To heal misfortune's smart.

We all one general parent claim,
Which should unite our race:
Those souls that from the Eternal came,
Should all, in love, embrace.

Each favour sent is but a hint,
To raise the sluggish mind.
Since heaven does not its bounties stint,
Shall mortals prove unkind?
Montgomery County. POMONA.

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

VERSES written near the GRAVE of a
YOUTHFUL FRIEND.

FORLORN, from shade to shade I rove,
By Friendship's sacred spirit led,
Where horror wraps the twilight grove,
That, glooming, seems to mourn the
dead.

Dear youth! tho' hence I wander far,
Thy fate will cloud each rising morn;
And, lo! with evening's dewy star,
My tears shall bathe thy distant urn.

Remembrance often, with a sigh,
Shall view the spot where many a maid,
And many a swain, with swimming
eye,
The tender rite of sorrow paid.

How few the sighs of Virtue mourn!
For few, alas! the friends she knows—
Yet, here she moves, a pilgrim lorn,
To bid her son in peace repose.

With sculpture let the marble groan,
Where Flattery mocks the lifeless ear—
How nobly far thy nameless stone,
Embalmed by Pity's simple tear.

W.

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

ODE to LOUISA; on SPRING.

SEE, Louisa! spring appears
In our western climes again—
Now each prospect doubly cheers,
That was bound in winter's chain.

See you joyful sun arise,
And expand his genial ray !
Soft the breezes fan the skies,
From each morn to close of day.

Yonder amaranthine flowers,
Scent the air with sweet perfume ;
And are visited by showers,
Which reanimate their bloom.

Yet how oft have we observed,
Many a garden flower decayed,
That due caution had preserved,
Ere its honours yet did fade.

Thus, dear girl ! does Danvil grieve,
When he's fevered from thy arms ;
Nought his sorrows can relieve,
But his fair Louisa's charms.

Thou, his bosom's better part,
Art more sweet to him than spring.
Bud of beauty ! void of art,
Still could he thy praises sing.

When, ah when, shall spring return,
To that bosom, cold as snow !
When shall Danvil cease to mourn,
And forget each rising woe !

Shall he ne'er those smiles regain,
That his longing eyes forsook ?
Or ne'er join the festive train,
Where those smiles he once partook ?

Fond Remembrance brings to light,
Bliss that he oft used to share,
(Scenes of youth, and fond delight !)
And oft tells him "Such things were!"

Yet if e'er, in spring's fair morn,
Thou shouldst thro' these vallies rove,
May, oh may Remembrance warm
Thy cold heart, with Danvil's love !

LYRICUS.

Philadelphia, April, 1792.

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

EPIGRAMS; addressed to a LADY who
PAINTED.

(From the French.)

I.

CANDOUR said I did my duty,
Cloris! when I praised your beauty ;
But the druggist overhearing,
Said it was beyond all bearing—
Her beauty ! said th' astonished wight,
You deprive me of my right !
It shall be her's, I'll grant your will,
When, for the paint, she pays my bill.

II.

Let low bred cits of their finances boast,
Yours must by far exceed all common
cost ;
Tho' they oft sport new liveries, and new
lace,
You every day can sport a span new face.

III.

Transcendent artist ! matchless skill is
thine,
To do thee justice mocks my weak design ;
Since to thy skill the faint attempt must
fail,
Who'rt copy, painter, and original.

IV.

Cloris ! 'tis just we on your charms be-
stow
The rose's coral, and the lily's snow ;
With such as these they must relation
claim,
Their birth, their beauty, and their fall
the fame ;
Like those they flourish with the morning
light,
And fade at noon, or disappear at night:

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

The BRIDEGROOM.

FLY swift, ye lazy minutes ! fly,
With love's impetuous speed ;
And bring the happy hour, when I
A husband's right shall plead :—
To airy hope, substantial joy
Shall rapidly succeed.

Yes ! when I seize those various charms,
Of all I hoped secure,
I'll clasp my treasure in my arms,
And think a monarch poor.—
Hymen shall sound to soft alarms,
While Cupid guards the door.

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

To MIRA, who wished to be accomplished.

TO make thee in external beauty shine,
Neatness in dress may all its powers
combine ;
But to confirm thee beauteous, good, and
wise,
Nature and virtuous precepts will suffice.
Still be their tenets on thy mind im-
pressed ;
And thus be fair, be honoured, and be
blest.

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

HISTORICAL SKETCH of the PROCEEDINGS of CONGRESS, in the session which commenced, at Philadelphia, on the 24th of October, 1791.

WE have already presented our readers with the most important official papers laid before congress, during the late session, by the president of the united states; and also, with such reports, of the heads of departments, as were of a general or public nature. And, in doing this, we have exhibited a view of the most material objects of legislative discussion. In the laws of this session, which we have also published, the result of the deliberations of congress, so far as they terminated in legislative acts, has already appeared. In order to complete our *congressional history*, it remains that we give a view of the intermediate progress of the business, through both houses of congress. This will necessarily occasion us to introduce a sketch of the debates, in the house of representatives, particularly on such subjects as may be deemed the most interesting to the public. The senate having hitherto persevered in keeping their doors shut, the public must not expect much information respecting the deliberations of that branch of the federal legislature. Like the mysteries of freemasonry, the reasons of their conduct, it seems, are never to be divulged. Even the arguments against opening their doors, (if any such arguments have been used,) have not been made public; although this would seem proper, for the satisfaction of that numerous class of citizens, who have publicly expressed their disapprobation, of the secret manner in which legislative questions are decided upon in that house. May not a greater part of those murmurings, and of that want of confidence in the government, which have, for some time past, been gaining ground amongst us, be justly ascribed to this mysterious conduct of the senate. We apprehend they may—And, if so, the evil will probably increase, while its cause is suffered to exist. It is, indeed, impossible that a free government should long be maintained, in any country, the citizens of which are kept in the dark, with respect to public measures. If rulers will exact obedience from the people, they must not treat them like slaves; they must convince them of the reasonableness and propriety of the laws, or they will not continue to respect and obey them. If they should, they would be unworthy of freedom. If, like the idolaters, who erected an altar “To the unknown God,” a people are content *ignorantly* to obey, they are slaves, in the worst sense of the word—slaves, of their own choice. We feel too deep an interest in the freedom and welfare of our country to suppress these sentiments. We, however, advance them with the more confidence, because we are convinced that they are not our sentiments alone, but those of a large majority of our fellow-citizens, throughout the united states*. If, as it has been contended by many, the state-governments are likely to have their powers encroached upon, by that of the union, it would be an injustice to the state-legislatures, to suppose, that they will be so negligent of their own or the people’s rights, as to re-elect any of their federal senators, who have voted against opening the doors of that body. The house of representatives might, with equal propriety, shut their doors also; but this they will scarcely attempt, while they are immediately responsible to the people, by being rendered dependent upon them for their seats, at the end of every two years.

The narrow limits within which we must comprise this sketch, will oblige us to omit all debates on subjects of a private or trivial nature, that we may be enabled to dwell longer upon those of primary importance. It might, in general, be sufficient to state the substance of the arguments, on both sides of a question; but as it is of material consequence, that the people should be made acquainted with the principles and conduct of their particular representatives, we shall, occasionally, introduce the individual speakers, on subjects of general importance, and also give lists of the *yeas* and *nays*.

* Besides the numerous popular complaints on this subject, in the public prints, the legislatures of several of the states, have passed resolutions, expressive of their disapprobation of the secrecy observed in the senate of the united states, when acting in a legislative capacity.

On the 24th of October, 1791, the day appointed, by law, for the first meeting of the second congress, under the present frame of government, a quorum of both houses attended. This punctuality was the more laudable, and worthy of notice, on account of the great distance at which many of the members reside, from the seat of government, and from each other. Jonathan Trumbull, of Connecticut, was elected speaker of the house of representatives, and John Beckley, clerk.

On the 25th, both houses met in the senate-chamber, where they were addressed by the president of the united states, in a speech of considerable length, in which he descanted upon the prosperous situation of the united states—stated a variety of objects which had engaged the attention of the executive, during the recess, and concluded by recommending a number of important subjects to their attention. He particularly instanced the rapidity with which the subscription to the bank of the united states had been filled, as a proof, “not only of confidence in the government, but of resource in the community.” He mentioned the various measures which had been taken, to conciliate the friendship of the Indians, and the partial success with which those measures had been attended. He lamented that the perseverance of some of the savage tribes, in their hostile conduct, had rendered offensive operations necessary, on the part of the united states; but overtures of peace, he observed, were still continued. He concluded this part of his speech with sundry proposals, for promoting the happiness of the Indians, and attaching them to the united states, in which he observed, that “a system corresponding with the mild principles of religion and philanthropy, towards an unenlightened race of men, whose happiness materially depends on the conduct of the united states, would be as honorable to the national character, as conformable to the dictates of sound policy.” He observed, that some discontents had arisen, in consequence of the excise law, and recommended the subject to the further deliberation of congress. “If there are,” said he, “any circumstances in the law, which, consistently with its main design, may be so varied as to remove any well-intentioned objections, that may happen to exist, it will consist with a wise moderation to make the proper variations. It is desirable, on all occasions, to unite with a steady and firm adherence to constitutional and necessary acts of government, the fullest evidence of a disposition; as far as may be practicable, to consult the wishes of every part of the community, and to *lay the foundation of the public administration in the affections of the people.*”—The last sentence of this extract ought never to be forgotten, by those to whom it was addressed, so long as they continue to discharge the important trust committed to them, as legislators. The president further informed congress that a district, for the permanent seat of government, had been fixed, during the recess, and a city laid out; that the census of the inhabitants of the united states, (of which formal returns had been received from all the districts, except that of South-Carolina) afforded the pleasing assurance, that the population of the country bordered on four millions of persons; that a foreign loan had been negotiated, on favourable terms, and another was depending; that two treaties, which had been provisionally concluded, with the Cherokees, and six nations of Indians, would be laid before the senate, for their consideration and ratification; that the subscriptions to the loans, in the domestic and state debts, had been so considerable, as to shew, at once, the satisfaction of the public creditors with the terms which had been proposed, and their disposition to consult the convenience of the government; that, as the time limited for receiving subscriptions was expired; that part of the debt of the united states, which remained unsubscribed, would naturally engage their further deliberations; and that the revenues which had been established, promised to be adequate to their objects, and would supercede the necessity of laying any new burthens on the people, if no unforeseen exigency should occur. He referred, generally, to former communications, for several objects, upon which, in consequence of the urgency of other affairs, no definitive resolutions had been taken; but particularly mentioned the militia, the post-office and post-roads, the mint, a standard of weights and measures, and a provision for the sale of the vacant lands of the united states, which were pledged as a fund for redeeming the public debt. He made some remarks on the importance of these several objects. A liberal and comprehensive plan for the establishment of the post-office and post-roads, he considered as greatly desirable, as well on account of the expedition, safety, and facility of communication, as of their “instrumentality in diffusing a knowledge of the laws and proceedings of the government; which, while it contributes to the

security of the people. serves also to guard them against the effects of misrepresentation and misconception."

On the following day, the house of representatives formed itself into a committee of the whole, on the president's speech. MR. VINING moved a resolution to the following effect :

" *Resolved*, That it is the opinion of this committee, that an address should be presented to the president of the united states, by the house of representatives, in answer to his speech, to congratulate him on the prosperous situation of the united states—expressive of the approbation of the house, of the wise and prudent measures he has pursued during their recess, in the execution of the duties committed to his charge ; promising speedy attention to the important and momentous objects recommended to their consideration, and expressing their approbation of the humane and effectual steps taken, under his direction, for the defence of the western frontiers."

This resolution was objected to by Messrs Lawrance and Sedgwick, Smith (S. C.) and Livermore, upon the principle, that it expressed the sense of the house upon points which required further information and investigation, before the house could, with propriety, determine. It was difficult to say, before proper documents were laid before the house, whether the measures adopted for the defence of the western frontiers were the most prudent that could be adopted. It was impossible, positively to assert, that the president, in the execution of the duties assigned him in carrying into effect the excise act, had done all for the best. Every member that spoke agreed in expressing his individual opinion, that no doubt the president had acted with his wonted prudence and wisdom, in the execution of the trusts reposed in him ; but also agreed that it was improper, indeed that it was no compliment paid to the president, to approve before a formal examination.

In answer to these objections it was observed, that so far as circumstances had been known to the members, relative to the steps taken by the president during the recess of the federal legislature, so far they claimed the approbation of the house, and that the opinion of the house was only meant to be given, as far as they were informed. It was urged, that the answer of the house should be a candid expression of their feelings ; feelings which the prosperous situation of the country undoubtedly called forth, and which the issue of the measures adopted could not fail to excite.

Several modifications were proposed to the resolution, which was finally agreed to, in substance as follows, viz.

" *Resolved*, That an answer be returned to the president's address, containing assurances of speedy attention to the important objects recommended to the consideration of the legislature." Thus modified, the resolution was reported to, and adopted by the house.

An answer, corresponding, in substance, with this resolution, was accordingly prepared, and presented to the president. The answer of the senate was nearly similar.

The several objects recommended to the deliberation of congress, by the president, were referred to committees, that which respected the operation of the excise law excepted, which was referred to the secretary of the treasury.

One of the earliest as well as one of the most important subjects of discussion, in the house of representatives, was the census lately taken, and the apportionment of representatives, agreeably thereto, among the several states. No question involved a greater variety of local and discordant interests than this. Although the most convenient ratio of representation for the union ought to have been principally taken into view, yet it is evident, from the debates, that the question was not altogether considered upon general principles, abstracted from state interests. Various calculations were made, to show the advantages or disadvantages that would result to particular states, according to every ratio of representation that was proposed. Whatever might be the proportion fixed upon, it was evident that inequalities in the fractions, or unrepresented remainders of population, in the several states, must inevitably take place. But, then, it was an object with members, who were influenced by partial interests, that their respective states should sustain the least possible disadvantage in this way. It was probably owing to this difficulty, that the representation bill underwent a very tedious discussion ; was several times resumed in the course of the session, and was not finally decided upon till it had been before congress upwards of five months.

On the 31st of Oct. MR. LAWRENCE moved, in committee of the whole, that, till the next enumeration, the numbers of representatives should be in the proportion of *one* to every *thirty thousand* inhabitants.

MR. LIVERMORE said he was apprehensive the motion would be premature, till the fate of an amendment to the constitution proposed to the people, was known; that amendment says that the ratio of representation shall be one to every 30,000 persons, till the number of representatives amounts to 100—after which the ratio is to be one to 40,000—If this amendment is agreed to, the resolution on the table will contravene its operation; if the amendment is not adopted, and, said he, I heartily wish it never may be, we should on the proposition now moved, have a larger house than that amendment contemplates: he was opposed to so large a number of representatives as would be consequent on the plan proposed, and concluded by enquiring, whether the above amendment had been adopted by the requisite number of the legislatures

On examination, it did not appear that a sufficient number of the states had made returns respecting the amendments, to determine the question.

MR. SEDGWICK said, the constitution provided that the number of representatives should not exceed one for every 30,000, but congress might increase the number of constituents of each member; he read the result of a calculation of the number of representatives which would be returned, on a supposition of there being one to 30, 33, 34 and 40 thousand persons; according to the present census, supposing South-Carolina to contain 240,000 persons, 30 thousand would give 110; 33, 104, 34, 10, and 40 thousand, 82 members.

Judging from the sense of the people, so far as it could be collected from what had been done respecting the proposed amendment on this subject, he was of opinion, that the ratio which would meet the general approbation, was that which would give about 100 members in the house of representatives.

MR. LIVERMORE was in favour of a ratio, which would give the smallest number that was mentioned by the gentleman.

MR. WHITE said, that the general sentiment of the people was perhaps more fully known on the subject before the committee, than on any other that could come before them. Among the objections to the constitution, the smallness of the representation was very generally one. An increase of the number of this house is expected. It has been said by the enemies of the constitution, that congress will never consent that there shall be a representative for every 30,000 persons. The time is now come when the question is to be determined; and I hope, said Mr. White, that congress will act with the utmost liberality on the occasion; and that they will not diminish the number of representatives

MR. DAYTON said, he considered the subject in a different light from the gentleman last up: He supposed the sense of the people, at the present day, was opposed to a great increase of the number of representatives. He thought that one to 40,000 persons would give the most eligible number, but was willing to meet the gentleman half way, and proposed to insert the word *five* between "thirty" and "thousand," in the resolution.

MR. SENEV observed, that the subject was too important, in his opinion, to come to a sudden decision upon, especially as many of the members of the house had not arrived.

He moved; therefore, that the committee should rise, report, and ask leave to sit again. The committee accordingly rose.

On the 3d of November, this subject was resumed, in committee of the whole, and was very fully discussed, on this and several subsequent days.

MR. DAYTON moved, as an amendment to Mr. Lawrence's motion, that the word *thirty*, before *thousand*, should be struck out, leaving the blank to be afterwards filled up.

MR. CLARK observed, that it was well known that great uneasiness prevailed among the people, in various parts of the union, on account of the salaries and compensations to the officers of government; the expense of supporting the government was increasing, and it must therefore be contrary to the general wishes of the people, to enlarge the representation, which would add to the public burthen, without being productive of any advantage. He was in favour, therefore, of the motion for striking out *thirty*, and would then move to insert *forty*.

MR. WILLIAMSON, after a few preliminary remarks on the several calculations that different members had made, and applying the various results to the population of the small states in particular, observed, that such a ratio should be adopted, as would leave the fewest fractions, and at the same time do as much justice as possible to those states. With respect to the general question, he thought the people were divided in opinion; some were in favour of a large representation, others were opposed to a great addition to the present number. The expence of supporting the government is great; the people realize that in the nature of things it must increase. This consideration should lead to adopt a medium, and, if possible, to fix on a ratio that might give general satisfaction. At all events, he wished that congress would reserve to itself the power of increasing the number of representatives, in case the sentiments of the people should be in favour of the measure. He observed, that the lowest number of constituents which had been mentioned, was thirty thousand, and the highest forty—if gentlemen could not agree in either, he hoped they would adopt the medium.

MR. LAWRENCE objected to striking out *thirty*. This subject, said he, has been canvassed throughout America; innumerable are the pamphlets and newspaper publications which have appeared, in all parts of the united states. The smallness of the representation was early objected to; and it was very generally expected, that, when the amendments to the constitution took place, one representative to every 30,000 persons would be the established ratio. The majority of the publications on this subject, the various amendments proposed by the states, all plainly declare that the sense of the people is in favour of one for every 30,000.

And what, said he, are the objections? It is said that the public business will be impeded by a large number of members in the house, and that the expence will increase the public burthens of the people. With respect to the first objection, it seems to be a general idea of gentlemen, that about 100 members would be the most eligible number: the proposed ratio will give about 112; an addition of ten or twelve cannot embarrass the public business. The objection on account of an increase of the expence, he did not consider as well-founded. The increase of the representation will be in proportion to the increase of the people, who pay for the support of the government. The objection he could not consider, therefore, of sufficient weight, to deter congress from establishing such a ratio, as would give a representation fully competent to doing full justice to every part of the union.

The government, said he, is a government by representation, and it is of the last importance that the confidence of the people should be inspired, by feeling that their interests are fully represented. He observed, that increasing the ratio would undoubtedly excite uneasiness and complaint in some of the states, by diminishing their present representation.

MR. GERRY observed, that in all the decisions of the legislature, they ought to follow, as far as possible, the opinion of the great body of the people. If this opinion, said he, should be found to be against the ratio of thirty thousand, the amendment ought to be adopted; but if we refer to the amendments proposed by the conventions to the constitution, we shall find that five states were in favour of one representative to every thirty thousand persons, till the number shall amount to two hundred. None of the propositions now moved as amendments to the motion of the gentleman from New-York, amount to that number. Several others of the conventions were of opinion, that the representation was too small to secure the liberties of this country. This government, said he, is a government of representation; the people may control their representatives, but their influence is small in respect to the senate and the executive, and still less over the officers of government. On what then do the people depend for checking encroachments, or preventing abuses? On their representatives. If these should be too few, or if they should fail them, they never can redress their grievances without having recourse to violence. If the number is small, a majority may be the more easily corrupted; on the other hand, too large a number will be attended with difficulties; a medium then is most eligible. An adequate number is absolutely necessary. To shew that one to thirty thousand would not produce more than an adequate number, he referred to the ratio of representatives in England and France, in which there was a greater proportion of representatives than in the legislature of the united states.

It had been objected to an increase of representatives, that it would lead to encroachments on the part of the general government, over those of the individual governments. He thought that the reverse of the objection was true, and instanced the opinion and plan of gov. Hutchinson of Massachusetts, who proposed and advised a reduction of the representation of Massachusetts, as a necessary step, in order to effect the designs of Great-Britain. Decreasing the number, therefore, would be lessening, in proportion, the security of the liberties of the people.

He then adverted to the objection arising from the additional expense; but, he observed, after congress shall have passed a few more of the most important acts, it is not probable that the public business will in future require, that the sessions should be for more than four months annually—this would reduce the expense greatly, in the first instance; and, agreeably to a late calculation, an addition of forty-seven members to the present number, would make the aggregate expense but about one eighteenth part more than at present, supposing the sessions to be four months long—But he considered the objection on account of the expense as merely speculative.

Although congress is not positively bound by the constitution to give one member for every thirty thousand inhabitants, yet he would ask, whether the citizens of the united states did not expect that this ratio would be adopted? and whether they would not consider it as an abuse of power, if congress, instead of one to thirty thousand, should settle the representation at one to forty thousand? Eight states had already adopted the first article of the proposed amendments to the constitution; and if the house should either settle the number of the representative body, as it now stands, or reduce it, or establish it at one hundred, perhaps they might, before the end of the session, be obliged to repeal their act; as they would be bound by the amendment, as soon as it was ratified by a sufficient number of states. If gentlemen thought it probable, that the proposed amendment would be ratified by the several states, they ought already to consider it as a rule for their conduct, and be restrained by it, from giving less than one representative for thirty thousand inhabitants. When the representation should amount to one hundred, congress would no doubt, have a right to fix it there, until it should be increased by the ratio of one to forty thousand: but that was a power, which, he presumed, congress would not exercise; but that they would then establish some ratio, by which the increase of representation might be made to keep pace with the increase of population, until the house should consist of two hundred members.

MR. BOUDINOT was convinced of the propriety of striking out the word *thirty*. The house ought to consider what would be an adequate number, for doing the business of the union; and that number ought not to be exceeded, except to answer some very valuable purpose. Business would proceed with difficulty, if the representation was so numerous, as it would become by the ratio of one to thirty thousand. The present representation of the united states was in a ratio very different from that of one to thirty thousand; and yet he thought it fully adequate. From a rough calculation, he said, that the ratio of thirty thousand would produce one hundred and thirteen members; thirty-five thousand would give ninety-seven; and forty thousand would produce eighty-one. If the number once settled, was to rest there, he would not be over anxious to oppose the increase; but if gentlemen would take into view the increase consequent on the next enumeration, they would find that the number must by far exceed the due bounds.

The increase of expense had been mentioned. He thought it would greatly exceed the calculation of the gentleman, and, for his part, although he was willing to tax the people for the necessary purposes of government, yet he would never consent to subject them to unnecessary burdens. Every man must see, that if the number was doubled, it would take almost double the time to do the business, as every member would have an equal right to deliver his sentiments, and thus protract their deliberations.

He thought the people of the united states would be duly represented, and to their entire satisfaction, if the ratio was set higher than thirty thousand; nor could he imagine that such an exact proportion, between the representatives and the represented, was at all requisite to secure their liberties, or to do the necessary business of government. This, indeed, might be the case, if the power vested in congress was proportionate to their number; but since the house would possess the same powers, whether it consisted of a greater or a smaller number, he thought the people

equally secure in either case. The ratio of thirty-five thousand, which would produce ninety-seven members, would, in his opinion, be a very proper one. If, however, the people should think otherwise, they had it in their power to correct the mistake, by ratifying the proposed amendment. Their not having as yet ratified it, was to him an argument, that they thought the ratio too low; or, at least, that they considered the question as doubtful. Some of the states, he observed, had postponed the consideration of the amendment; and eight only had agreed to it. On the whole, the house might safely adopt the ratio of one to thirty-five thousand; for that the increasing population of the united states would ever supply a representation, sufficiently numerous to answer every good purpose.

MR. STEELE was in favour of the motion for striking out *thirty*. In discussing the important subject before the committee, he observed that there were two enquiries to be attended to. What is the proper number to constitute a representative body for the united states, and what ratio will leave the fewest fractions in the respective states? One member to thirty thousand, he conceived, would give too numerous a representation; and according to the present number of inhabitants, it would almost double the present number; it would divide and diminish the responsibility, make the house too unwieldy, retard public business, and increase the public expenses unnecessarily. An adequate representation, he thought, might be comprised within a much smaller number.

Gentlemen, said he, have called our attention to the house of commons in Great-Britain, and the national assembly of France; but God forbid that we should draw our precedents from such examples as may be cited from European representation.

He was opposed to thirty thousand as the ratio—it would, in fractions throughout the united states, leave above three hundred and sixty-nine thousand citizens unrepresented. Thirty-five thousand, he thought the most eligible number, as it would leave the fewest fractions.

Some gentlemen, continued he, seem to favour the ratio of thirty thousand, because that number has been recommended by some of the conventions, in their proposed amendments to the constitution; but he hoped that no decision would be founded on those subsequent amendments—It would be well to recollect the sentiments of gentlemen in the several conventions; in many of them, they were agreed to, without any wish or expectation that they should ever be taken into consideration, and therefore, he thought, that no argument ought to be drawn from them—neither ought congress to be influenced by the example of the state governments. Business is so transacted in most of them, on account of their numerous representation, that there is very little permanency, or consistency in their systems. Too numerous an assembly is perpetually liable to disorder—and when that is the case, government becomes contemptible—this consideration, he said, had greater weight with him than an additional expenditure of a few dollars. He again objected to any example from Great-Britain or France; their assemblies, he said, were too numerous and unwieldy to transact business without confusion—and, compared with what he considered as an adequate number, were mere mobs.

With respect to the proposed amendments, he said, they had not been adopted by three fourths of the states; and thence he inferred that they would be finally rejected.

He thought the amendment respecting the ratio of representatives, not so good as the original clause in the constitution—and said he would not hesitate to declare, that it ought never to be adopted as a part of it. It had been said, that the voice of America was in favour of the ratio of thirty thousand; were this the case, he would obey the voice of America—but he believed that the opinion of enlightened America was, that forty or fifty thousand would not be too high a ratio. He should prefer either of those numbers, to thirty or thirty-five thousand, were it not on account of the fractions that would remain. He concluded, by saying he should vote for thirty-five thousand.

MR. LAWRENCE agreed that an adequate number was the great object to be attended to; but he contended that the original motion would give this number more completely than a larger ratio; and it ought to be considered, that before the next enumeration, it would not be, probably, more than one to fifty thousand. As to the increase of expense, he observed that the great objects being accomplished, the future sessions will be short; besides which, the compensation of the members may be diminished; but he considered a necessary increase in the expense, to be fully coun-

terbalanced, by affording greater security to the liberties of the people. The firmness of a government depended on a strong executive; but this executive should be founded on a broad bottom—and the broader the basis, the more secure would be the public freedom under a vigorous executive.

The existence of the union may depend on the fulness of the representation. The inequality in the proportional increase of the number of inhabitants, in different states, ought also to be taken into consideration: for it was very probable, that, in a short time, while some of the smaller states had a representative for every thirty thousand, others would not have one to forty thousand. He said he was governed by general principles, and not by any calculations of fractional numbers. The constitution contemplated the ratio he had proposed, and therefore he hoped the motion for striking out would not obtain.

MR. GOODHUE observed, that the situation and circumstances of the government of the united states were so different from those of France or Great-Britain, that no parallel could be drawn respecting them. Nor is there, said he, an absolute similarity between this government and those of the state governments. The objects of legislation which come under the cognizance of congress, are but few, compared with those which engage the attention of the British house of commons and the national assembly of France. A much larger representation for them, and in our state legislatures, is therefore proper, than is necessary for us in the general government. He doubted the justice of the opinion, that a large representation was less liable to corruption than a small one: some facts appeared to confirm the opposite sentiment. He did not consider the expense as a material objection, if an increase of the number was necessary to doing more ample justice, or for the greater security of the liberties of the people; but as he thought this was by no means the case, he was in favour of striking out *thirty*, in order to insert a larger number.

MR. BARNWELL agreed with the gentleman last up; he said he should vote for striking out thirty, in order to substitute the largest number that had been mentioned. He entered into an abstract and philosophical discussion of the principle of representation in government—the leading sentiment was, that a large proportion of representatives was not necessary to obtain the best objects of legislation, in expressing the will of the people, or to secure the liberties of the constituent body. The great point, he observed, was to combine the greatest portion of honesty, with a due degree of activity. That number which would comprise a due proportion of these, would be competent to all the purposes of legislation, whether the number for which it legislated was ten thousand, or five hundred thousand. On this principle he was decidedly against a large number, and in favor of a small one. Adverting to the British house of commons, and the national assembly of France, with respect to the former, he said, their corruption was in a great degree owing to their numbers; as to the latter, he observed, that the national assembly had acted in his opinion politically and wisely—they set out with a large representation, in conformity to the sentiments of the people at the moment; but, on experience, finding the number too great, they had reduced it from twelve hundred to about two hundred and fifty. He believed, he said, that the general sense of the people was against a large representation in congress—the inconveniencies experienced from numerous bodies, in the state legislatures, had led several of the states to lessen the number. He instanced Georgia, South-Carolina, and Pennsylvania.

MR. BALDWIN was opposed to the motion. One representative for thirty thousand appeared to him by no means a great representation. The opinion that, of late, had been so often advanced from the press, and in public discussion, for reducing the representative branch in government to a small number, he held to be full of dangerous error. He was sensible, that the terms great and small were so merely relative in their signification, that it was difficult precisely to understand each other in the use of them. Perhaps they might, most properly, both of them, be considered as extremes. No doubt, representation, which of late seemed to be used as the character of republican government, was a great improvement upon democracy, or legislation by the whole body of the people. He could conceive that a representation might be so large, as to partake of the evils of assembling the whole body of the people; but it was a very improbable, and not a dangerous extreme: the other extreme was full of danger. These observations, said he, acquire much force, when applied particularly to the governments of this country; especially the representative part of them,

and you say the very principles of life. They stand on a different basis from the governments which have gone before them, and may justly be said to be new experiments in government; time, as yet, has scarcely given room to judge of the probable issue; but this we may pronounce, with much certainty, let the principles of representation languish, and they have no chance of success.

It had not been found practicable to ground representation, in the federal constitution, upon any other principle than that of numbers—but extent of territory was unquestionably one of the natural principles on which it rested, and would, if possible, be regarded. One for thirty-four or thirty-five thousand might be deemed a proper representation, in the kingdom of France, or of Great-Britain. The four millions, which composed the united states, if compactly settled, where there was great sameness in the country, and pretty equally distant from a common center, would be properly represented by a smaller number than in their present sparse settlement: But still farther, the settlement of the united states was a filler, stretched along the sea-coast for seventeen hundred miles, comprehending as great a variety of climate and interests as one of the other quarters of the globe. It was difficult to conceive of a situation which called for a greater extension of the principle of representation.

It had been said that one for thirty thousand would make too large and unwieldy a body; he was sensible that was a point that did not admit of being determined by any conclusive reasoning; it was a mere matter of opinion; sound judgment only could be used—time and experience would come on, and confirm or correct the opinion. In such a case, said he, it is wise to enquire how this has been judged of by others, who have had a representative body. In France, 1200 was not thought too great a representation in forming their national assembly, and the number established by their new constitution, for the stated legislature, was not 250, as the member last up had stated—but if he had not been misinformed, by the publications in this country, it was nearly 750.—In the kingdom of Great-Britain, 500 is not thought too great a representation; and can 113, which is the greatest number contended for, be considered, in this country, as a huge and impracticable mass of representation.

It had ever appeared to him, to be among the strongest marks of our youth and inexperience, that we grew wise too suddenly. He was afraid this instantaneous wisdom, which sprung up so at once, and set at naught, or moved to the extreme of absurdity and folly, the deliberate and tried opinions of the most profound and enlightened among men, in circumstances peculiarly favourable to honest decision, would itself be left by time on that extreme.

And how does this consist, he asked, with the opinions and experience of this country in the state governments? The idea had before been called up, but, in his opinion, justice was by no means done to the comparison. It had been said, that the states in general had found their representation too large, and were diminishing it. Let another view be taken of the comparison; a state will not suffer the ordinary business of its own internal legislation to be intrusted to fewer representatives, than from one to two hundred, and in some instances more; and yet, in the federal government, they are obliged to submit to a legislation, which can much more substantially affect their happiness and property, and perhaps they have there but a single representative, or at most but five or six. The slightest comparison shews that there is no manner of proportion between them, that they are irreconcilably distorted; surely gentlemen of the opposite opinion will not have the effrontery, to attempt to draw an argument from that source, for diminishing the present representation.

The several state conventions, which had thought proper to animadvert at all upon the federal constitution, had pretty uniformly expressed their wish that the representation should be increased. Theorists in government, so far as he had been informed, had generally given their opinion, that this part was too small, and out of proportion. He was as far from venerating mere theories of government as any man, and was sensible they must adjust themselves to the times and circumstances of the people; but it would not be useless to enquire, how does this appear in practice? He could say for himself, that it brought his own mind to the same conclusion, that it was the part of the federal constitution, of all others, most defective and insecure. Thirty-three members had formed the house, seventeen was a majority, and equal to the decision of any question. Questions had already occurred, involving property to the amount of from fifty to eighty millions of dollars, and much of it in the hands of the

most daring individuals, rendered desperate by their speculations. He did not say there had been any foundation for uneasy apprehensions from that quarter; but he did say, that, in other countries, it would be supposed to be a most dangerous experiment upon the passions and imperfections of human nature. But it had been said, and with an unexpected assurance, that increasing the numbers did not increase the security against these evils. If so, why not reduce it at once to the venerable number thirteen, or indeed three, which would give us as great a security as the whole body of the people? It is idle to pursue observations on such a point—the mind that can ask for reasoning upon it, can scarcely be supposed in a situation to be benefited by reasons.

The federal government, it must be admitted, is in fact pretty highly seasoned with prerogative—practice has already evinced the necessity, in many instances, of increasing it, by devolving much of the legislative power upon the executive department, arising from the difficulty of making particular provisions and details in our laws, and accommodating them to the various interests of so extensive a country. The other branch of the legislature has many traits of a perpetual, at least of a very solid constituent part of the government.

He did not mention these as imperfections in the government, they were perfections, if the other parts could be in due proportion; but it was surely a sound reason against taking positive measures at this time to diminish the representative branch; for his own part, he was not well satisfied as to the intention. If there was any reason to apprehend that the government would depart from the point on which it was first placed, he could scarcely suppose that any one could be honestly alarmed, with the fear that the departure would be towards democracy. He concluded, by expressing his hopes, that the representation to the next congress would be fixed at one for thirty thousand, as it had hitherto been, and that the motion for striking out would not prevail.

MR. FINDLEY declared himself to be in favour of one representative for every 30,000 persons. The opinion of the people, he said, should be the guide of the committee; that opinion he conceived to be in favour of the ratio he had mentioned.

The representation ought, as nearly as possible, to express not only the will, but to participate in the wishes and interests of the people. A large representation would embrace these interests more fully, and be more competent to giving and receiving information. The objects of legislation were such as came home to the doors, to the feelings of every man; the government ought therefore to secure the confidence of the people, by a large representation. The expense he considered as trifling, compared to the benefits. The people expected, and were willing to pay for being well governed, and having their liberties secured. An increased representation, he considered as an additional security against corruption. As to delays occasioned by a numerous body, he observed, that the representatives were chosen to deliberate, and to mature every subject before decision. He instance the advantages derived from the numerous representations in France and Ireland; the former had framed a constitution in two years, for twenty-six millions of citizens, and provided for securing the liberties of their country; and the latter had proved a successful barrier, against the encroachments of the arbitrary power of England. He concluded, by asserting that the voice of the people was in favour of the amendment proposed to the constitution, which would give one representative to every 30,000 persons.

MR. GILES said, this subject had struck him in two points of view: Whether congress were not precluded from exercising any discretion on the subject; and whether, if they were not, it was expedient for them to exercise that discretion at this time. The ratio of representation was, he said, a constitutional, and not a legislative act. He referred to the constitution, in which it is said that there shall be one representative to every state; and secondly, that, until the enumeration, the number should be as therein appointed to each state: after the enumeration, the number is mentioned below which it shall not be placed; but there is a negative power to increase the ratio, and from this negative power, a positive discretionary power is inferred. But, he observed, that congress had precluded itself from a right to exercise this discretionary power, by sending out to the several state legislatures an amendment on this very subject. This amendment he considered in a jealous point of view; and had this idea been attended to, at the commencement of the discussion, he conceived that it would have prevented the opinion from being brought forward.

whether it was expedient that any change in the ratio of the representation should take place. The idea of one to 30,000, he considered as fully settled in the minds of the people; and a change on the part of the government, would indicate a changeable disposition, and a mutability of councils, which is but another name for weakness.

The sense of the people had been resorted to, by gentlemen on both sides of the question. This, if it could be ascertained, would undoubtedly be the best guide; and he thought those in favour of one to 30,000 had, with great propriety, referred to the conventions, and to the acts of congress itself. But the amendments were said to have been a matter of compromise, insincerely acceded to by the majority; but even on this ground, he conceived that the sense of the people was equally as well declared. He, however, differed from gentlemen, in respect to the motives which produced those amendments. In the state he came from, both federalists and antifederalists were fully of opinion, that further security, as to the representation, was requisite. The numerous representations of the states, whatever inconveniences might attend them, plainly shewed the sense of the people on this subject.

He then took a view of the objects of legislation of the state assemblies, and of those of the general government: in the former, he said, above 1000 persons were employed, though their attention was confined to their internal policy; those of the general government, on the other hand, were on the great objects of the whole finance of the union, a sum of more than eighty thousand millions of dollars, &c. &c.

It is said that we shall want abilities; but I should be sorry if a representation of ten times the present number of this house, should comprise the abilities of a single state.

He assigned different causes, for the corruption in the British house of commons: among these were the frequent mortgages of the funds, and the immense appropriations at the disposal of the executive—the mode of their elections &c. A large number, he observed, is not so easily corrupted as a small body.

An inequality of circumstances, he then observed, produces revolutions in governments, from democracy to aristocracy and monarchy. Great wealth produces a desire of distinctions, rank, and titles. The revolutions in property in this country, have created a prodigious inequality of circumstances. Government has contributed to this inequality. The bank of the united states is a most important machine, in promoting the objects of this monied interest. This bank will be the most powerful engine to corrupt this house: some of the members are directors of this institution, and it will only be by increasing the representation, that an adequate barrier can be opposed to this monied interest. He next adverted to certain ideas, which he said had been disseminated through the united states; and here he took occasion to observe, that the legislature ought to express some public disapprobation of these opinions. The strong executive of the government ought to be balanced by a full representation. He hoped the motion to strike out 30,000 would not be adopted.

MR. PAGE. I can no longer refrain from expressing my sentiments, respecting the question before the committee; not only because I wish, if possible, to remove the error, which I think several members, for whom I have the highest respect, have fallen into, but because I feel myself more interested in the question, than I ever was in any one I have had to decide on.

Sir, it gave me pain to see those worthy members calculating, and coldly applying the rules of arithmetic to a subject beyond the power of numbers, to express the degree of its importance to their fellow-citizens. I was distressed, sir, to find, that in their honest zeal for securing order, dispatch of business, and dignity of members in the general legislature, they used arguments which have been applied in other countries to the establishment of insolent aristocracies; in some, tyrannical despotisms, and in others, kings; those countries which were most on their guard with the semblance of a free government.

Sir, the errors I wish to correct are these: They think that because it is *proposed*, by a *proved* amendment to the constitution, to authorise them to interfere in the business of ascertaining, and fixing the ratio of representation to the population of the united states, that congress ought, without any hesitation, to enter on that business; but I humbly conceive, that congress, as this is a delicate question, in which their own weight and importance must unite with the weight and substantial interest of their constituents, ought to listen to the suggestions of delicacy, and leave its dis-

cussion to a disinterested convention of the states. I say it appears to me no small error, to quit the plain path of legislation, marked out for us by the constitution, needlessly to wander into the field of political speculation, respecting its supposed defects.

Let me therefore advise, to leave the restriction of the numbers of members of this house to the people, or to some future congress, which can see more plainly than can now be desired, the evils of a too numerous representation. By so doing, we shall avoid, if not an improper measure, at least a rash step; at least we shall stand clear of a charge of indelicacy, and deprive our enemies of the triumph they expected in the completion of their predictions, that congress would never propose any amendments to the constitution, but such as would be subservient to their own views and aggrandizement. Let us not give the enemies of our new government cause to exult, and its friends to sigh and mourn. Let us not give our friends occasion to repeat what many have said, that so many of our citizens have been led away by theoretical writers on government, as to render it problematical, whether the American states are not at this time as much indebted to the national assembly for its remains of republican principles; as France was to congress in 1776, for their first ideas of that liberty which they now enjoy. Let us not, in this moment of general exultation of the friends to the rights of man, take a step which may damp their joy, and lead them to fear that Americans, who were foremost in the glorious career of liberty, have stopped short.

But, sir, granting that we were now sitting in full convention, convened for the sole purpose of altering that article of the constitution which respects the number of representatives, would it not become us to consider rather what was the sense of the members who framed that constitution, and what was and is the sense of their constituents and ourselves respecting it, than what may be the result of our own enquiries concerning the speculative opinions of writers on the subject of government, or even the real consequences of the most plausible theories reduced to practice in other countries.

But not to take up the precious time of this house, with relations of facts, to show what was and is the opinion of our fellow-citizens on this interesting subject, I will only state a few arguments, which have weight with me, as being in themselves evident truths, viz. Our constitution being framed by the people, and introduced to us in their name, and congress being the creatures of their will, spoken into existence by the word of their power; for congress, to lessen *their* weight, to diminish their importance, and to exclude them from as full a share in their own government, as can be consistent with the nature of it, and indeed from that share which they claim, must be impolitic and dangerous.

But granting that the people wished not a greater share in the general government, than proposed by the amendment, as it is impossible, in a country like the united states, that one man can be sufficiently informed of the opinions, wishes, and real interests of thirty-five thousand of his fellow-citizens, therefore laws might be enacted contrary to the opinions, wishes, and interests of the people, in which they might nevertheless acquiesce, sacrificing their interests for the sake of peace and quiet, to the wills of their representatives, one thirty-five thousandth part of their own number. What friend to his country would wish to see such a dangerous influence on the one hand, and such a blind submission on the other? How long could an enlightened people remain in such a state of insensibility and torpor? and what might not be the consequence of their awaking from their lethargy? If not an expensive revolution, an expensive repeal of laws. And here I will remark, that the smallest number of legislators, and they too well selected, for their wisdom and respectability, if unacquainted with their constituents, might pass well-framed laws, founded on the wisdom of other countries, and yet find them disagreeable to their constituents, and be under a necessity of repealing them; but this could not be the case, if the people had in that legislature a sufficient number of representatives, on whose fidelity, attachment, and disinterestedness, they could rely. This, sir, is a truth worthy of our attention—an ignorance of which, or inattention thereto, I suspect, has been the occasion of much political evil in the world. Happily for France, the people had such a number of representatives in the national assembly, as could engage their feeling, inform their judgment, attach their interest, and establish their confidence in

their fidelity and disinterestedness: had that number been much smaller, it is probable France would never have been delivered from oppression by their exertions.

I believe the national assembly have judged about 750 members sufficient to represent their people, which, on a supposition that they amount even to 26 millions, will be 1 representative for every 34,000; a larger representation than is proposed by the amendment before us; but, sir, it is not, and cannot be, the interest or wish of the people at large, to have a small representation in congress, under the present government. We are told, however, that, to avoid expense, the people wish it, and that, to avoid confusion in this house, we should comply with that wish. With respect to the article of expense, I think we may with propriety make use of arithmetical calculations, to find how much at 6 dollars per day paid to 1 representative, it would cost the 30,000, the number of citizens—and we have 1-50 of a cent per diem, the expense of each citizen, if to be equally divided amongst them—that is 1 cent for every 50 citizens per diem, or which must be the same thing, a cent must be paid by each citizen for every 50 days session of their representative in congress: Sir, I have the consolation to find that if our constitution had 1 representative for every 15,000 instead of 30,000, they could well afford to pay them, and that if it were even more expensive as to the payment of members, yet the people would most certainly be better satisfied with the laws, which they would then have so great a share in framing. The people see that if their interests are not well guarded, by a sufficient number of their fellow-citizens, who have a fellow-feeling, a common-interest; they may be sacrificed to the ambition of some, or the vanity of others. I trust, sir, that they do not know too well the high price they have paid for the purchase of their liberties, to be unwilling to pay a few farthings for the only possible means of preserving them. They see now, that the monarchical and aristocratical part of government is to be restrained; the former, from absolute tyranny, and the latter from an insufferable insolence, by a very numerous body of the representatives of the people alone. Americans know, sir, that monarchical governments were necessary, for the protection of weak, ignorant people, against the encroachments of ambitious and ferocious neighbours, and for the preservation of order amongst themselves; that an aristocratical form became convenient, to protect them against the oppression of tyranny; springing up out of monarchy—that this form was adapted to a small progress, in the science of government; and that these two forms, properly checked and controlled by the democratical form, are still better suited to a general knowledge of that science; that a representative government, such as their own is, every part of which is more or less pervaded by the spirit of representation, cannot by any other means be so perfectly secured, as by their having at least as full a share as they have claimed, in the democratical branch of their government.

I know, sir, that many friends of our constitution, thought that the convention did not pay a sufficient attention to the interests of their constituents, when they restrained them from having more than one representative for every 30,000 citizens. I know that there is a report, that the people are indebted to their president, even for this share of their government; and I believe, sir, if this report be true, that whatever has been so justly said of him, as compared to Fabius, to Hannibal, to Alexander, may be forgotten, when this instance of his wisdom, disinterestedness, and attachment to the interests of his fellow-citizens, will be more and more known and applauded, and be for ever engraved on the hearts of their posterity. Shall we do then, Mr. chairman, the direct representatives of the people, be less attentive to their interest, and that too respecting their share in the deliberations of their own house of representatives, than the president of their convention was? I trust not.

I will not pretend to say, however, whether, in an assembly where attempts are frequently made, to carry into effect the projects of monarchical or aristocratical juntas, the virtuous struggles of patriotic members may not produce mob-like disorders: but in an assembly like congress, where I should suppose no such question could be agitated, none which may not be discussed with temper and decency, such disorders need not be apprehended. I should suppose there would be less danger of animosities and disorderly debates in congress, amongst 1200 members, than in the British parliament, if it consisted of but 100. Where we have all but one and the same great object in view, the happiness of our country, (not the interests of a particular body of men, born with privileges insulting to the feelings and the rights of freemen,

nor, the whims of an individual, born to trample on his fellow-creatures) we can have no cause to be dissatisfied with one another.

Surely, sir, unless these gentlemen suppose the members of congress void of sense, or of every idea of decency and propriety, they cannot suppose that even 500 members would not be easily restrained within the bounds of order.

Upon the whole, sir, I conclude, that neither an apprehension of expense, nor of disorderly debates, ought to induce this committee to run the risk of being charged with indelicacy, if not, of sacrificing the interests of their constituents. I hope, therefore, that the worthy and ingenious members, who, by supporting the amendment, have produced a full discussion of the question, will now join with me, and a great majority, in voting against it.

MR. STEEL said, he should not have troubled the committee again, if his observations had not been distorted, by the remarks which had been made on them; he hoped that what he should offer, on some of the opinions which had fallen from gentlemen in opposition to him, would be received with that candor with which he should deliver them. He professed to be as warm a friend to the liberties of the people as any man, but he differed in his ideas respecting the measures which would most effectually secure them; the present question, he thought, was not particularly interesting to the liberties of the people, as the point of difference would not make a very great variation in that number of the representative body, which appeared to be the most eligible to the majority of the committee; but the principle contended for, he conceived, had a very important aspect on the stability of the government; the subject, therefore, should be considered principally with respect to legislation; the great and essential principles of which, he observed, were involved in the discussion and here he thought that our own experience was the best instructor; for the examples quoted from Great-Britain did not, in his opinion, apply to this country in all respects, the circumstances of the people of the respective countries being essentially different.

The States, experiencing the difficulties arising from numerous representative assemblies, had, in several instances, diminished them; the endless divisibility of power consequent on such numbers, had fully satisfied the people, that the want of responsibility was the pernicious effect of a large representation; they were therefore reducing those unwieldy bodies, as fast as they could. Pennsylvania, he said, appeared to be far happier since the reduction of its assembly.

A large sphere of representation gave the people a fairer opportunity to select the best characters; they could exercise their own judgments, unbiassed and uninfluenced; the trust conferred was greater, and, in proportion to its magnitude, would be the public solicitude, that it should not be improperly delegated—besides which, it is, said he, impossible, in a large sphere of representation, for candidates to practice those little arts, so common at elections; nor can they go round, and take every little demagogue of the district by the hand, to secure his vote.

As European examples had been recurred to, he would mention one circumstance, which confirmed the justice of his remarks. Those parts of Great-Britain, which are divided into the largest districts, send the smallest number of representatives, such as London and the county of Yorkshire. The latter, though containing more inhabitants than the ancient dominion, sends only two members to parliament; and the members of those two districts, it is remarkable, have always been the staunchest friends of the liberties of the people. In noticing the remarks of Mr. Giles and Mr. Findley, he said, that the object of representation was different from that of giving information to their constituents; legislation was their great business, and not making up weekly large packets, to send off to the influential characters in the districts, which the members represented on the floor of that house. The people, it is true, have a right to be informed of public measures, and it is the indispensable duty of government, to make provision for that purpose; and this ought to be done through the medium of the post-office: this medium is the only competent one, as it will open the way for that general information, which is necessary to the security, and to the liberties of the people.

With respect to security from corruption, by means of a numerous representation, he still retained his former opinion; he did not anticipate evils from that quarter.

He cited some examples, to shew what excesses a very numerous representative body may be guilty of. He then related a fact, which occurred in Virginia, the legislature of which, on a certain time, had acted in a legislative, executive, and judicial capacity, on the same occasion. He also instanced a more recent fact, in the secession from their duty, of a considerable body of the representatives of Pennsylvania: these facts demonstrated, that a numerous representative body was liable to a mobbish spirit.

He concluded, by saying, that if the ratio were at this time fixed at 30,000, it must hereafter be increased; in doing which, some serious difficulties might take place, especially in respect to those states, whose number of representatives must in that case be reduced. He thought it best, therefore, to agree at the present time on a larger ratio.

MR. CLARK said, he did not rise to trouble the house with a lengthy discourse, for he had always believed that long speeches answered no valuable purpose; he meant only to offer a few remarks on what had been said, in opposition to his former observations, and he hoped, that, although gentlemen contended for the ratio of 30,000, as the only basis whereon to found the liberties of the people, he should not be stigmatised with the name of an aristocrat, for voting in favour of a large ratio. Hitherto, he had not borne that character, and he could not suppose himself yet infected, unless he had caught the disorder since he became a member of the present house.

In reply to Mr. Findley's observation, that more wisdom would be brought into the house by increasing the ratio, he asked whether this would not also bring in more folly? for the probability is, that the ratio of both wisdom and folly will increase with the increase of numbers, and likewise of honesty and dishonesty; and with respect to the smallness of the district, or that it was safer for a small number to send a member than a greater, he was of a different opinion, as he believed, that if ever the practice of bribery should come into play in America, it would be easier for a representative to purchase a small district than a large one: if ever the liberties of the people are endangered, it will not be by the smallness of the representation, but by the corruption of electors and elections.

A gentleman from Georgia had observed, that the disposition of a great many millions of dollars had been in the hands of a quorum of the house, of whom it required only 17 to form a majority: on this Mr. Clark observed, that the old congress, which was composed of a much smaller number, were entrusted with the disposal of larger sums, and no complaint was heard of their conduct.

But there is an argument which ought to have weight in the present question. The senate, although a much smaller body than this house, are fully competent to judge of our proceedings, and of the safety of the country: indeed, said Mr. Clark, it appears very evident to me, that we are not in want of a larger number, in the house of representatives, to debate any question, if it be considered how much has already been said on the subject now before us.

MR. VINING expressed much surprize, that the subject, which to him appeared perfectly definable, should have occasioned the debate to travel so widely from the line marked out by the constitution. The pendulum seemed to vibrate between the numbers 81, 96, and 113; and should that pendulum rest on any one of them, in preference to the others, he could not suppose that it would affect the liberties of America. Why, therefore, all this extraneous argument, about a point of so easy decision? We are sent here to administer the government; the first principles of which are already fixed, so that neither branch can encroach on the other. The senate, the house of representatives, the president, have each defined powers; and whilst those remain, I shall always believe the liberties of America are inviolable.

Under this impression, Mr. chairman, I shall vote for striking out 30,000, in order to accommodate the question to a medium. But I shall do this on different principles from some other gentlemen; notwithstanding, I at the same time confess, that the ratification of the first amendment to the constitution ought to govern us in deciding this question. The spirit of the amendment appears to me clearly to imply, that we should not suffer the number of representatives to exceed one for 30,000. I am here, not as a person who shall exercise discretionary opinions, but judge by the letter of the constitution; and in this case, we may increase the number, but we cannot make it less after the enumeration. In the mean time, until that enumera-

tion is complete, the representation remains as it has been hitherto; which, I believe, may be about one member to every 40 or 41 thousand.

If we go upon theory only, I would enlarge the representation to its greatest extent, and hand down the principle to futurity, in letters of gold; that a very great representation—that democracy, is the very best government that can possibly be devised, provided it were practicable to give it stability. Next to a government, as free as theory could extend, we have the freest in the world; a government of representation, which will increase with the population of the country; but if you increase it to an extreme, you may render it tumultuous, although it may be safe.

Mr. chairman, a great deal has been said, of the necessity of planting strong guards against the invasions of influential characters. Sir, I fear no corruption; neither can I see the ground on which it can make an entry into these walls. In the British parliament I will admit that corruption has planted her standard; but that is the natural consequence of a very large representation, and a constitution widely different from ours. But to what end would corruption be attempted in this government, which is, in itself, perfectly rotatory? The president is elective every four years; the senate, by interlocations, from two to six years; and the house of representatives every two years. Then, surely, sir, there is no need of guards to prevent the encroachments of corruption; and the argument is not in the least applicable to the present system of our affairs. The difference between the state legislatures and the national one, affords another security to the citizens. They have the power of life and death, of making laws, &c. &c. and congress have a concurrent legislation in such affairs as are proper. Election forms another barrier, in favour of the liberties of the people; for whilst elections are kept pure and free, there is double security.

I agree with the gentleman from Pennsylvania, that a trifling expense is no object, compared to the security of the people; but I am sorry to hear any thing of locality, or the passions of the people introduced, for the voice of the people; for if locality and passion were to govern this house, instead of *vox populi* we should soon have occasion to term it by another name, the *vox diaboli*.

I am under no apprehensions from the stock-holders of the bank, or the speculators in the funds; for it is their interest to have a wise and good representation. The people, who are employed in the more simple path of agriculture, removed at a great distance, are not more interested in the security of the government, than the more informed stock-holder.

The state which I represent contains 59,000 inhabitants; and yet I shall feel myself acting in the line of my duty, by voting for a ratio of 34,000, as coming nearest to the spirit of the amendment.

The question was now called for, on the amendment, to strike out "thirty," which was negatived. The original resolution, that *thirty thousand* should be the ratio of representation was then carried, and reported to the house. On the question, will the house adopt the resolution, as reported by the committee? the yeas and nays being called for, it was carried in the affirmative—

Yeas—Abraham Ealdwin; Egbert Benson; John Brown; William Findley; Thomas Fitzsimons; Elbridge Gerry; William B. Giles; James Gordon; Andrew Gregg; Samuel Griffin; Daniel Heister; Daniel Huger; Israel Jacobs; Aaron Kitchell; John W. Kittera; John Laurance; Amasa Learned; Richard Bland Lee; James Madison; Andrew Moore; Frederick Augustus Muhlenberg; William Vans Murray; John Page; Josiah Parker; Joshua Seney; Upton Sheridine; Thomas Sumpter; Peter Silvester; Thomas Tredwell; Thomas Tudor Tucker; Abraham Venable; Jeremiah Wadsworth; Anthony Wayne; Alexander White, and Francis Willis.

Nays—Fisher Ames; John Baptist Ashe; Robert Barnwell; Elias Boudinot; Shearjashub Bourne; Benjamin Bourne; Abraham Clarke; Nicholas Gilman; Benjamin Goodhue; William Birry Grove; James Hillhouse; Samuel Livermore; Nathaniel Macon; Nathaniel Niles; Theodore Sedgwick; Jeremiah Smith; Israel Smith; William Smith; John Steele; Jonathan Sturges; George Thatcher; John Vining, and Artemas Ward.

Yeas, 35—nays, 23—majority, 12.

A committee was then appointed to bring in a bill, agreeably to said resolution.

The CHRONICLE.

FRANCE AND AUSTRIA.

WAR having been declared against the king of Hungary, the French ministry resolved that sundry bodies of troops should penetrate into the Austrian Low Countries. The following have since been stated as the motives for this procedure, by the minister at war, in a communication to the national assembly.—1st. That the war might be withdrawn from a frontier, but fifty leagues from Paris.—2d. To prevent the assembling of the force of the enemy; and to act before they had formed their plan of operations, fixed their magazines, and taken their ground.—3d. To seize so favourable a moment for seconding the ardour of the troops, who were eager for an attack.—4th. To give the inhabitants an opportunity of declaring their disposition, which was supposed to be friendly to the cause of liberty; and to drive from the frontiers the troops of the enemy which had forced the nation to arm.

Though the troops, he said, wanted many of their stores, it was not thought advisable to retard them in their march, and it was thought, at the same time, that the want of that discipline, so necessary to regular action, was not an obstacle that ought to stop their motions; for if it were true that the country was dissatisfied, discipline was the less necessary to the success of the troops, a regular war not being the object. The movements of the army of M. Luckner, at Strasbourg and its vicinity, were to be merely defensive, that frontier being opposite to states with whom France was not at war. The army of M. la Fayette was to be detached towards Givet, and that general was to attack Namur, in concert with M. Rochambeau.

The plan for penetrating the country was, that lieutenant-general Biron, with the advanced guard of Rochambeau's army, consisting of about 10,000 men, should appear before Mons, in order to sound the disposition of the Austrian soldiers, and of the inhabitants.—A body of cavalry, consisting of ten squadrons, commanded by M. Theobald Dillon, marechal de camp, was directed to march from Lille, at the same time, for Tournay. M. Carl was to march to Furnes, with a detachment of 1200 men. The motive for making all these movements at the same time was, to divide the attention and forces of the enemy. M. Rochambeau's army, at Valenciennes, was intended to support M. Biron.

M. Biron left Valenciennes on the 28th of April, in the morning, took possession of Quievrain that evening, dislodged the Austrians from all the posts which they occupied between that place and Mons, and arrived on the 29th, within a short distance of that city. He then perceived the Austrian army upon the heights, occupying an advantageous position, and appearing more formidable than had been expected. Nevertheless, M. Biron passed the night, between the 29th and 30th, in the presence of the enemy, and took care to inform M. Rochambeau of his situation. His army appeared to be in the best possible disposition; notwithstanding this, he soon learned that the 5th and 6th regiments of dragoons had retired. He immediately set off alone, and brought them back to the army, which he now found in the utmost agitation. The fugitives had propagated the news of their retreat, that the general had gone over to the enemy. The disorder which this false intelligence had thrown the troops into, did not fail to be perceived by the Austrians, who immediately commenced an attack, and M. Biron was forced to retire, although with bravery and firmness on the part of the French, who prevented the enemy from gaining any considerable advantage. M. Biron attempted to regain the post which he had occupied the night before at Quievrain, but this was taken possession of by the enemy, whom he found it impossible to dislodge; he was obliged therefore to push for Valenciennes. M. le Marchal de Rochambeau advanced, with three regiments, to secure the retreat of the troops. M. Biron was the last person who entered Valenciennes.

The Austrian accounts state M. Biron's loss to be 250 killed; besides a number taken prisoners; and also that five pieces of cannon fell into their hands, with a large quantity of baggage and camp equipage.

M. Dillon marched from Lille on the 28th of April, in the evening, with the intention of appearing before Tournay early next morning. He was met, three leagues from Tournay, by the enemy, who were much stronger than had been supposed.

His troops betrayed a total want of discipline; and fled in the most precipitate and disorderly manner, crying out that they were betrayed, that Dillon was an aristocrat and a traitor, and had purposely led them into an ambush. He was accordingly massacred in the most barbarous manner, by his own men; who, to satiate their brutal vengeance still further, committed his body to the flames, and, like barbarians, exulted in the deed.

The cry of treachery was also raised against M. Rochambeau, who, upon finding that he could not command the confidence of the army, and that the ministers paid no attention to his information, but issued orders directly to M. Biron, and other officers who were under him, without informing him thereof, resigned his command. He complained, in his letter, of the offensive operations which had been commenced, contrary to his advice, under the mistaken notion that the Austrian troops were ready, as soon as an opportunity was offered, to join the French standard. He had all along, he said, informed the ministers, that he saw no symptoms of such a disposition. M. Biron, who had been in view of them for two days, declared that he found the country entirely hostile. Not one patriot joined him, or gave him intelligence; not one deserter came in.

It appears that the army afterwards acknowledged the injustice they had done M. Rochambeau, and were very desirous that he should retain his command, that they might have an opportunity of atoning for their conduct. M. Luckner was appointed to succeed him; but it was expected that M. Rochambeau would be prevailed upon to continue in command, agreeably to the wishes of M. Luckner, as well as of the national assembly. The detachment which marched for Furnes was kindly received by the inhabitants, and, after taking some refreshment, returned to Dunkirk. The disasters which attended the French troops before Mons and Tournay, seem to have discouraged them from making any further incursions at present. M. Fayette has halted his army in the vicinity of Namur, where he is receiving continual reinforcements. The enthusiasm of the French soldiers appears to be astonishingly great; but they are wretchedly disciplined, impatient of control, and the armies are badly provided with provisions and military stores. The marquis has addressed his troops in an animated and forcible speech, on the necessity of their attending to order and discipline, for the establishment of which his endeavours are unremitting. The national assembly have addressed the citizens who have taken up arms, on the same subject.

We have not heard of any incursions into the French territory, by the Austrians. They seem to be waiting till their forces are united, and joined by the Prussian army, which is to be commanded by the king in person. Even when united, it is probable that they will be cautious how they venture far within the confines of France, lest they should find it a difficult matter to return. It is fortunate for France that no decisive battle has taken place. The defeats she has experienced in skirmishes may have a good effect. It is possible to beat a people into discipline. This was the case with the Americans, in the beginning of their contest with the veterans of Britain; and it is not improbable that the same consequence may be the result of the defeats which the French troops have experienced.

M. de Grave has resigned his office of minister of war, and M. Servan has been appointed in his room. A court-martial has been ordered for the trial of those dragoons of the 5th and 6th regiments who called out "treason," in the action with the enemy before Mons. Measures have been taken to bring the murderers of Dillon to justice. The minister of war has informed the national assembly that the desertions to the enemy are exceedingly numerous, and that great injury is done to the service by the continual resignation of officers. Great-Britain has given assurances, of a pacific disposition. Upon the whole, however, the complexion of French affairs is rather gloomy; but animated as the people are by the love of liberty, there is little room to doubt but that they will be ultimately triumphant over the mercenary armies that are employed against them, by despots who are endeavouring in vain to stifle that unquenchable flame of liberty, which is probably destined to extend its influence, ere long, over every part of Europe.

P O L A N D.

Such is the abhorrence with which European despots view every thing that looks like civil liberty, that the empress of Russia is preparing to invade Poland, with a

large army, for the purpose of obliging the people to relinquish their new constitution, although it was formed in peace, and agreeably to the wishes of all orders of men in the kingdom. This, to be sure, is the height of tyranny and injustice. The king having informed the diet of the expected invasion, measures have been taken to place the nation in a situation, which may enable the people to repel every attack upon their liberties.

G R E A T-B R I T A I N A N D I R E L A N D.

Late accounts from England state, that, in consequence of a disagreement in politics between Mr. Pitt and the lord chancellor Thurlow, the latter has been informed of his majesty's wish that he should resign—that, in consequence of the murder of a soldier, in a house of ill-fame, at Birmingham, fresh riots had broken out at that place—That Mr. Paine has published a third pamphlet, entitled the Crisis—That a royal proclamation has been issued against seditious writings and meetings; which appears to be levelled not only at Paine, but at the different societies which have been instituted, for the purpose of effecting a reform of the abuses in government, and particularly a parliamentary reform. New societies, however, have since been instituted, with this avowed object in view. A reform of the constitution, and not innovations seems to be the extent of the general wish. But even against a reform both ministers and parliament appear to have taken a firm stand. The king has received the thanks of parliament, and of the city of London, for his proclamation. A motion made by Mr. Fox, for the repeal of some odious penal statutes against dissenters, was negatived, in the house of commons, by a large majority. In the course of the debate on this motion, Mr. Burke inveighed, with great bitterness, against dissenters, as being friends to the revolution in France, and desirous of effecting similar innovations in the British government.

In Ireland, the government seems to have acted with considerable policy, in repealing, at this crisis, some of the penal statutes against Roman catholics, and making a further annual allowance to the presbyterian clergy. But these palliatives will not be sufficient to reconcile the people to the many oppressions under which they groan. Societies of "United Irishmen" have been formed, in almost every part of the kingdom, for the purpose of obtaining a redress of grievances; and the press continually teems with spirited publications. Paine's Rights of Man have been published, at full length, in the Irish magazines, and in most of the popular newspapers. Thus it appears, that the seeds of liberty are plentifully sown in that country; but we fear that the inequality of condition which the feudal tenures of the soil have established, will be a powerful barrier against such a reform in the government, as would effectually relieve the oppressed peasantry. Nothing less than the shock of a general convulsion, that shall overthrow all established forms, will answer this great end.

U N I T E D S T A T E S.

P H I L A D E L P H I A. July 14th.

Considerable damage was done by a party of Indians, at and round the town of Frankfort, in Kentucky, about the middle of May. They were pursued over the Ohio by a party of volunteers, who found the savages too strong to be attacked, and returned without doing any thing.

The foundation of an academy is now laying in the town of Newark, New-Jersey. This building, it is said, will, when finished, be at least equal to any edifice for this purpose in America.

The question has been carried in the British house of commons, that the African slave trade, in British bottoms, shall cease after January 1st, 1796.

Last week, sailed in a vessel from this port for England, Mr. Thomas Pinckney, minister plenipotentiary from the united states to the court of Great-Britain.

On Sunday afternoon last, a violent squall of wind from W. N. W. and N. W. did considerable damage in this city and port. Several square-rigged vessels were driven from their moorings at the wharves, but were fortunately secured from injury by anchoring in the stream, except an English brig, which grounded on the bar opposite

the lower part of the town, and the ship *Juno*, lately from Havre de Grace, which, soon after breaking from her moorings, overfet, and, drifting along the island, got aground about a mile below the town, where she now lies on her beam ends, and is said to have lost most of her spars and rigging.

Several small craft and boats were also much damaged, but we are happy to hear that no lives were lost, although the gale was very severe, and came on so suddenly that it was almost impossible to escape its fury.

In the city, some chimnies and parts of brick walls were blown down; the roof of a store below the Bird-in-Hand wharf was removed several inches from its place, and large limbs torn from many trees in different parts of the town.

One of the ferry-boats of this city was overfet within three hundred yards of the Jersey shore. There were on board nine persons, five men and women, and four small children. Captain Scott, of Massachusetts, who was one of them, by his exertions brought them all safe on shore: first one of the children, and afterwards successively the others, who, in the mean time, with difficulty had saved themselves from drowning by hanging to the boat, which supported them, tho' full of water.—A boy was drowned by the overfetting of another boat, which is the only life lost that we have heard of.

July 7. Wednesday, the 4th instant, being the anniversary of the independence of the united states of America, completing sixteen years since the declaration of independence, was celebrated in this city with every demonstration of joy suitable to the occasion. At 12 o'clock the minister of France, and the ministers of other foreign nations, the officers of the city militia, and many respectable citizens, waited on the president of the united states, and congratulated him on the day. The state society of the Cincinnati, preceded by the governor and chief justice of the state, their president and vice-president, went also in procession, nearly about the same time, to pay their respects to the president of the united states. A number of cannon were discharged on the occasion, and an entertainment in honour of the day was given at Oeller's hotel, by the Cincinnati, to which the heads of departments and foreign ministers were invited, who favoured the society with their company. Fireworks were to have been displayed in the evening, but the badness of the day, being almost a continual heavy rain, prevented.

On Saturday last, some boys bathing in a pond, near this city, one of them wandering from the rest, sunk into a deep hole and disappeared. After lying under water about twenty minutes, he was at length taken up, to all appearance dead. By rubbing him with salt, however, in less than twenty minutes the body exhibited signs of re-animation: in about three hours more, he was so far recovered as to turn himself in the bed, and in a day or two was perfectly well.—Our accounts further say, that before the usual methods of recovery were tried, the body had every appearance of being lifeless; and many supposed that a total suspension of the animal functions had taken place.

The final abolition of the African slave trade is determined on by the government of Denmark, as far as concerns themselves; to avoid the disadvantage, however, of too sudden a change in that trade, its final abolition is not to take place for ten years, that is till January 1, 1803; during which time every means is to be used to encourage the breeding of negroes in their colonies, and to establish such laws as may be of mutual benefit to the blacks and whites. After the expiration of the time above mentioned, no Danish subject will be permitted to carry on the slave trade in any shape whatever.

A squall visited New-York last Sunday afternoon, at nearly the same time as here; near thirty persons were drowned in consequence thereof, men, women, and children, that were taking their pleasure on the river. Reports were in circulation of many other persons being lost, by the overfetting of boats. Much damage, it is said, was also done to houses and orchards.

In the months of April, May, and June, 1792, there have been shipped from the port of Philadelphia, one hundred and sixty-one thousand, three hundred and forty-four barrels of flour; and during the same period, fourteen hundred and eighteen barrels of middlings.

Capers have been thought only capable of growing in warm climates. A tree is now growing near New-London, full of that fruit; and equal in appearance to any imported from France, Sicily, or any other foreign country.

Capt. Joseph Brandt, the celebrated Indian Chief from Canada, departed a few days since from this city, on a journey to the westward. It is said his object is to endeavour to conciliate the minds of the hostile Indians, and lay the foundation for a permanent peace between those tribes and the united states.

In the report of the committee appointed by the English house of commons, to enquire into the effect of the laws relative to imprisonment for debt, an instance is produced of a man having been confined forty-five years, for a debt, originally amounting only to six pounds.

July 14th. We are informed that the directors of the national manufactures, attended by the secretary of the treasury, met at the town of Patterfon, (N. J.) on Tuesday last, and, after purchasing the lands from the respective proprietors, fixed upon the exact situation of the different mill-seats, and other principal buildings of the establishment.—Instructions were given to the conductors of the different branches of the manufactory, immediately to remove thither and complete their machinery, with all convenient speed—that decisive and definite arrangements took place, respecting their future operations, entirely to the satisfaction of all concerned.—Our correspondent further adds, that the celebrated architect, Mons. L'Enfant, is expected there on Tuesday or Wednesday next, for the purpose of laying out the new town, the form of which is contemplated to be nearly circular, encompassing a delightful plain, intended for a bleaching ground. Nature has been particularly bountiful to this spot, a healthy and delightful country, excellent water both for domestic and mill purposes, abundance of good building stone is to be met with on the spot, plenty of fuel, the river and brooks around it abound with fish; provisions are very cheap, and the country thickly settled. These advantages, together with its contiguity to, and easy communication with one of the first cities in the united states, make it unquestionably one of the most eligible and desirable situations in the world, for the permanent establishment of manufactories.

By a late arrival at Salem (M.) intelligence is come to hand, that Ankerstrom, the Swedish regicide, has been executed according to his sentence. He was publicly whipped three different times in the market place; ignominiously exposed to view in the pillory; his right hand was cut off; and finally he was beheaded, quartered, and exposed at the common place of execution. He gloried in what he had done, to the last; and even in the agonies of death rejoiced that he had rid his country of a tyrant.

On the 26th of June, a man named John Fuller was executed at Charleston, for attempting to pass a forged note, knowing the same to be forged—He declared himself, to the last, innocent of the crime for which he was doomed to suffer.

July 18th. Saturday last, the 14th of July, the anniversary of the French revolution, was celebrated in this city, with every demonstration of joy and congratulation.

The vessels in the harbour were dressed in their colours, and a French vessel saluted the day by frequent firings.

Several select companies celebrated the day in a convivial manner. And the evening was closed by a brilliant display of rockets and other fire-works, which met with the greatest applause from a vast concourse of spectators.

The advocates for the *buckle* in London, and those for the *scot-string*, have settled their differences, and are about to unite in a clasp.

On Wednesday afternoon last, the president of the united states, with his lady, set out for Virginia.

Mr. Bolton, of Birmingham, has applied the steam engine to coining. By his machinery, four boys, of ten years old, can strike off 30,000 guineas in an hour. The machine keeps an unerring account of the pieces struck.

July 21st. The spirit of party in New-York, respecting the late election for governor of the state, is said to have risen to such a height as to occasion several duels. Amongst these, Col. Marinus Willett and William Wilcocks, Esq. had a meeting, and exchanged a few shots; but their friends interfering, prevented any bad consequences. Col. Willett is friendly to governor Clinton's election, which is opposed by Mr. Wilcocks.

The anniversary of American independence has been celebrated far and wide, by the friends of America and republican government—The 14th of July, as far as we have yet heard, has been the object of almost equal attention by the patriots of America, and will no doubt, in future, be considered as our second day of eminence in the calendar of liberty.

On Thursday, July 5th, the brig *Charleston*, capt. Garman, on her passage from this port to Charleston, and within one day's sail of the bar, was struck with lightning. Both masts were struck, but the foremast and its topmasts suffered most. A horse on deck was killed. The mate and several of the hands were knocked down, and remained lifeless for some time; and Mr. William P. Young, passenger on board, lay a considerable time, deprived of his senses, and very much scorched and otherwise hurt. The shock was so great, that the brig, although going at the rate of five or six knots, was totally stopped, and continued motionless some time.—It is somewhat surprising that so little attention should be paid to arm vessels with *lightning rods*, to prevent mischief of this kind. They might be put on and taken off at pleasure, with very little trouble.

July 25th. Advices from Cape Francois, and other parts of French Hispaniola, to the beginning of July, are as unfavorable as ever. A spirit of discord seems to have taken possession of all descriptions of people, which threatens, we may say has nearly ensured, the total ruin of the colony. The people of Port-au-Prince, Cape Nicholas Mole, and Port Jeremie, have refused to accept the decree of the national assembly, granting certain privileges to the mulattoes and free negroes.

Several French islands in the West-Indies are said to be in a state of anarchy and confusion, in consequence of attempts to re-establish the old form of government. Reports say, that in Martinique a counter-revolution is absolutely effected, and that several of the leading patriots in Gaudaloupe had escaped, with difficulty, to other islands.

Extract of a letter from Havre, dated May 18.

“The declaration of war against the king of Hungary, it appears, was done with a view to fix the minds of the people, to discriminate internal friends from lurking foes, to enforce discipline, and to get things on a respectable war establishment. So far matters seem proper: whether a serious invasion of the Austrian provinces was ever intended, is not clear. In future, we shall remain on the defensive, unless by some event forced to do otherwise; at least this is the opinion of people versed in the politics of the kingdom. Advices from the frontiers inform us that it is pleasing to see how willingly people haste to those parts, to assist in defending their country against any invasion, and to protect the constitution. It is not probable, however, that any thing very material will take place, in military affairs, till the combined armies have shewn themselves in the Austrian Low Countries.”

On the 16th and 17th inst. the president of the united states, and the commissioners of the federal buildings, examined the plans for a capitol, and president's house, to be erected in the city of Washington; several of considerable merit, for each building, were presented. The premium for the best plan of a president's house was adjudged to James Hoben, from Charleston, South-Carolina, but no decision was given in favour of any plan for a capitol; three or four of superior merit are under consideration, and it is expected that the commissioners at their next meeting, the 1st of August next, will then make their election.

COMMENCEMENT IN DICKINSON COLLEGE.

ON Thursday the 3d of May, 1792, was held a commencement for degrees in the arts, in Dickinson college, at which were present a very large and respectable audience. As twenty-five young gentlemen had prepared orations for the occasion, and these could not all be delivered in one day, it was found necessary to begin the exercises on Wednesday.

The trustees, faculty, and students of the college, having proceeded, in order, to the Presbyterian church, in which the commencement was held, the business was begun with prayers, by the Rev. Dr. Charles Nesbit, the principal; after which followed

1. The *Salutatory* oration, in Latin, on the state of the ancient republics of Greece; by Mr. John Moore, of Virginia.
2. An oration on the insufficiency of human laws for preventing moral disorders; by Mr. John Lyon, of Carlisle, Pennsylvania.
3. On sensibility, and its effects on moral conduct; by Mr. James Smith, of Maryland.
4. On the true and proper use of reason; by Mr. Robert Whitehill, of Pennsylvania.
5. On the unlawfulness of domestic slavery; by Mr. Isaac Wayne, of Philadelphia.
6. On the necessity of knowledge and virtue in free governments; by Mr. Andrew Steel, of Kentucky.

7. On the causes of the imperfection of human knowledge; by Mr. *John Creigh*, jun. of Carlisle.

8. On the causes of the uncertainty of our judgments with respect to the moral characters of men; by Mr. *James Laird*, of York county, Pennsylvania.

9. On the connexion between a profession of scepticism and licentiousness of conduct; by Mr. *George Dugan*, of Baltimore.

10. On the distinction between truth and falsehood; by Mr. *John M^cJimsey*, of Pennsylvania.

11. On the pernicious consequences of scepticism; by Mr. *John Steel*, of Kentucky.

12. On the danger of relying on the principle of self-interest in political establishments; by Mr. *James M^cKnight*, of North-Carolina.

13. On the influence of instinct and obscure ideas; by Mr. *Rennels*, of Pennsylvania.

14. On the influence of education on national happiness; by Mr. *James Postlethwait*, of Carlisle.

15. On the uncertainty of the effects of education; by Mr. *William Hunter*, of Carlisle.

16. On the influence of the principle of imitation; by Mr. *Augustin Smith*, of Virginia.

17. On the influence of the belief of a future state of rewards and punishments on moral conduct; by Mr. *Samuel Davidson*, of Pennsylvania.

18. On the influence of a sense of honour and shame on moral conduct; by Mr. *David Cassat*, of Pennsylvania.

19. On the necessity of veracity and faithfulness in society; by Mr. *John M^cKesson*, of Pennsylvania.

20. On the pernicious consequences of a love of singularity; by Mr. *Haden Edwards*, of Kentucky.

21. On natural and artificial distinctions in society; by Mr. *William Woods*, of Pennsylvania.

22. On the influence of vice on reason and science; by Mr. *James Gilleland*, of North-Carolina.

23. On the principles that serve as substitutes for virtue in bad men; by Mr. *John Foulk*, of Carlisle.

24. On the love of imitation, and its influence in society; by Mr. *William Carcaud*, of Maryland.

The degree of *Bachelor of Arts* was then conferred on the following gentlemen, being all of the same class: viz. Messrs. John Moore, John Lyon, James Smith, Robert Whitehill, Isaac Wayne, Andrew Steel, John Creigh, James Laird, John M^cJimsey, David Cassat, Samuel Rennels, John Steel, James M^cKnight, William Hunter, James Postlethwait, Augustin Smith, Haden Edwards, Samuel Davidson, George Dugan, James Gilleland, John M^cKesson, John Foulk, William Woods, William Carcaud, Maxwell M^cDowell, James Hemphill, Robert Calender, Josiah Leek, John Fodd, Charles Ross, John Brakenridge, William Steel, and John Wilton.

Mr. James M^cCormick also received the honorary degree of Bachelor of Arts; and has been chosen Professor of Mathematics in Dickinson college.

The degree of *Master of Arts* was conferred on the following gentlemen, formerly graduates in this seminary, viz. Messrs. Isaac Greer, Robert Duncan, James Duncan, David Watts, Jonathan Walker, Steel Semple, Thomas Creigh, David M^cKeehan, Isaiah Blair, and James Calhoun.

The degree of *Doctor in Divinity* was conferred on the Rev. James Waddel, of Virginia; the Rev. Samuel M^cCorkle, of North-Carolina; the Rev. Robert Cooper, and the Rev. John King, of Pennsylvania.

After this, the *Valedictory* oration was delivered by Mr. *Maxwell M^cDowell*, of Pennsylvania.—And the business of the day was concluded by a solemn and weighty charge, delivered by the principal, to the class about to take their leave of the institution; earnestly recommending diligence in their future studies, zeal for the public, and regard for all the important duties of morality and religion.—Concluded with prayer.

METEOROLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS, made in PHILADELPHIA, in the MONTH of JUNE, 1792.

Days.	Baromet.		Thermometer of Farenh.		Anemo- meter. Prevail Wind	Wind	W E A T H E R.
	In.	Fract.	D.	D.			
1 30	0	1468	0	16	W		Overcast
30	I	659	5	26	E		Cloudy, windy
2 30	0	673	6	12	Varia.	I	Rainy
29	10	1365	7	18	Idem.		Idem
3 29	10	1365	7	15	E		Overcast
30	0	082	6	22	WSW		Idem
4 30	I	1363	5	14	E	I	Overcast, rainy
30	2	066	2	15	E		Drizzling rain
5 30	I	1059	0	12	E	I	Idem
29	II	589	0	25	S		Fair, thund. small rain
29	II	065	7	20	Idem.	I	Idem, idem.
6 29	9	1377	0	15	Idem.	I	Thunder & rainy
29	8	959	0	12	NE	I	Rainy,
7 29	9	372	5	18	Varia.		Overcast, rainy
8 29	II	651	0	8	NE	I	Idem, idem
29	II	1160	0	12	NE		Rainy
9 29	II	954	5	10	NE		Cloudy, windy
30	0	1270	2	17	NE		Idem, idem
10 29	II	252	2	9	NE	I	Overcast, windy, rainy
29	10	653	0	9	NE		Idem, idem
II 29	10	648	6	7	NE	I	Heavy rains, stormy
29	10	854	3	9	NE		Idem
12 29	II	1452	2	9	NE		Idem, stormy
30	0	1267	5	15	NE		Cloudy, windy
13 30	I	653	4	9	NE		Cloudy, idem
30	I	171	4	17	NE		Fair
14 30	I	853	4	9	NE		Foggy
30	I	278	8	20	NE		Fair
15 30	I	053	4	9	NE		Idem
30	0	384	9	23	NE		Idem
16 30	0	1156	7	11	E		Idem
30	0	284	9	13	ESE		Idem
17 30	0	461	2	23	WSW		Foggy, fair
130	0	487	81	124	ISE		Fair

Days.	Baromet.		Thermometer of Farenh.		Anemo- meter. Prevail Wind	Wind	W E A T H E R.
	In.	Fract.	D.	D.			
18 30	0	1363	0	13	WSW		Fair
30	I	070	5	26	WSW		Idem
19 30	I	1262	0	13	WSW		Idem
30	I	088	9	25	SW		Idem
20 30	0	263	5	14	WSW		Idem
29	II	788	7	25	WSW		Idem
21 29	9	768	0	16	ENE		Overcast.
29	8	593	6	27	WSW	I	Thunder & rain
22 29	9	668	0	16	WSW		Overcast
29	8	787	8	24	E		Cloudy
23 29	7	1069	6	16	SW		Overcast
29	7	569	6	16	Varia.	I	Cloudy
24 29	II	565	7	15	Idem		Rainy
30	0	479	2	21	Idem		Cloudy
25 30	I	759	0	12	Idem	I	Fair
30	I	574	7	19	SE		Rainy
26 30	I	763	5	14	SSW		Cloudy
30	I	283	3	22	NW		Fair
27 30	0	1265	7	15	W		Idem
29	II	1489	4	25	WSW		Idem
28 29	II	964	8	14	WSW		Idem
29	II	090	0	25	W		Idem
29	10	070	2	17	SW		Overcast
29	9	091	6	26	SW		Fair, lightning
30 29	9	1465	7	15	W		Idem
29	II	087	0	24	SW		Idem

RESULT.		H. G. Elev.		H. G. Elev. of Merc.	
Mean elev.	Mean degree	ft.	in.	ft.	in.
29	11	970	16	9	4
30	2	73	6	27	4
23d leaf el.	48	6	7	4	4
Variation	7	5	48	6	7
Variation	6	11	45	20	4
Mean elev.	11	45	20	4	4
Mean degree	16	9	4	4	4

T H E
UNIVERSAL ASYLUM,
A N D
Columbian Magazine,

FOR AUGUST, 1792.

BY A SOCIETY OF GENTLEMEN.

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P H I L A D E L P H I A:

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T O C O R R E S P O N D E N T S .

MEMOIRS of a *singular character* are not calculated to answer any useful end, that we can perceive. We believe the *singular character* drawn by our correspondent to be the offspring of his own imagination. Such a compound of contradictions and absurdities is surely not in nature.

Flavia's proposed tax on old bachelors, would perhaps be found ineffectual for the promotion of early marriages. To encourage these, inducements ought to be held out; and not penalties inflicted. Besides, it is cruel to increase the miseries of those, who are almost universally acknowledged to be the most wretched of mankind.—If celibacy carries its own punishment with it, why would our fair correspondent be so vindictive as to add to this punishment? Few, we apprehend, are so far divested of the feelings of nature, as to prefer a single life; unless they have cogent reasons, indeed, for so doing. If these reasons be well founded, (as they sometimes are) no censure is due; and if imaginary, those who are influenced by them, deserve to be considered as objects of pity, rather than of punishment.—If *Flavia* writes from chagrin, or disappointment, let her reflect whether the fault be not, in some degree, her own. It is not very uncommon for young ladies to be so vain of their supposed accomplishments, or *personal beauty*, (ladies of good sense are out of the question) as to think themselves too good for gentlemen, with whom they might enjoy connubial happiness; and to indulge very unreasonable expectations of grandeur, &c.—It is a sad thing, when the bloom of youth is gone, to be left to repent of this mistaken conduct.—Observation has furnished us with one fact, which we shall take the liberty of mentioning, for the sake of our young female readers, but without any remarks on its physical cause.—We have found that female beauty generally fades in America, at a much earlier age than in more temperate and equable climates; and that unmarried ladies are commonly afflicted with a dreadful train of maladies, which sometimes commence before the twenty-fifth year. The best preservative, both of female health and beauty, is a prudent and early marriage.—We would willingly hope that this information does not come too late for our fair correspondent.

The Dog-Star, a poem, is neither poetry nor prose.

Elegy on a lap-dog, by *Maria*—inadmissible—Peace to his *manes*; and consolation, and a more rational companion, to his mistress.

P H I L A D E L P H I A , *August* 31, 1792.

Current Prices of PUBLIC SECURITIES.

Six per cents, per £.	-	-	22s.	Bank U. S. whole shares per cent advance	50.
Deferred six per cents,	-	-	13½.	Bank of N. America do. do.	30.
Three per cents,	-	-	12½.		

COURSE of EXCHANGE.

Bills of Exchange on London, 90 days,	69.	Amsterdam, 60 days, per guilder,	3s.
Ditto. 60 days,	70.	Ditto. 90 days,	2½.
Ditto. 30 days,	72½.		



T H E
UNIVERSAL ASYLUM,

A N D

Columbian Magazine,

FOR AUGUST, 1792.

*On the EXCLUSION of MINISTERS of RELIGION from
CIVIL OFFICES.*

THE question relating to a constitutional exclusion of the ministers of religion from civil offices, is a very serious one, as it affects a respectable and venerable order of citizens, and still more important, as it involves certain fundamental principles of government.

The American constitutions have taken different sides of the question; even those of latest date, and therefore the result of the fullest and clearest information, are in opposition to each other thereupon. Those who argue for the disqualification of the clergy say, 1st. That religious duties afford sufficient employment, and are of a nature not to assort with the bustle of political scenes; and therefore the ministers of the altar should not only live by the altar, but remain at the altar. 2dly. That, if eligible to public offices, their influence over the people will give them an undue advantage over other candidates, and by degrees throw all power into their hands, which would be neither prudent nor safe. 3dly. That when they enjoy particular emoluments or exemptions under the law, it is but right and just that these should be balanced by particular legal disqualifications and disadvantages; otherwise this class of citizens would not be on a level with the rest.

Now the first argument cannot be allowed the least weight in the question. It may be very proper for the consideration both of the pastor and the flock, but is a matter to be decided by them alone. The second argument falls under a similar observation. If the people are pleased to send the man who instructs them in their religious duties, to manage their other concerns also, and he is willing to undertake the service, on what principle can either be disfranchised of their common right? on no principle whatever, that would not authorise a like disqualification of any other profession, or calling in

life, till the right of choosing and being chosen should be narrowed down to a rank aristocracy. The third argument has weight, but instead of being turned against the right of such disqualifications, it lies against the wrong of such exemptions. Those who enjoy peculiar privileges under the law, may fairly be subjected by the law to peculiar disabilities. — And as it would be an injury to them to impose the latter without the former ; so to grant them the former without the latter, would be equally an injury to all others. When it is considered that religion is not an object of political regulation, and that the rights of conscience are, from their nature, as well as by most of the declarations of rights, excepted out of the jurisdiction of the civil magistrate, too much care cannot be taken to keep government and religion separate and distinct. And it seems not to have been duly considered, by the constitutions which impose these civil disqualifications, and which probably did not mean to violate their principle of religious liberty, that they pave the way therefor as much by beginning with the disqualifications, as if they had begun, on the other side, with particular favours and exemptions. For there is the same interference of the civil power on account of religion, in the one case as in the other ; and on whichever side the government interferes, its interference on the other follows of course. Justice pleads for it. Privileges authorise disabilities, and disabilities lead to privileges ; till at length the ministers of religion are established into a political order in the state ; the magistrate is clothed with complete jurisdiction over it ; and religion is turned into a mere engine of civil government. Let the ministers of religion then be considered by civil society merely as members of civil society. Let them claim no privilege not common to all other citizens ; and let other citizens impose no burden whatever not common to themselves. This is the only just and safe way in which this question can be decided.

Philadelphia, August 8, 1792.



On BANKING COMPANIES in the UNITED STATES.

TO arrest the progress of error in its passage, and to throw light on subjects not commonly understood, however laborious a task it may seem to an author, ought surely to compensate him, by the suavity of feelings with which it is attended, and the general good that sometimes ensues ; nor ought he to be discouraged by the malevolent aspersions of the designing, or the still more subtle management of the interested, from pursuing the thread of enquiries evidently tending to objects of considerable public utility.

It is but a little time since banks were frequently to be met with in this country ; and but a very short one since the experiment of having more than one in one place has been tried : until it was tried here, many vain and mistaken theories were sported about it, in spite of the plainest reason, which proved that banks, as any other

shops, might be multiplied to any given number, without danger to the public, while they were conducted with prudence, and their business confined within proper bounds, compared with their capital—without which, their existence must, of necessity, be short.

The experiment, however, has been fairly made, and two banks actually exist not only at Philadelphia, but at Charleston, at Baltimore, at New-York, and at Boston—to say nothing of those erected at Albany, at Hartford, at Providence, and the branch meditated at Richmond; surely their number has fully confuted the ideas of those, who romantically thought one bank and its branches, alone sufficient for the union, and that, placed as it was under the wings of the government, none other could stand in competition with it.

And now some are complaining of these numerous institutions as great evils, from which, they apprehend, that too much paper money will issue—when the fact is, that so many banks will rather limit this circulation, by dividing it into so many parts as to render it unsafe for any bank to exceed the prudent limits of its capital: for how can any bank safely venture itself to trespass on this great line of right conduct, when it knows not the hour at which its forces may be put to the test;—each bank, therefore, is left in society, as each individual is and ought to be, to stand or fall by the prudence and wisdom of the management of its own concerns.

In every community there is, and must be from its nature, a demand for a certain quantity of current money—this is supplied either by the precious metals or by the bank paper; neither can be extended beyond that certain demand which I have presupposed. The chief disadvantage sustained by a nation from banks is, that this demand, which would, in its natural order, have been filled up by specie, becomes chiefly supplied by paper, which, resting only on commercial credit, is liable to be shaken with it; but it is certainly a mighty security for a public, that this bank paper be supplied by various institutions, on various capitals, because the solidity of it becomes more apparent; just as it appears to be better for a man in trade to have his common book debts due from numbers of good people, rather than from only one debtor, who, however safe he might be supposed, might wholly ruin him in case of accident.

The only ill consequence arising from the multiplication of banks is to the stockholders, whose profits may be lessened by it: but what are these stockholders to the body of the nation who are benefitted?—The nation is benefitted, not by monopoly, but by a general diffusion of the profits of banking, as of any other trade, among the greater number; and the bank itself is benefitted by the competition that forms the only operative check upon its directors; instead of twelve directors, as formerly, we have now perhaps thirty in the city;—so knowledge is extended on an abstruse subject, and impartiality more effectually secured in the administration.

In no country have monopolies worked good, but to a few interested in conducting them; the East-India company of England, to whom was granted the exclusive privilege of navigating for Great-Britain, in all seas beyond the Cape of Good-Hope—that East-India company that waged war and maintained armies, that plundered provinces and de-

throned nabobs; amid the splendour of their conquests, or the brilliancy of their achievements, paid but the pittance of 6 to 8 per cent to their stockholders, and contracted debts of eight millions, which they will kindly leave to aftertimes to discharge; but in the meantime they have created nabobs at home, and, tho' poor themselves, have enabled their servants to purchase seats in parliament, and extend the tide of national corruption; while the farce and pageantry of state trials have been held upon delinquents, at an expense, it is said, already, in a single instance, of upwards of thirty thousand guineas to the public. Who, that considers these things, but must deprecate MONOPOLIES, as among the forest evils that have fallen to the lot of countries, or of men to sustain!

R U S S E L L.

Philadelphia, August, 1792.

On the INCONVENIENCE and IMPROPRIETY of the OFFICIAL ROBES worn by the JUDGES of the UNITED STATES.

HAVING by accident chanced the other day to walk by the court-house, and observing a crowd at the door, I was tempted to enter for an instant, to see what was the object of attention, when I was surpris'd at my going in, to behold upon the judicial seats, six gentlemen, arrayed in a robe as unsuitable to the season, as it was new in point of fashion. I was for some time at a loss to discover the kind of dress they had on, till, on a nearer approach, I found it to be of scarlet, trimmed with ermine. Such a dress in August was truly surpris'ing, for in point of convenience it must be extremely oppressive, and in point of shew or appearance it certainly was much less solemn and decorous, than the black coats, till lately always observed on those seats.

The dress, I have been told, is borrowed from a country we are but too ambitious to copy, though we were lately so fond of disdain'ing. I am sorry our judges should have imitated an example originating, probably, in barbarous times, and probably preserv'd only in England, on account of its antiquity. But if our judicial concerns could not be carried on without a decoration so extraordinary, why not take the whole of it? The wig of long tails and curls, as well as the gown?—for the *tout ensemble* ought to have gone together, if taken at all;—the effect being now to give a very small appearance to the head, compared to the ermined shoulders; and this effect is such, as to destroy totally whatever solemnity might have been conceived to reside formerly in this *toga judicis*.

But is it indeed in this enlightened age, in the eighteenth century, that we can expect dress to go for any thing in the popular estimation?—Alas, as Mr. Burke observes, the age of chivalry is gone, and with it are departed that sanctity annexed to exterior vestments, which were often so ill suited to their wearers.—No, it is law, sound

judgment, and impartial justice alone, that can dignify those seats, and these would have had their sway in the common dress—

“Worth makes the man, and want of it the fellow,

“All else is nought but leather or prunella”

So Pope thought formerly, nor is the doctrine lessened in repute by the prevailing tide of modern politics.

I would not be understood, by what I have said, in the least to wish to lessen the respect which I really feel for these gentlemen, and which is essential to the due execution of the laws. But seeing the constitution of the united states has not warranted any distinctions of dress, used in regal courts, to be adopted in our own; but, on the contrary, forbids expressly, by its spirit, the introduction of orders of nobility, so connected with distinctions of dress: Seeing, also, our amiable president does not assume the royal robes, at his levees, to which he has, at least, as much apparent right; I have not been able to forbear these strictures;—meaning always to oppose them to every novelty, which appears to me calculated to alter the habits of our plain republican system.

R U S S E L L.

Philadelphia, August, 1792.



ON PUBLIC SPEAKING.

[By the late F. HOPKINSON, Esq.]

TO speak in public, with propriety and effect, requires many talents, natural and acquired. The object of all public speaking is *persuasion*; to make other people believe or act according to the speaker's mind. For this purpose, it is necessary that the orator should have a *pleasing address, a lively imagination, a thorough knowledge of his subject, and a good ear*, with respect to the language in which he is to deliver his sentiments.

First impressions have an unavoidable influence on the mind. The most judicious and impartial hearers conceive some predilection for, or prejudice against the speaker, on his very first appearance. It is, therefore, of great importance, that a genteel manner, and graceful address, should bespeak the favourable attention of the audience; otherwise, the orator will not only have to encounter the difficulties incident to his subject, but must also labour against a foreign influence: whereas a genteel figure, a graceful deportment, and a pleasing address, sometimes operate in his favour, to greater advantage than all the force of his arguments; and, what is of infinite importance, he is sure of the good opinion of the ladies.

A *lively imagination* will enable the orator to throw an air of novelty over his subject, and to present it in points of view in which it hath not frequently been considered; to enforce his arguments with apt allusions, and embellish the whole with striking metaphors. To hear a dull and hackneyed subject elaborately discussed, by a dull and phlegmatic speaker, affords about as much entertainment, as to hear

a demonstration from Euclid, proving a proposition which cannot be denied; or a string of logical syllogisms, proving nothing at all.

A thorough knowledge of his subject, I have laid down as the next requisite in a public speaker. This, I confess, is not absolutely necessary; as there are many who make a very tolerable figure without it. It might indeed, be extremely inconvenient to make this rule strict and general, inasmuch as there would be danger of silencing one third of the gentlemen of the bar; one half of the orators of the pulpit; and three fourths of the speakers in parliaments and houses of assembly: yet it seems but reasonable, that an author should have some knowledge of the subject he is handling, and, therefore, this rule is rather recommended than insisted upon.

A good ear is the last mentioned, though not the least important qualification of a good speaker. If his language is pure, his periods harmoniously arranged, and his voice melodiously adapted to the construction of every sentence, the orator will not fail to charm his hearers, even though there should be but a very scanty portion of solid sense diluted in his flowing rhetoric. The mind is insensibly captivated by pleasing sounds, and the most obdurate judgment yields to the magic influence of sweet harmony. It is, therefore, absolutely necessary that authors of little sense should pay great attention to the powers of sound; for every hearer expects to be either instructed or pleased; and he has a right to expect it.

It is next to impossible to lay down rules for harmonious composition. When words and sentences are so arranged, as to produce a pleasing melody, all acknowledge the effect, but none can point out that particular construction in which the magic consists. Grammar-rules have nothing to do with it; for a sentence may be strictly grammatical, and yet as offensive to the ear as the sharpening of a saw. For instance, observe the contrast between the two following sentences; both of which are equally unexceptionable in point of grammar.

“Some have a happy talent of expression, whereby they compensate the want of sentiment, by the melody of their style; their language ever flowing like a wave of the sea, and their periods closing in such musical cadence, that the ear is fascinated by the magic of sound, and the mind lulled in a pleasing repose.”

“Others, without giving to grammar-rules offence, shall arrange so unskillfully their words, breaking, as it were, and interrupting the sense, or rather nonsense, they mean to inculcate, by frequent (and oft-times unnecessary) parentheses, that the ear stumbles through the rugged paragraph, as the feet would stumble in scrambling through a street, when the pavement had been broken up, over bricks, stones, and posts, mixed together confusedly.”

A fine speech, like a fine lady, enforces attention, and captivates the heart. When it describes pleasing objects, it is beautiful nature, dressed by the graces; when it soars in the sublime, it elevates the soul, and animates the nobler passions; it gives to persuasion irresistible force, and bids the tear of pity fall, like the dew of heaven—
gently fall—on virtue in distress.

HISTORY of the AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

(Continued from our last—page 16.)

1779. **T**HIS campaign, however barren of important events, was distinguished by one of the most gallant enterprises that occurs in the whole history of the war. This was the storming of Stoney-point, by the Americans. General Wayne, who conducted this daring enterprise, was furnished with a chosen body of infantry, at the head of which he set out from Sandy-bank, fourteen miles from Stoney-point, on the 15th of July, about noon; and, after a fatiguing march, over very bad roads, arrived within a mile and an half of his object, at eight o'clock in the evening. Here the men were formed into columns, and halted, while general Wayne, with a few of his officers, went to reconnoitre the works, and to observe the situation of the garrison. At half after eleven, the whole detachment moved on to the assault, in two columns; the general having issued the most pointed orders, to both, not to fire a shot, on any account; but to place their reliance entirely upon the bayonet. It was not unworthy of observation, that a weapon, which had been so often fatally employed against the Americans, on similar occasions, and particularly against general Wayne himself, at the Paoli, was the only one used by them in this attack. General Wayne headed the right column; the van of which, consisting of 150 volunteers, with unloaded muskets and fixed bayonets, was commanded by lieutenant-col. Fleury. The van of the left consisted of 100 volunteers, with unloaded muskets and fixed bayonets, and was commanded by major Stewart. Each was preceded by a forlorn hope, of twenty chosen men, with an officer of the most distinguished bravery. These were particularly directed to remove the abatis, and other obstructions. The two columns directed their attacks to opposite points of the works, while a feint was made in front, to divide the attention of the garrison. The approaches proved to be much more difficult than had been apprehended; the works being defended by a deep morass, which was at that time overflowed by the tide. But neither the morass, the formidable and double rows of abatis, nor the strong works in front and flank, could damp the ardour, or withstand the fury of the assailants. In the face of an incessant and most tremendous fire of musketry, and of cannon loaded with grape-shot, they forced their way, at the point of the bayonet, through every obstacle, until both columns met in the centre, where they arrived at nearly the same instant.

General Wayne was wounded in the head by a musket ball, as he passed the last abatis, but insisted on being carried forward; adding, that if he died, he wished it might be in the fort. Fleury had the honour of striking the British standard, with his own hand. Lieutenants Gibbons and Knox, who led the forlorn hope, escaped unhurt; although the former lost seventeen men out of twenty, and the latter nearly as many.

August, 1792.

L.

There is scarcely any thing in the transactions of war, which affords more room for surprize, and is more difficult to be accounted for, than the prodigious disparity between the numbers slain in those different actions; which otherwise nearly correspond, in their principal circumstances, nature, and magnitude. Nothing could well be supposed, from its nature and circumstances, more bloody, in proportion to the numbers engaged, than this action; and yet the loss, on both sides, was moderate. The killed and wounded of the Americans, amounted to ninety-eight. Of the garrison, sixty-three were killed, and five hundred and forty-three made prisoners. That so few of the enemy were killed, was owing to the clemency of the assailants. The cruel customs that war has established, with respect to nightly assaults, and the recent barbarities at Fairfield and Norwalk, would have furnished sufficient apology to the conquerors for putting the whole garrison to the sword; but they, no less generous than brave, scorned to take the lives of men calling for mercy, and ceased to destroy as soon as their adversaries ceased to resist.

Nothing could exceed the triumph of the Americans, upon the success of this enterprise, and the vigour and spirit with which it was conducted. And, indeed, considered in all its parts and difficulties, it would have done honour to the most experienced veterans. General Washington received the thanks of congress "for the vigilance, wisdom, and magnanimity with which he had conducted the military operations of the states; and which were, among many other signal instances, manifested in his orders for the enterprise against Stoney-point." They also passed a vote of thanks to general Wayne, for his brave, prudent, and soldierly conduct, in this spirited and well-conducted attack. They took honourable notice of col. Fleury and major Stewart; and warmly applauded lieutenants Gibbons and Knox. They ordered a medal, emblematical of the action, to be struck; one of gold to be presented to general Wayne, and one of silver to lieut. col. Fleury, and a singular mark of their approbation to major Stewart. To lieutenants Gibbons and Knox, and also to Mr. Archer, the general's volunteer aid-de-camp, they gave the rank of captain. At the same time, they passed resolutions in honour of the officers and men generally; and directed that the value of the military stores, taken at Stoney-point, should be ascertained and divided among the troops by whom that garrison was reduced.

No sooner did this post fall into the hands of the Americans, than they turned its artillery against Verplanks-point, with such effect, that the shipping stationed there were forced to cut their cables, and fall down the river. But the possession of these two posts was an object of importance to the British. Accordingly preparations were immediately made, at New-York, to relieve the one, and to recover the other. To risk an engagement, for either or both of them, was not the intention of general Washington, who was in the uniform habit of weighing the probable consequences of every military transaction, and of adopting a cautious or enterprising line of conduct, as either seemed necessary; or appeared best calculated to promote the true interests of his country. He therefore evacuated Stoney-

point, after having removed the cannon and stores, and demolished the works. The British regained possession of it, on the third day after its capture.

Shortly after this successful enterprise, the execution of another, which equalled it in boldness of design, was committed to major Lee, who was furnished with a detachment of 350 men, chiefly of the Virginia line. The plan was to surprize the British garrison at Powles-hook, opposite to New-York; not so much with a view to any great intrinsic advantage, that could arise from the success of the enterprise; as for the purpose of throwing a lustre upon the American arms, and thereby elating the public mind, and rousing the people into activity; an object of the utmost importance, in every stage of the war, inasmuch as every thing depended upon the spirited exertions of the great mass of citizens. Should the undertaking appear too hazardous, either in the execution, or in the difficulty of effecting a retreat afterwards, major Lee was left at liberty to abandon it. On the morning of the 19th of July, before day-light, the fort was completely surprized. Major Sutherland, the commandant, and a number of Hessians, favoured by the darkness, escaped to a small block-house, near the fort; but with the loss of thirty of his men killed, and 160 taken prisoners. The loss of the Americans, in killed and wounded, was not more than about half a dozen. Major Lee, agreeably to his orders, retreated immediately, without waiting to destroy either the barracks or the artillery; a step which the approach of day, and the vicinity of the enemy's main body, rendered absolutely necessary. As a reward of his "prudence, address, and bravery," major Lee was honoured with the thanks of congress, who also ordered a gold medal, emblematical of the event, to be struck and presented to him. They also applauded the good conduct of his troops, and ordered a considerable donative, in money, to be distributed among them.

These advantages, however, were far from being an equivalent for the loss soon after sustained by the state of Massachusetts, in an unsuccessful attempt to reduce a British post, on the bank of Penobscot river, in the eastern confines of New-England. The fort was advantageously situated, and was commanded by col. Macleané, who, with a detachment of 650 men, arrived from Halifax, for the purpose of establishing it, in the middle of June; in consequence of directions for that purpose, from sir Henry Clinton. This measure excited a considerable alarm at Boston; and the most vigorous means were immediately adopted, for driving the enemy from their newly-established post. That a sufficient number of armed vessels and transports, as well as seamen, might be speedily obtained for an expedition against it, an embargo, for forty days, was laid by the government of Massachusetts, on all their shipping. A considerable naval armament, consisting of eighteen armed vessels, besides transports, under the command of commodore Saltonstall, was accordingly fitted out, with extraordinary expedition. The Warren frigate, which was the largest vessel in this fleet, carried thirty-two guns, eighteen and twelve pounders. The others carried from twenty-four to twelve guns each. A body of troops, commanded by general Lovel, em-

embarked on this expedition, and on the 23th of July, the fleet, consisting in all of thirty-seven sail, appeared off Penobscot. Col. Maclean had received information, four days before, of the intended expedition; and had therefore redoubled his exertions to strengthen the works of the fort, which however, were still far from being completed. The conduct of the Americans on this occasion, does not appear to have been sufficiently vigorous. Three days were employed in landing the troops, when Maclean was summoned to surrender; which being refused, two days more were consumed in erecting a battery, at the distance of 750 yards from the fort. This dilatory proceeding, and an ineffectual cannonading for two weeks, afforded the garrison an opportunity of strengthening their works, which they industriously improved. They were now free from any apprehension, in case of an attempt to reduce the fort by storm; a mode of attack which would probably have been attended with success, had it been adopted by the Americans, immediately upon their arrival. The besiegers finding that their cannonading made little or no impression upon the works of the fort, were preparing for an assault, when sir George Collier appeared full in view, with a squadron from New York, for the relief of the garrison. This squadron consisted of the *Raisonable*, of sixty-four guns, and five frigates. The American troops were speedily re-embarked, and the fleet was drawn up, in form of a crescent, across the river, as if they were determined to dispute the passage of the enemy's squadron; but no more was intended, than to gain time for the transports to move up the river, that the troops might be enabled to land, and make their escape. The superior force of the *Raisonable* was deemed irresistible. A general flight on the one side, and a general chase on the other took place. The whole of the transports and armed vessels were destroyed, two of the latter excepted, and these were captured by the British. Few single towns have experienced such a loss of vessels, at one time, as Boston now suffered. The naval force employed in this expedition, whether considered with respect to ships or guns, was little, if at all inferior to the royal navy of England, at the beginning of queen Elizabeth's reign. After this disaster, the American soldiers and sailors sustained considerable hardship, in returning to their homes. They had to return a great part of their way by land, exploring their route through thick and unfrequented woods.—

Having detailed the most important military operations, which, in the course of the year 1779, occurred in the several states, we shall now proceed to give a sketch of Indian depredations on the frontiers, and of some expeditions which were undertaken against them.

Lieutenant-governour Hamilton, of Detroit, had, for some time, by means of presents, rewards for scalps, &c. encouraged the Indians to distress the Americans, in the back parts of Virginia, and the neighbouring states; and, with a view to more extensive mischief, had projected an expedition up the Ohio, as far as Fort Pitt, sweeping Kentucky on the way. He was to have been joined by all the Cherokees, Chickasaws, and other Indians, that could be procured; and that all things might be in readiness for prosecuting the intended expedition, as soon as the season of the year would permit, he took post

at St. Vincents in the winter. Destruction seemed to await the Virginia back settlers; but they were rescued from danger, by the active and spirited conduct of col. Clarke. This enterprising officer, hearing that Hamilton had weakened his party, by detaching a number of his Indians against the frontier settlements, resolved to attack him, as the best expedient for baffling his expedition. After a troublesome march of sixteen days, in an inclement season, through swamps, and across desert wastes, col. Clarke, with 130 men, arrived unexpectedly at St. Vincents, on the 23d of February, and made an assault upon the town, which was immediately taken. He then besieged the fort, which was surrendered by Hamilton next day. The garrison, consisting of seventy-nine men, became prisoners of war, and the stores, which were considerable, fell into the hands of the Americans. In the mean time, a party of Hamilton's Indians returned, and were unexpectedly attacked, and routed, by a detachment of Clarke's men, who took nine of the Indians, and released two prisoners. Clarke being informed that a convoy of British goods and provisions was on the way from Detroit, detached a party of sixty men, in armed boats, which met the enemy forty leagues up the river, and made prize of the whole; taking forty prisoners, and about 10,000 worth of goods and provisions. From Hamilton's papers, it appeared, that it had been usual with him to send out Indian and tory scalping parties, under general orders to spare neither man, woman, nor child. This seasonable and well-conducted expedition, frustrated the cruel plans of Hamilton and his savage emissaries, and prevented the frontier settlements from being deluged with the blood of the helpless inhabitants, as had been intended.

About the middle of April, col. Van Schaick, with fifty-five men, marched from Fort-Schuyler, to the Onondaga settlements, on Lake-Ontario, which he entirely laid waste. He burned about fifty houses, and a large quantity of grain; killed the horses, and stock of every kind; and destroyed, or brought off, the whole of the arms and ammunition which fell in his way. Twelve Indians were killed, and thirty-four made prisoners. This expedition was performed without the loss of a single man, and in less than six days, although the distance, going and coming, was upwards of one hundred and eighty miles.

Towards the end of July, a mixed party, of about ninety Indians and white men, were led by Brandt, against the Minnik settlement; where, besides a number of dwelling-houses and barns, they burned a fort and two mills. They took several prisoners, and carried off a considerable quantity of plunder. The militia of Goshen and its vicinity collected, to the number of 150, and pursued them; but with such want of caution, that they were surpris'd and totally defeated. About the same time, a party of 250 British and Indians, under capt. Mc. Donald, took Freeland's fort, on the west branch of the Susquehanna; in which were thirty men, besides women and children. The women and children were set at liberty; but the men were made prisoners of war. The party, on their way to this place, had burned several houses and mills, and killed, and made prisoners of a number of the inhabitants.

General Williamson, of South-Carolina, entered the Indian country adjacent to the frontier of that state, about the 20th of August. He burned and destroyed the corn of eight towns, amounting, by computation, to upwards of 50,000 bushels; and obliged the Indians to remove immediately to more remote settlements. Colonel Broadhead also engaged in a successful expedition against the Mingo, Munsey, and Seneca Indians, in the month of August, with about 600 men. He was absent from Pittsburgh nearly five weeks; in which time he penetrated 200 miles into the Indian country, destroyed a number of forts, and about 500 acres of corn, and brought off a good deal of plunder, consisting chiefly of skins.

But a much more formidable expedition against the Indians, than any that has occurred, in the preceding part of this history, was undertaken by the Americans in 1779. A considerable body of troops was destined for this service, and put under the command of general Sullivan. The Indians who form the confederacy of the six nations, or, as they have sometimes been called, the Mohawks, were the objects of this expedition. These nations, lying in that fertile tract of country, at the back of the New-England and middle states, amidst the great lakes, rivers, and impenetrable forests, which separate them from Canada, had long been renowned for the courage and constancy with which they adhered to the English, in their wars with the French. In the beginning of the present contest, they had entered into an engagement with congress, by which they promised to observe a strict neutrality. But the power of British presents, with the influence of sir William Johnson, and other agents among them, operating upon their own desire of depredation soon led them to depart from this pacific line of conduct; and they became principal agents in those cruel ravages which were carried on against the frontier settlements. They had derived a considerable accession of strength and discipline, from the great number of American refugees settled among them. The Oneidas and a few others, who were friendly to the Americans, were to be exempted from the general destruction; for the object of the expedition was destruction, as far as it might be capable of being carried into execution against an enemy, who can seldom be caught or found, except when he chooses, from motives of advantage, to stay, or to reveal himself. But although the savages should take care to avoid an engagement, and escape the direct vengeance of the Americans, still it was considered as an important advantage, to lay waste their country, and, by depriving them of the means of subsistence, to oblige them to take refuge in settlements more remote. This, it was hoped, would give permanent security and quiet to the numerous infant settlements on the frontier.

When general Sullivan was on his way to the Indian country, he was joined by the American general Clinton, with about 1600 men, battalions and other attendants included. This officer made his way down the Susquehanna, by a contrivance no less curious than novel.—Finding the stream of water in that river too low to float his batteaux, he had recourse to the ingenious but laborious expedient, of raising a dam across the mouth of the Lake Ontario, which is one of

the sources of the river Susquehanna. The lake, receiving a constant supply of water from springs, soon rose to the desired height; when Clinton got ready his batteaux, opened a passage through the dam, and, taking advantage of the stream which passed through, embarked all his troops, and floated them down the river, to Tioga. Sullivan's force, thus augmented, consisted of nearly four thousand men, rank and file, besides waggons, &c. The Indians, against whom this army was destined, had in the field, about 550 warriors. These, with 250 refugees, were commanded by Butler, Brandt, and col. Guy Johnson. On hearing of the expedition which was projected against them, they acted with firmness. They assembled all their force; and possessed themselves of a difficult pass in the woods, near Newtown, which they fortified with judgment. Here they waited Sullivan's approach, with a fixed determination to dispute his passage. General Sullivan advanced, and, on the 29th of August, attacked them in their works. They stood a cannonade for upwards of two hours; but, perceiving that general Poor, with a considerable detachment, had taken a circuitous route, with a view to fall upon their left flank, and that other movements were made towards them, they betook themselves to a precipitate flight. Of Sullivan's men, seven were killed and fourteen wounded, in the course of the day. The consternation to which this defeat gave rise among the Indians, was so great that they gave up all thoughts of further resistance; and retreated as the Americans advanced, without attempting to throw any obstruction in their way, during the subsequent devastation of their country.

General Sullivan traversed the Indian country to a great extent, and in various directions, spreading desolation every where. Their dwellings, whether in the form of towns, or detached habitations, vast quantities of corn in the ear, many large and flourishing orchards of apple and peach-trees, and a number of gardens which produced a great quantity and variety of useful vegetables, were consigned to total and indiscriminate ruin. To complete this scene of desolation, and thus to render the expedition decisive, required that the army should remain in the Indian country several weeks; a measure which both officers and men cheerfully and unanimously agreed to, though they were obliged to put up with short rations, a greater part of the time. Such was their keen sense of the injuries sustained by those frontier inhabitants, who were exposed to the depredations of the Indians, and so full of resentment were they against an enemy who had been guilty of the most barbarous outrages, that they were desirous to continue till they had completed the destruction of the settlement, and taken ample vengeance on their savage foe; although they were convinced that they must encounter many hardships, from a scarcity of provisions, and a total want of most of the conveniences and comforts of civilized life. They were relieved, however, in some degree, by the supplies obtained in the country. So luxuriant was the soil, that the ears of corn, in many places, measured twenty-two inches in length. Of this they contrived to make a coarse kind of meal, by perforating a few of their camp-kettles, with bayonets, and rubbing the ears of corn on the rough surface formed by the protrusions.

The state of improvement among those people was found to be much more advanced than had been expected. The judicious choice of their situation for their towns and habitations; the size, neatness and construction of their houses, many of which were of frame-work; the number and largeness of their corn fields, together with the high degree of cultivation which they showed; and the size and antiquity of their orchards, were striking objects of admiration. According to general Sullivan's account of the expedition, 1500 fruit-trees were cut down in one orchard. He also mentions that the fruit-trees, in different places, had all the appearances of great age. This circumstance seems to indicate, that cultivation was not of a late date among these people; and tends likewise to overthrow an opinion which has been pretty generally received, that the Indians are incapable of looking to futurity in their conduct, and consequently are totally improvident with respect to posterity. The destruction of the orchards were highly disapproved of by some of the officers, as being a species of desolation which even the Indians had not practised; but Sullivan was determined to carry devastation to its utmost extent. Neither the cruelties of the Indians, nor the justice of the resentment against them, can prevent a feeling mind from lamenting such an unnecessary havock and destruction of the labours and hopes of mankind. It were to be wished, for the sake of humanity, that those who conduct the operations of war, were so much under the influence of reason and philosophy, as to distinguish between necessary and unnecessary devastation; and to avoid engaging in such scenes of havock as cannot be justified, either on principles of policy or necessity, merely to gratify an unworthy spirit of revenge.

By the middle of October, about three months after his setting out, Sullivan had returned as far as Easton, in Pennsylvania. He soon after rejoined the main army. The expedition proved an expensive one. Upwards of one thousand horses perished, or were obliged to be left behind, exhausted by fatigue. It is remarkable, that not more than eleven Indians were killed, during the whole of the expedition. The Indians were now made to feel, in the most sensible manner, those calamities they had long been accustomed to inflict on others. The sufferings they experienced, and the dread of a repetition of them, damped the ardour of their warriors; and rendered them cautious how they provoked the further resentment of the Americans, by their wonted depredations. The frontier settlements, though not restored to perfect tranquillity, were, for some time, exempted from a considerable proportion of the calamities in which they had been lately involved. The exertions of the Americans were much more languid and feeble in the campaign of 1779, than in that of any preceding year, since the commencement of the war. They were no longer actuated by that enthusiasm for liberty, which prompted them, for some years after the commencement of the contest, to brave all danger, and to sacrifice both life and property in the common cause. Their ardour was much abated; and numbers, consulting their private interest, resigned the military character, and resumed the more lucrative employments of civil life. Upon the establishment of the alliance with

France, in 1778, the Americans indulged the vain presumption, that the success of the revolution was no longer a matter of doubt. They had withstood the arms of Great-Britain four years, without foreign assistance; and conceived, therefore, that, aided by a powerful ally, they would not only be able to continue the contest, as before, but to drive the armies of Britain entirely out of the united States. But notwithstanding these flattering expectations, the campaign of 1778 terminated, without any direct advantage from the French fleet, which had been sent to their aid. This was a severe disappointment. Nor were their hopes in any degree realised, in the campaign of 1779. The same ill success attended the allied arms; and the Americans, from the dependance which they had placed on foreign assistance, found themselves but indifferently prepared for prosecuting the war, from their own resources. Lulled into a mistaken security, they had ceased to exert themselves in the manner their situation required. Disappointed in the favourable expectations they had indulged, their spirits were depressed in proportion to the former elevation of their hopes. Sundry internal causes combined, at this gloomy period, to relax the exertions, and increase the despondency of the Americans. The principal of these causes, however, was the daily depreciation of those bills of credit, which had been issued for the support of the war, and which had, for several years, been in such good credit, as to answer this important end. It was fortunate for America, that the embarrassed situation of Great-Britain, at this period, prevented her from prosecuting the war with vigour.

(To be continued.)



OBSERVATIONS on Dr. LOGAN'S ROTATION of CROPS.*

ALTHOUGH the general principles of that rotation of crops, recommended by Dr. Logan, are agreeable to the new and most approved mode of English husbandry; yet the particulars of it must always be liable to alteration, according to the situation or soil of the farm. The quantity of flax and potatoes proposed to be raised, will no doubt appear improper to many gentlemen in the southern States, who hitherto have been too commonly supplied with linen from Europe, and who have confined their cultivation of potatoes to the garden, merely for the table. In ground well manured, I have found both crops profitable and highly useful. It may be regarded as a disgrace to this agricultural country, that we do not cultivate a sufficient quantity of flax, to supply the whole consumption of linen within the united States. With regard to potatoes, their introduction on the farm is one of the greatest improvements of modern husbandry. For several years I have made potatoes the principal food for cattle, horses, sheep, hogs and poultry. For the two latter they should be boiled; for the former they should be washed clean, cut small, and mixed with a small quantity of Indian meal and cut straw. Oxen

and sheep will fatten more in one week on this food, than with turnips in two. The means of giving and perpetuating a fertility to the soil, without the aid of any manure, except what can be created on the farm, constitutes one great object in a rotation of crops. I have made a variety of experiments on this subject, and have considered it well. I am of opinion, that no rotation of crops can be pursued, which will not exhaust the soil, without the periodical application of manure, either immediately plowed into the ground, or by the pasturing of cattle. To give one impoverished acre a full dressing, will require a quantity of manure nearly equal to the value of the land. No rotation of crops can be pursued, that will enable a farmer to procure from the stock and produce of the farm, a greater quantity of manure, than will annually fully dress more than one ninth part of his farm. That a nine years' rotation of crops, connected with the best barn-yard management, will forever support a farm within itself, in the highest degree of cultivation. I have been pointed in my remarks respecting manure, because many are too inattentive to this important article of good husbandry. Some speculative men have ventured an opinion, that manure was not necessary on a farm. Tull and his followers maintain that the complete pulverizing of the earth, by the plough and harrow, is all that is requisite for perfecting the growth and vigour of plants. Tull was himself persuaded, and endeavoured to persuade others, that this alone would suffice, without the aid of manure; which he contended, could only serve to divide the soil and render it friable. Experience, the surest guide in all human affairs, affords us the most convincing demonstrations to the contrary of this opinion. But although we cannot adopt Tull's principles of cultivation, to the extent of his own ideas; yet it must be allowed, that Mr. Tull's exertions to support a favourite system have been of infinite service to agriculture, as they have tended to convince farmers of the prodigious advantages to be derived from deep ploughing, good harrowing, and putting the ground in a good tilth, before sowing.

The Philadelphia Society for promoting agriculture have lately started a new idea, respecting the possibility of ground being rendered forever productive, without manure. In the last publication of premiums offered by the society, it is observed that "the rotation of crops, has been found in England *constantly to improve the soil instead of exhausting it.*" I wish gentlemen not to be misled by this vague assertion of the society; and whilst they are building large barns to contain their crops, that they would not neglect good stable-yards to collect and preserve manure. The greatest advocates of the rotation system in England *only contend* that a course of crops, in which clover is introduced, may be pursued with greater advantage to the farmer, than to suffer his fields to continue two or three years covered with weeds, which was the plan of conducting their farms previous to the introduction of clover. Agreeably to the new system of agriculture,

it is evident that the best rotation of crops consists of the greatest number of valuable crops procured by one full manuring.

The Philadelphia agricultural society offer a premium of two hundred dollars for the best experiment of a five years course of crops, conducted upon principles which have been practised in England.

A five years rotation of crops may be pursued with advantage, on a few acres, in the neighbourhood of a large city, from whence any quantity of manure could be procured. In this situation, a course of crops could not take place that would be more productive and valuable, than that mentioned in Dr Logan's 13th experiment: potatoes; barley; clover; clover; wheat. The four first particularly calculated for the vicinity of a populous town; the last, valuable in any situation—but I do know, from a variety of experiments made to ascertain this point, that a five years rotation will not afford the farmer a sufficient variety of crops; and what is of greater importance, on a well conducted farm, that no crops, even connected with the best economy of procuring and employing the manure, will furnish a sufficient quantity to dress one fifth part of the farm annually—it is with the best management that the produce of a farm will annually afford a sufficiency of manure for a ninth part of it. Lord Kaimes, in his valuable publication on agriculture, observes, that no branch of husbandry requires more skill and sagacity, than a proper rotation of crops. He divides plants into culmiferous and leguminous, but does not pretend to say that either enriches the soil: the former leaves the soil hard and bound, whilst the latter tends to mellow and open it; therefore it becomes necessary that alternate crops, culmiferous and leguminous, should form the rotation. Nor are there many soils that will stand good, even with this favourable rotation, unless relieved, from time to time, by pasturing a few years. A rotation of crops for nine years could not be carried on to advantage without pasture; but on an extensive farm, pasture will be found as necessary in a rotation, as any crop of grain.

A FARMER.

DIRECTIONS for obtaining a GOOD STOCK of SHEEP.

[By JOHN BEALE BORDLEY, Esq.]

AMONGST the attentions to sheep, it is particularly recommended to farmers, that they let only a few ewes run at large with a ram, for giving a few early lambs; that the rest of the ewes be kept separate from the rams, till the middle of October, and then be allowed a ram to twenty, or at most twenty-five. Their lambs will come from the middle to the end of March. It is also advantageous to keep ewe and ram lambs apart eighteen or twenty months, from January or March till October the ensuing year, before they be suffered to be together. It is best that there be not more than one ram with a division of ewes, at a time, where they can be parcelled off into different fields, or lots, for two or three weeks.

To observe the ages of sheep is important.—Some age ought to be fixed on by the farmer, beyond which nothing should induce him to keep them. At the shearing time, the mouth of every sheep and lamb is to be inspected; and the lambs having blackish gums, or that are not straight, well made and promising, are to be marked for sale; as also the aged rams, ewes, and wethers, whatever be the age fixed on by the farmer for clearing his flock from old sheep, be it four or five years; which seem to be the ages for governing us in this particular, in the climate of America. As many lambs, the best, are to be turned out for breeders and for muttons, proportioned, as there are to be sheep disposed of, as being aged,—and a few more to supply losses, while they are growing up. The farmer will first determine on the number of grown sheep to be kept by him; then on the age he means to observe for disposing of them; for he is to have none in his flock that are not in full vigour. Dividing the number in the whole flock, by the age at which he means to dispose of them, gives the number of lambs he is to turn out as a supply to the same number of sheep, to be disposed of from the old stock;—and a few more lambs are to be turned out with the stock lambs, for making good any losses. If five years be fixed on, for the full age, and there be one hundred sheep, the fives in a hundred being twenty, direct to the disposing of twenty aged sheep, and to the turning out twenty, more four or five, in all twenty-five lambs for a supply to the flock. After six years of age, sheep decline in figure and in wool. Brambles are charged, by common farmers, with taking off all the wool that sheep appear to have lost; but when sheep decline in vigour and good plight, they decline in the quantity of their wool, and look mean, even in pastures clear of brambles.

CHARACTER of the SPANIARDS.

[From SWINBURNE'S TRAVELS through SPAIN, in 1775, and 1776.]

THE listless indolence, equally dear to the uncivilized savage, and to the degenerate slave of despotism, is no where more indulged than in Spain; thousands of men in all parts of the realm are seen to pass their whole day, wrapped up in a cloak, standing in rows against a wall, or dozing under a tree. In total want of every excitement to action, the springs of their intellectual faculties forget to play, their views grow confined within the wretched sphere of mere existence, and they scarce see, or hope, or foresee any thing better than their present state of vegetation; they feel little or no concern for the welfare or glory of a country, where the surface of the earth is engrossed by a few over-grown families, who seldom bestow a thought on the condition of their vassals. The poor Spaniard does not work, unless urged by irresistible want, because he perceives no advantage accrue from industry. As his food and raiment are purchased at a small expence, he spends no more time in labour, than is absolutely necessary for procuring the scanty provision his abstemiousness re-

quires. I have heard a peasant refuse to stub an acre, because he had that morning earned as much already as would last him the day, without putting himself to any further trouble. Yet I am convinced that this laziness is not essentially inherent in the Spanish composition; for it is impossible, without seeing them, to conceive with what eagerness they pursue any favourite scheme, with what violence their passions work upon them, and what vigour and exertion of powers they display when awakened by a bull-fight, or the more constant agitation of gaming, a vice to which they are superlatively addicted. Were it again possible, by an intelligent, spirited administration, to set before their eyes, in a clear and forcible manner, proper incitements to activity and industry, the Spaniards might yet be roused from their lethargy, and led to riches and reputation; but I confess the task is so difficult, that I look upon it rather as an Utopian idea, than as a revolution likely ever to take place.

Their soldiers are brave, and patient of hardships: wherever their officers lead them, they will follow without flinching, though it be up to the mouth of a battery of cannon; but unless the example be given them by their commander, not a step will they advance.

Most of the Spaniards are hardy; and, when once engaged, go through difficulties without murmuring, bear the inclemencies of the seasons with firmness, and support fatigue with amazing perseverance. They sleep every night in their cloaks on the ground; are sparing in diet, perhaps more from a sense of habitual indigence, than from any aversion to gluttony; whenever they can riot in the plenty of another man's table, they will gormandize to excess, and, not content with eating their fill, will carry off whatever they can stuff into their pockets. I have more than once been a witness to the pillage of a supper, by the numerous beaux and admirers which the ladies lead after them in triumph, wherever they are invited. They are fond of spices, and scarce eat any thing without saffron, pepper, or garlic; they delight in the wine that tastes strong of the pitched skin, and of oil that has a rank smell and taste; indeed, the same oil feeds their lamp, swims in their pottage, and dresses their salad: in inns the lighted lamp is frequently handed down to the table, that each man may take the quantity he chooses.—Much tobacco is used by them in smoking and chewing. All these hot, drying kinds of food, co-operating with the parching qualities of the atmosphere, are assigned as causes of the spare make of the common people in Spain, where the priests and the inn-keepers are almost the only well-fed, portly figures to be met with.

The Spanish is by no means naturally a serious, melancholy nation; misery and discontent have cast a gloom over them, increased, no doubt, by the long habit of distrust and terror inspired by the inquisition; yet every village still resounds with the music of voices and guitars; and their fairs, and Sunday wakes are remarkably noisy and riotous. They talk louder, and argue with more vehemence than even the French or Italians, and gesticulate with equal, if not superior eagerness. In Catalonia, the young men are expert at ball, and

every village has its *Pelota*, or ground for playing at fives; but in the south of Spain, I never perceived that the inhabitants used any particular exercise. I am told, that in the island of Majorca, they still wield the sling, for which their ancestors, the Balears, were so much renowned.

Like most people of southern climates, they are dirty in their persons, and over-run with vermin.

The very mention of horns is an insult, and the sight of them makes their blood boil.* As their constitution may be said to be made up of the most combustible ingredients, and prone to love in a degree that natives of more northern latitudes can have no idea of, the custom of embracing persons of the other sex, which is used on many occasions by foreigners, sets the Spaniards all on fire. They would as soon allow a man to pass the night in bed with their wives or daughters, as suffer him to give them a kiss; and indeed, I believe the ladies themselves would look upon that favour as a certain prelude to others of greater consequence. Next to accusing a Spaniard of wearing horns, nothing can give him such offence as to suspect him of having an issue.

I was surprised to find them so much more lukewarm in their devotion than I expected; but I will not take upon me to assert, though I have great reason to believe it, that there is in Spain as little true moral religion as in any country I ever travelled through, although none abounds more with provincial protectors, local Madonnas, and altars celebrated for particular cures and indulgencies: religion is a topic not to be touched, much less handled with any degree of curiosity, in the dominions of so tremendous a tribunal as the Inquisition. From what little I saw, I am apt to suspect, that the people here trouble themselves with very few serious thoughts on the subject; and that, provided they can bring themselves to believe that their favourite Saint looks upon them with an eye of affection, they take it for granted, that, under his benign influence, they are freed from all apprehensions of damnation in a future state; and indeed, from any great concern about the moral duties of this life. The burning zeal, which distinguished their ancestors above the rest of the catholic world, appears to have lost much of its activity, and really seems nearly extinguished. It is hard to ascribe bounds to the changes a crafty, steady and popular monarch might make in ecclesiastical matters. The unconcern betrayed by the whole nation at the fall of the Jesuits, is a strong proof of their present indifference. Those fathers, the most powerful body politic in the kingdom, the rulers of the palace, and the despots of the cottage, the directors of the conscience, and the disposers of the fortune of every rank of men, were all seized in one night, by detachments of soldiers, hurried like malefactors to the sea-ports, and banished forever from the realm, without the least resistance to the royal mandate being made, or even threatened. Their very memory seems to be annihilated with their power.

* For this reason the Spaniards turn their hand downwards when they beckon to any one.

We found the common people inoffensive, if not civil; and having never had an opportunity of being witnesses to any of their excesses, can say nothing of their violent jealousy or revenge, which are points most writers on Spain have expatiated upon with great pleasure. I believe in this line, as well as in many others, their bad as well as good qualities have been magnified many degrees above the truth.

The most furious example of passion and cruelty that I heard of, happened a few years ago at San Lucar. A Carmelite friar fell desperately in love with a young woman, to whom he was confessor. He tried every art of seduction his desires could suggest to him; but, to his unspeakable vexation, found her virtue or indifference proof against all his machinations. His despair was heightened to a pitch of madness, upon hearing that she was soon to be married to a person of her own rank in life. The furies of jealousy seized his soul, and worked him up to the most barbarous of all determinations, that of depriving his rival of the prize, by putting an end to her existence. He chose Easter week for the perpetration of his crime. The unsuspecting girl came to the confessional, and poured out her soul at his feet; her innocence served only to inflame his rage the more, and to confirm him in his bloody purpose. He gave her absolution and the sacrament with his own hands, as his love deterred him from murdering her, before he thought she was purified from all stain of sin, and her soul fit to take its flight to the tribunal of its Creator; but his jealousy and revenge urged him to pursue her down the church, and plunge his dagger in her heart, as she turned round to make a genu-flection to the altar. He was immediately seized, and soon condemned to die; but lest his ignominious execution should reflect dishonour on a religious order, which boasts of having an aunt of the king of France among its members, his sentence was changed into perpetual labour among the galley-slaves of Portorico.

The national qualities, good and bad, conspicuous in the lower classes of men, are easily traced, and very discernable in those of higher rank; for their education is too much neglected, their minds too little enlightened by study or communication with other nations, to rub off the general rust, with which the Spanish genius has, for above an age, been, as it were, incrustated. The public schools and universities are in a despicable state of ignorance and irregularity. Some feeble hope of future reformation is indulged by patriots, but time must shew what probabilities they are grounded upon.

The common education of an English gentleman would constitute a man of learning here; and should he understand Greek, he would be quite a phenomenon. As to the nobility, I wonder how they ever learned to read or write; or having once attained to much, how they contrive not to forget it. It is difficult to say what they pass their time in; or what means, besides inattention to business, they employ in running through their immense incomes. In the great houses one custom may contribute to extravagance; a servant once established is never discharged, unless for some very enormous of-

* Since I left Spain, a reform has taken place in the great colleges.

fence; he and his family remain pensioners as long as they live: the duke of I. pays near ten thousand pounds sterling a year in wages and annuities to servants. The grandees, one or two excepted, are diminished by a series of distempered progenitors to a race of pigmies, which dwindles away for lack of heirs, and tends gradually to an union of all the titles and estates upon the heads of one or two families. I think the Conde de Altamira has no less than nineteen grandeeships centered in his person. Though they all stile themselves *de primera classe*, as it were, by way of distinctive pre-eminence over others of a lower degree; yet I believe no second or third class exists, and it would be a very gross insult to suppose any of them were of an inferior rank to the rest of the *corps*: some difference may perhaps be made in the degrees of popular respect paid to the descendants of the heroes that make a figure in the Spanish annals, and such grandees as have been honoured with the dignity in latter times. A grandee can marry none but his equal. They all *thou* each other, and affect to appear backward in mixing in other company. The Spanish women are in general little and thin; few are strikingly beautiful, but almost all have sparkling black eyes, full of expression. It is not the fashion here, as in France, to heighten their *ecclat* with paint. They are endowed by nature with a great deal of wit and lively repartee, but for want of the polish and succours of education, their wit remains obscured by the rudest ignorance, and the most ridiculous prejudices. Their tempers having never been fashioned by polite intercourse, nor softened by necessary contradiction, are extremely pettish and violent. They are continually pouting for something or other, and put out of humour by the merest trifles. Most of the ladies about court are the reverse of handsome, and do not seem to have any ambition of passing for clever or accomplished; not one talent do they possess; nor do they ever work, read, write, or touch any musical instrument: their *Cortejo*, or gallant, seems their only play-thing. I believe no country exhibits more bare-faced amours, and such an appearance of indelicate debauchery as this. The account given me of their manner of living in their family ways as soon as they come out of the convent, and before they have fixed upon a lover to fill up their time more agreeably, is as follows: they rise late, and loiter away the remains of the morning among their attendants, or wear it out at church in a long bead-roll of mutual unmeaning prayers; they dine sparingly, sleep, and then dress to saunter for a couple of hours on the Prado. They are never without some sort of sugar-plum or high spiced comfit in their mouths. As soon as it is dark, they run to the house of some elderly female relation, where they all huddle together over a pan of coals, and would not for the world approach the company that may occasionally drop in; it would throw them into the greatest confusion, were they to be requested to join in the conversation. The hour of the assembly passed, they hurry home to their maids, and, with their help, set about dressing their own suppers by way of amusement.

CHARACTER of a late AMERICAN OFFICER.

HE was born of very reputable and wealthy parents, in the state of Connecticut. After he had finished his English education in the vicinity of his parents, he was sent to New-Jersey college. From his fertile imagination, his vivacious temper, and his boundless propensity for learning, he soon became thoroughly acquainted with the classics. In so grateful a soil, as his genius, it was next to impossible for education not to have flourished. He left the seminary at a very early period; happily uniting the qualities of the unaffected scholar, with the refinements of the polite gentleman:—His affability was as pleasing as his manner was engaging; an equal enemy to servile flattery, and to supercilious arrogance. His amiable disposition bought him friends without *money*, or without *price*, and the respectability of his virtues taught esteem to follow him, wherever he went. At the age of eighteen, he was promoted to the command of a regiment; and it may appear somewhat surprising, that at so early a period he was capable of blending the vivacity of youthful intrepidity, with all the sober maturity of experience. After the termination of the Indian and French war against the British, in which he acquired great honour, he sheathed his sword in its peaceful scabbard, in order to enjoy the fruits of his toils—the sweets of retirement. But his faculties were of too grasping and aspiring a nature, to delight in the shade of private life—he thought he would carry them to a theatre, on which he might display their uncommon lustre to more advantage. He embarked for England, and possessing an affluent fortune, he carried with him recommendations, equivalent to his money. He was introduced to the late earl of Chesterfield; who, on account of his address as a gentleman, together with the eclat of his military character, presented him to the king, who received him very graciously. After being initiated into the gay and polite circles, and treading a perpetual round of pleasures, till he became perfectly fatiated with the enjoyments of a court life, he bid adieu to his patron and friend, lord Chesterfield, and to England, and arrived in a few weeks in his native place—where he was received with equal joy and surprize by his parents and relations: the uncommon brilliancy of his equipage, and other exterior appendages of splendour, kept some of his former acquaintances for some time at an awful distance: but though perhaps he might have left some of his virtues behind him, and in their stead have brought a spice of some vices, yet he preserved his good understanding unimpaired, which made him on all occasions accessible to former friendships. His house was a perfect levee of joyous entertainment; his doors turned on the hinges of hospitality, and gladness sparkled in the eyes of all his guests. But the manners of these sober republicans, viewing with some concern the growing evils which might result from too great an indulgence in these voluptuous scenes, persuaded his parents to throw a gentle check on his eccentric enjoyments,—and they married him to an amiable woman. The cares of a growing offspring, in some measure wore off his inordinate appetite for convivial

society. The American war came on, and he being a friend to the bleeding cause of imploring freedom, gallantly espoused her injured rights. He fought a good fight, and completed the glory of his profession. But the seeds of debauchery and extravagance, which had been too profusely sown in his European pleasures, sprang up afresh with redoubled vigour—his constitution wasted away with his fortune, and at length he fell an untimely victim to the chymical process of the bottle. In order to give a finishing stroke to the features of his character—nature, as if anxious that so bright a pattern of her works should be set in the fairest light, had bestowed on him all bodily accomplishments; dignity of shape and air, with a pleasant, manly and open countenance; his exterior comeliness could only be surpassed by the intellectual polish of his mind. Reader—drop a tear of sensibility on his misfortunes, and weed this nettle from his grave. *Alas! that so fair a flower should be withered by a rude blast of DISSIPATION*

CURIOUS ACCOUNT of a CHIEF residing near NOOTKA, and of a FEAST given by him to Mr. MEARS, and his SHIP'S COMPANY.

[FROM MEARS'S VOYAGES.]

ON entering the house, we were absolutely astonished at the vast area it enclosed: it contained a large square, boarded up close on all sides to the height of twenty feet, with planks of uncommon breadth and length. Three enormous trees, rudely carved and painted, formed the rafters, which were supported at the ends and in the middle, by gigantic images, carved out of huge blocks of timber. The same kind of broad planks covered the whole, to keep out the rain; but they were so placed as to be removed at pleasure, either to receive the air or light, or let out the smoke. In the middle of this spacious room were several fires, and beside them large wooden vessels, filled with fish soup. Large slices of whale's flesh lay in a state of preparation, to be put in similar machines, filled with water, into which the women, with a kind of stones, conveyed hot stones from very fierce fires, in order to make it boil. Heaps of fish were strewed about, and in this central part of the place, which might be very properly called the kitchen, stood large seal-skins, filled with oil, from which the guests were served with that delicious beverage. The trees which supported the roof were of a size which would render the mast of a first-rate man of war diminutive, on a comparison with them; indeed our curiosity, as well as our astonishment, was on its utmost stretch, when we considered the strength that must be necessary to raise these enormous beams to their present elevation; and how such strength could be found, by a people wholly unacquainted with the mechanic powers.

The door by which we entered this extraordinary fabric was the mouth of one of these huge images, which, larger as it may be supposed, was not disproportioned to the other features of this monstrous image's visage. We ascended by a few steps on the outside, and after passing this extraordinary kind of portal, descended down to the chin into the house, where we found new matter for astonishment, in the number of men, women, and children, who composed the family of the chief, which consisted of at least *eight hundred* persons: these were divided into groups, according to their respective offices, which had their distinct places assigned them. The whole of the building was surrounded by a bench, about two feet from the ground, on which the various inhabitants sat, eat, and slept. The chief, who was called Wicaninist, appeared at the upper end of the room, surrounded by natives of rank, on a small, raised platform, around which were placed several large chests, over which hung bladders of oil, large slices of whale's flesh, and proportionable goblets of blubber. Festoons of human skulls, arranged with some attention to uniformity, were disposed in almost every part where they could be placed, and were considered as a very splendid decoration of the royal apartment.

When we appeared, the guests had made a considerable advance in their banquet. Before each person was placed a large slice of boiled whale, which, with small, wooden dishes, filled with oil and fish soup, and a large muscle shell, by way of spoon, composed the economy of the table. The servants were busily employed in preparing to replenish the several dishes as they were emptied, and the women in picking and opening the bark of a tree, which served the purpose of towels. If the luxury of this entertainment is to be determined by the voraciousness with which it was eaten, and the quantity that was swallowed, we must consider it as the most luxurious feast we had ever beheld. Even the children, and some of them were not more than three years old, possessed the same rapacious appetite for oil and blubber as their fathers: the women, however, are forbidden from eating at these ceremonials.

Wicaninist, with an air of hospitality which would have graced a more cultivated society, met us half way from the entrance, and conducted us to a seat near his own, on which we placed ourselves, and indulged our curiosity, during the remainder of the banquet, in reviewing the perspective of this singular habitation. The feast being ended, we were desired to shew the presents which were intended for the chief: a great variety of articles, brought for that purpose, were accordingly displayed, among which were several blankets and two copper tea-kettles. The eyes of the whole assembly were rivetted upon these unusual objects, and a guardian was immediately assigned to the two tea-kettles, who, on account of their extraordinary value and beauty, was ordered to place them, with great care, in the royal coffers, which consisted of large chests rudely carved, and fancifully adorned with human teeth. About fifty men now advanced in the middle of the area, each of them holding up before us a sea-otter's skin, of near six feet in length, and the most jetty blackness. As they remained in this posture, the

chief made a speech, and, giving his hand in token of friendship, informed us the skins were the return he proposed to make for our present, and accordingly ordered them to be immediately sent to the ship.

Our royal host appeared to be entirely satisfied with our homage; and we, who were equally pleased with his magnificence, were about to take our leave, when the ladies of his family advanced towards us, from a distant part of the building, whither they had retired during the entertainment. Two of them had passed the middle age, but the other two were young, and the beauty of their countenances was so powerful as to predominate over the oil and red ochre, which, in a great measure, covered them: one of the latter, in particular, displayed so sweet an air of diffidence and modesty, that no disgust of colour, or deformity of dress, could preclude her from awakening an interest even in minds cultured to refinement. We had not, very fortunately, disposed of all the treasure we had brought on shore, and a few beads and ear-rings that yet remained, served to give our visit a concluding grace, by presenting them to these ladies of the court.

EXTRACTS from PAINE'S RIGHTS of MAN—Part II.

That England has no constitution.

IN England, it is not difficult to perceive that every thing has a constitution, except the nation. Every society and association that is established, first agreed upon a number of original articles, digested into form, which are its constitution. It then appointed its officers, whose powers and authorities are described in that constitution, and the government of that society then commenced. Those officers, by whatever name they are called, have no authority to add to, alter, or abridge the original articles. It is only to the constituting power that this right belongs!

From the want of understanding the difference between a constitution and a government, Dr. Johnson, and all writers of his description, have always bewildered themselves. They could not but perceive, that there must necessarily be a *controlling* power existing somewhere, and they placed this power in the discretion of the persons exercising the government, instead of placing it in a constitution, formed by the nation. When it is in a constitution, it has the nation for its support, and the natural and the political controlling powers are together. The laws which are enacted by governments, control men only as individuals, but the nation, through its constitution, controls the whole government, and has a natural ability to do so. The final controlling power, therefore, and the original constituting power, are one and the same power.

Dr. Johnson could not have advanced such a position in any country where there was a constitution; and he is himself an evidence, that no such thing as a constitution exists in England. But it may be

put as a question, not improper to be investigated, That if a constitution does not exist, how came the idea of its existence so generally established?

In order to decide this question, it is necessary to consider a constitution in both its cases:—First, as creating a government and giving it powers. Secondly, as regulating and restraining the powers so given.

If we begin with William of Normandy, we find that the government of England was originally a tyranny, founded on an invasion and conquest of the country. This being admitted, it will then appear, that the exertion of the nation, at different periods, to abate that tyranny, and render it less intolerable, has been credited for a constitution.

Magna Charta, as it was called, (it is now like an almanack of the same date,) was no more than compelling the government to renounce a part of its assumptions. It did not create and give powers to government in the manner a constitution does; but was, as far as it went, of the nature of a re-conquest, and not of a constitution; for could the nation have totally expelled the usurpation, as France has done its despotism, it would then have had a constitution to form.

The history of the Edwards and the Henries, and up to the commencement of the Stuarts, exhibits as many instances of tyranny as could be acted within the limits to which the nation had restricted it. The Stuarts endeavoured to pass those limits, and their fate is well known. In all those instances, we see nothing of a constitution, but only of restrictions on assumed power.

After this, another William, descended from the same stock, and claiming from the same origin, gained possession; and of the two evils, James and William, the nation preferred what it thought the least; since, from circumstances, it must take one. The act, called the Bill of Rights, comes here into view. What is it but a bargain which the parts of the government made with each other to divide powers, profits, and privileges? You shall have so much, and I will have the rest; and with respect to the nation, it said, for your share, you shall have the right of petitioning. This being the case, the bill of rights is more properly a bill of wrongs, and of insult. As to what is called the convention parliament, it was a thing that made itself, and then made the authority by which it acted. A few persons got together, and called themselves by that name. Several of them had never been elected, and none of them for the purpose.

From the time of William, a species of government arose, issuing out of this coalition bill of rights; and more so, since the corruption introduced at the Hanover succession, by the agency of Walpole, that can be described by no other name than a despotic legislation. Though the parts may embarrass each other, the whole has no bounds; and the only right it acknowledges out of itself, is the right of petitioning. Where then is the constitution either that gives or that restrains power? It is not because a part of the government is elective, that makes it less a despotism; if the persons so elected, possess afterwards, as a parliament, unlimited powers. Election, in this case, becomes

separated from representation, and the candidates are candidates for despotism. It must, therefore, be a variety of despotism, and each had more or less of it. *Wretchedness of the poor under the old governments.*

When, in countries that are called civilized, we see age going to the work-house and youth to the gallows, something must be wrong in the system of government. It would seem, by the exterior appearance of such countries, that all was happiness; but there lies hidden from the eye of common observation, a mass of wretchedness that has scarcely any other chance, than to expire in poverty or infamy. Its entrance into life is marked with the presage of its fate; and until this is remedied, it is in vain to punish.

Civil government does not consist in executions; but in making such provision for the instruction of youth, and the support of age, as to exclude, as much as possible, profligacy from the one, and despair from the other. Instead of this, the resources of a country are lavished upon kings, upon courts, upon hirelings, impostors, and prostitutes; and even the poor themselves, with all their wants upon them, are compelled to support the fraud that oppresses them.

Why is it, that scarcely any are executed but the poor? The fact is a proof, among other things, of a wretchedness in their condition. Bred up without morals, and cast upon the world without a prospect, they are the exposed sacrifice of vice and legal barbarity. The millions that are superfluously wasted upon governments, are more than sufficient to reform those evils, and to benefit the condition of every man in a nation, not included within the purlieus of a court.

On variety in religious opinions, and modes of worship.

Throughout this work, various and numerous as the subjects are, which I have taken up and investigated, there is only a single paragraph upon religion, viz. "*That every religion is good, that teaches man to be good.*"

I have carefully avoided to enlarge upon the subject, because I am inclined to believe, that what is called the present ministry wish to see contentions about religion kept up, to prevent the nation turning its attention to subjects of government. It is, as if they were to say, "*Look that way, or any way, but this.*"

But, as religion is very improperly made a political machine, and the reality of it is thereby destroyed, I will conclude this work with stating in what light religion appears to me.

If we suppose a large family of children, who, on any particular day, or particular circumstance, made it a custom to present to their parent some token of their affection and gratitude, each of them would make a different offering, and most probably in a different manner. Some would pay their congratulations in themes of verse or prose, by some little devices, as their genius dictated, or according to what they thought would please; and, perhaps, the least of all, not able to do any of those things, would ramble into the garden, or the field, and gather what it thought the prettiest flower

it could find, though, perhaps, it might be but a simple need. The parent would be more gratified by such a variety, than if the whole of them had acted on a concerted plan, and each had made exactly the same offering. This would have the cold appearance of contrivance, or the harsh one of controul. But of all unwelcome things, nothing could more afflict the parent than to know, that the whole of them had afterwards gotten together by the ears, boys and girls; fighting, scratching, reviling, and abusing each other about which was the best or worst present.

Why may we not suppose, that the great Father of all is pleased with variety of devotion; and that the greatest offence we can act, is that by which we seek to torment and render each other miserable.

I do not believe that any two men, on what are called doctrinal points, think alike, who think at all. It is only those who have not thought, that appear to agree.

As to what are called national religions, we may, with as much propriety, talk of national Gods. It is either political craft or the remains of the Pagan system, when every nation had its separate and particular deity.

On INTEMPERANCE in DRINKING.

THE arguments against drunkenness, which the common reason of mankind suggests, are these:—

The contemptible figure which it gives us :

The hindrance it is to any confidence being reposed in us, so far as our secrecy is concerned :

The dangerous advantage which it affords the crafty and the knave all over us :

The bad effects which it hath on our health :

The prejudice which our minds receive from it :

Its disposing us to many crimes, and preparing us for the greatest :

The contemptible figure, which drunkenness gives us, is no weak argument for avoiding it.

Every reader has found the Spartans mentioned, as inculcating sobriety on their children, by exposing to their notice the behaviour of their slaves in a drunken fit. They thought, that were they to apply wholly to the reason of the youths, it might be to little purpose: as the force of the arguments, which they used, might not be sufficiently apprehended, or the impression thereof might be soon effaced: but when they made them frequently eye-witnesses of all the madness and absurdities, and at length the perfect senselessness, which the immoderate draught occasioned: the idea of the *sile change* would be so fixed in the minds of its beholders, as to render them utterly averse from its cause.

And may we not justly conclude it to be from hence, that the offspring of the persons who are accustomed thus to disguise themselves, often prove remarkably sober? They avoid, in their riper years, their parent's crime, from the detestation of it, which they contracted in

their *earlier*. As to most other vices, their debasing circumstances are not fully known to us till we have attained a maturity of age, nor can be then, till they have been duly attended to: but in our very childhood, at our first beholding the effects of drunkenness, we are struck with astonishment, that a reasonable being should be thus changed—should be induced to make himself such an object of contempt and scorn. And, indeed, we must have the man in the *utmost* contempt, whom we hear and see in his progress to excess; at first, teasing you with his contentiousness or impertinence—mistaking your meaning and hardly knowing his own—then, faltering in his speech—unable to get through an entire sentence—his hand trembling—his eyes swimming—his legs too feeble to support him; till, at length, you only know the human creature by his shape.

I cannot but add, that were one of any sense to have a just notion of all the silly things he says or does, of the wretched appearance, which he makes in a *drunken fit*, he could not want a more powerful argument against repeating his crime.

A second objection to drunkenness is, that it hinders any confidence being reposed in us, so far as our secrecy is concerned.

Who can trust the man who is not master of himself? Wine, as it lessens our caution, so it prompts us to speak our thoughts without reserve: when it has sufficiently inflamed us, all the suggestions of prudence pass for the apprehensions of cowardice; we are regardless of consequences; our foresight is gone, and our fear with it. Here then the artful person properly introducing the subject, urging us to enter upon it—and, after that, praising, or blaming, or contradicting, or questioning us, is soon able to draw from us whatever information he desires to obtain.

The young debauchee soon experiences the issue of his misconduct—soon finds his food disrelished, his stomach weakened, his strength decayed, his body wasted. In the flower of his youth, he often feels all the infirmities of extreme old age; and when not yet in the middle of human life, is got to the end of his own.

If we have attained to manhood, to our full vigour, before we run into the excess, from which I am dissuading; we may, indeed, possibly, be many years in breaking a good constitution: but then, if a sudden stroke dispatch us not; if we are not cut off without the least leisure given us to implore the mercy of heaven; to how much uneasiness are we, generally, reserved—what a variety of painful distempers threaten us! All of them there is very little probability we should escape; and under which soever of them we may labour, we shall experience its cure hopeless, and its severity the saddest lesson, how dear the purchase was of our former mirth.

Every time we offend in it, we are first madmen, and then idiots; we first say, and do, a thousand the most ridiculous and extravagant things, and then appear quite void of sense. By annexing these constant inconveniences to drinking immoderately, it seems the design of a wise Providence to teach us, what we may fear from a habit of it—to give us a foretaste of the miseries which it will at length bring upon us, not for a few hours alone, but for the whole remainder of our lives. What numbers have, by hard drinking, fallen into an incur-

able distraction! And who was ever for many years a sot, without destroying the quickness of his apprehension, and the strength of his memory? What mere drivellers have some of the best capacities become, after a long course of excess!

As we drink to raise our spirits, but, by that raising, we weaken them; so whatever fresh vigour our parts may seem to derive from our wine, it is a vigour which wastes them; which, by being often thus called out, destroys its source, our natural fancy and understanding. It is like a man's spending upon his principal: he may, for a season, make a figure much superior to *his*, who supports himself upon the interest of his fortune; but is sure to be undone, when the other is unhurt.

From all the observations which we can make on the human frame, it may be fairly supposed, that it is not reasonable to think we can be, for many years enflaming our brains, without injuring them—be continually disordering the most delicate parts of our machine, without impairing them. A lively imagination, a quick apprehension, a retentive memory, depend upon parts in our structure, which are more easily hurt, than such, whose sound state is necessary for the preservation of mere life: and therefore we perceive those several faculties often entirely lost, long before the body drops. The man is very frequently seen to survive himself—to continue a living creature, after he has, for some years, ceased to be a rational one. And to this deplorable state nothing is more likely to bring us, than a habit of drunkenness; as there is no vice that more immediately affects those organs, by the help of which we apprehend, reason, remember, and perform the like acts.

What, *sixthly*, ought to raise in us the utmost abhorrence of drunkenness is, the consideration of the many crimes to which it disposes us. He through whose veins the inflaming potion has spread itself, must be under a greater temptation to lewdness, than you can think him in any other circumstances: and from the little reasoning, of which he is then capable, as to the difference of the two crimes, would hesitate no more at adultery than fornication.

Thus, also, for immoderate anger, contention, scurrility and abuse, acts of violence, and the most injurious treatment of others; they are all offences, into which drunkenness is most apt to betray us; so apt to do it, that you will scarcely find a company drinking to excess, without many provoking speeches and actions passing in it—without more or less strife, before it separates. We even perceive the most gentle and peaceable, the most humane and civilized, when they are sober, no sooner intoxicated, than they put off all those commendable qualities, and assume, as it were, a new nature—a nature as different from their former, as the most untractable and fiercest of the brute kind are, from the most accomplished and amiable of our own.

August, 1792. ○

TWO PAPERS *Written by* DR. FRANKLIN.

No. I. ENDORSED, in DR. FRANKLIN'S Hand, as follows, viz.

Letter to Abbe SOULAVIE, occasioned by his sending me some notes he had taken of what I had said to him in conversation on the theory of the earth. I wrote it to set him right in some points wherein he had mistaken my meaning.

Passy, September 22, 1782.

S-I-R,

I RETURN the papers with some corrections. I did not find coal mines under the calcareous rock in Derbyshire. I only remarked, that at the lowest part of that rocky mountain, which was in sight, there were oyster shells mixed with the stone; and part of the high county of Derby being probably as much above the level of the sea, as the coal mines of Whitehaven were below, it seemed a proof that there had been a great bouleversement in the surface of that island, some part of it having been depressed under the sea, and other parts, which had been under it, being raised above it. Such changes in the superficial parts of the globe, seemed to me unlikely to happen, if the earth were solid to the centre. I therefore imagined that the internal parts might be a fluid more dense, and of greater specific gravity than any of the solids we are acquainted with; which therefore might swim in or upon that fluid. Thus the surface of the globe would be a shell, capable of being broken and disordered by the violent movements of the fluid on which it rested. And, as air has been compressed by art so as to be twice as dense as water, in which case, if such air and water could be contained in a strong glass vessel, the air would be seen to take the lowest place, and the water to float above and upon it; and, as we know not yet the degree of density to which air may be compressed, and M. Amontons calculated, that its density increasing as it approached the centre in the same proportion as above the surface, it would, at the depth of leagues, be heavier than gold, possibly the dense fluid occupying the internal parts of the globe might be air compressed. And as the force of expansion in dense air when heated, is in proportion to its density; this central air might afford another agent to move the surface, as well as be of use in keeping alive the central fires: tho', as you observe, the sudden rarefaction of water, coming into contact, without those fires, may be an agent sufficiently strong for that purpose, when acting between the incumbent earth and the fluid on which it rests.

If one might indulge imagination in supposing how such a globe was formed, I should conceive, that all the elements in separate particles; being originally mixed in confusion, and occupying a great space, they would (as soon as the Almighty fiat ordained gravity, or the mutual attraction of certain parts, and the mutual repulsion of other parts, to exist) all move towards their common centre: That the air being a fluid whose parts repel each other, tho' drawn to the common centre by their gravity, would be densest towards the cen-

tre, and rarer as more remote; consequently, all bodies, lighter than the central parts of that air, and immersed in it, would recede from the centre, and rise till they arrived at that region of the air, which was of the same specific gravity with themselves, where they would rest; while other matter, mixed with the lighter air, would descend, and the two meeting would form the shell of the first earth, leaving the upper atmosphere nearly clear. The original movement of the parts towards their common centre would form a whirl there; which would continue in the turning of the new formed globe upon its axis, and the greatest diameter of the shell would be in its equator. If by any accident afterwards the axis should be changed, the dense internal fluid, by altering its form, must burst the shell and throw all its substance into the confusion in which we find it. I will not trouble you at present with my fancies concerning the manner of forming the rest of our system. Superior beings smile at our theories, and at our presumption in making them. I will just mention that your observation of the ferruginous nature of the lava, which is thrown out from the depths of our volcanoes, gave me great pleasure. It has long been a supposition of mine, that the iron contained in the substance of the globe has made it capable of becoming, as it is, a great magnet; that the fluid of magnetism exists perhaps in all space; so that there is a magnetical North and South of the universe, as well as of this globe, and that if it were possible for a man to fly from star to star, he might govern his course by the compass; that it was by the power of this general magnetism this globe became a particular magnet. In soft or hot iron the fluid of magnetism is naturally diffused equally: when within the influence of a magnet, it is drawn to one end of the iron, made denser there and rarer at the other. While the iron continues soft and hot it is only a temporary magnet: If it cools or grows hard in that situation, it becomes a permanent one, the magnetic fluid not easily resuming its equilibrium. Perhaps it may be owing to the permanent magnetism of this globe, which it had not at first, that its axis is at present kept parallel to itself, and not liable to the changes it formerly suffered, which occasioned the rupture of its shell, the submersions and emersions of its lands, and the confusion of its seasons. The present polar and equatorial diameters differing from each other near ten leagues, it is easy to conceive in case some power should shift the axis gradually, and place it in the present equator, and make the new equator pass through the present poles, what a sinking of the waters would happen in the present equatorial regions, and what a rising in the present polar regions; so that vast tracts would be discovered that now are under water, and others covered that now are dry, the water rising and sinking in the different extremes near five leagues. Such an operation as this possibly occasioned much of Europe, and among the rest this mountain of Passy on which I live, and which is composed of limestone, rock and sea-shells, to be abandoned by the sea, and to change its ancient climate, which seems to have been a hot one. The globe being now become a perfect magnet, we are perhaps safe from any future change of its axis. But we are still subject to the accidents on the surface, which are occasi-

oned by a wave in the internal ponderous fluid; and such a wave is produced by the sudden violent explosion you mention, happening from the junction of water and fire under the earth, which not only lifts the incumbent earth that is over the explosion, but impressing with the same force the fluid under it, creates a wave that may run a thousand leagues, lifting, and thereby shaking successively, all the countries under which it passes. I know not whether I have expressed myself so clearly, as not to get out of your sight in these reveries. If they occasion any new enquiries, and produce a better hypothesis, they will not be quite useless. You see I have given a loose to imagination, but I approve much more your method of philosophizing, which proceeds upon actual observation, makes a collection of facts, and concludes no farther than those facts will warrant. In my present circumstances, that mode of studying the nature of the globe is out of my power, and therefore I have permitted myself to wander a little in the wilds of fancy. With great esteem, I have the honour to be, sir, &c.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

P. S. I have heard that chemists can by their art decompose stone and wood, extracting a considerable quantity of water from the one, and air from the other. It seems natural to conclude from this, that water and air were ingredients in their original composition: For men cannot make new matter of any kind. In the same manner may we not suppose, that when we consume combustibles of all kinds, and produce heat or light, we do not create that heat or light; we only decompose a substance which received it originally as a part of its composition? Heat may thus be considered as originally in a fluid state; but, attracted by organized bodies in their growth, becomes a part of the solid. Besides this, I can conceive that in the first assemblage of the particles of which this earth is composed, each brought its portion of the loose heat that had been connected with it, and the whole, when pressed together, produced the internal fire which still subsists.

No. II.—ENDORSED.

LOOSE THOUGHTS *on an* UNIVERSAL FLUID, &c.

PASSY, *June 25, 1784.*

UNIVERSAL space, as far as we know of it, seems to be filled with a subtil fluid, whose motion, or vibration, is called light.

This fluid may possibly be the same with that which being attracted by, and entering into other more solid matter, dilates the substance, by separating the constituent particles, and so rendering some solids fluid, and maintaining the fluidity of others: of which fluid when our bodies are totally deprived, they are said to be frozen; when they have a proper quantity, they are in health, and fit to perform all their functions; it is then called natural heat: when too much, it is called fever; and when forced into the body in too great a quantity from without, it gives pain by separating and destroying

the flesh, and is then called burning; and the fluid so entering and acting is called fire.

While organized bodies, animal or vegetable, are augmenting in growth, or are supplying their continual waste, is not this done by attracting and consolidating this fluid called fire, so as to form of it a part of their substance? and is it not a separation of the parts of such substance, which, dissolving its solid state, sets that subtle fluid at liberty, when it again makes its appearance as fire?

For the power of man relative to matter seems limited to the dividing it, or mixing the various kinds of it, or changing its form and appearance by different compositions of it; but does not extend to the making or creating of new matter, or annihilating the old: thus, if fire be an original element, or kind of matter, its quantity is fixed and permanent in the world. We cannot destroy any part of it, or make addition to it; we can only separate it from that which confines it, and so set it at liberty, as when we put wood in a situation to be burnt; or transfer it from one solid to another, as when we make lime by burning stone, a part of the fire dislodged from the wood being left in the stone. May not this fluid, when at liberty, be capable of penetrating and entering into all bodies, organized or not, quitting easily in totality those not organized; and quitting easily in part those which are; the part assumed and fixed remaining till the body is dissolved?

Is it not this fluid which keeps a funder the particles of air, permitting them to approach, or separating them more, in proportion as its quantity is diminished or augmented? Is it not the greater gravity of the particles of air, which forces the particles of this fluid to mount with the matters to which it is attached, as smoke or vapour?

Does it not seem to have a great affinity with water, since it will quit a solid to unite with that fluid, and go off with it in vapour, leaving the solid cold to the touch, and the degree measurable by the thermometer?

The vapour rises attached to this fluid, but at a certain height they separate, and the vapour descends in rain, retaining but little of it, in snow or hail less. What becomes of that fluid? Does it rise above our atmosphere, and mix equally with the universal mass of the same kind? Or does a spherical stratum of it, denser, or less mixed with air, attracted by this globe, and repelled or pushed up only to a certain height from its surface, by the greater weight of air, remain there surrounding the globe, and proceeding with it round the sun?

In such case, as there may be a continuity or communication of this fluid through the air quite down to the earth, is it not by the vibrations given to it by the sun that light appears to us; and may it not be, that every one of the infinitely small vibrations, striking common matter with a certain force, enter its substance, are held there by attraction, and augmented by succeeding vibrations, till the matter has received as much as their force can drive into it?

Is it not thus that the surface of this globe is continually heated by such repeated vibrations in the day, and cooled by the escape of the heat when those vibrations are discontinued in the night, or intercepted and reflected by clouds?

Is it not thus that fire is amassed, and makes the greatest part of the substance of combustible bodies?

Perhaps when this globe was first formed, and its original particles took their place at certain distances from the centre, in proportion to their greater or less gravity, the fluid fire, attracted towards that centre, might in great part be obliged, as lightest, to take place above the rest, and thus form the sphere of fire above supposed, which would afterwards be continually diminishing by the substance it afforded to organized bodies, and the quantity restored to it again by the burning or other separating of the parts of those bodies?

Is not the natural heat of animals thus produced, by separating in digestion the parts of food, and setting their fire at liberty?

Is it not this sphere of fire which kindles the wandering globes that sometimes pass through it in our course round the sun, have their surface kindled by it, and burst when their included air is greatly rarefied by the heat on their burning surfaces?

HINTS for guarding against the DESTRUCTION of APPLES by the CANKER-WORM.

THE destruction of apples by the canker-worm, in various parts of the country, is a tedious and alarming calamity; and it is the duty of every man to contribute his mite towards restraining and avoiding the evil.

About a year ago, a respectable gentleman, who is more than eighty years of age, remarked to me, "that this species of worm never touch apple-trees which stand on clay." I cast my eye over the orchards in this town, and found the remark verified by facts. In the centre of the town, where the soil is mostly a pure stiff clay, not a tree was affected by this devouring animal, and this gentleman informed me, the fact had been the same ever since his remembrance.

I have lately made a journey to the eastward, and am, by particular observations, convinced of the truth of the fact. I find, that wherever orchards stand on clay, or a cold, moist, springy soil, the trees remain untouched. A gravelly soil is not friendly to these worms; but if the gravel is mixed with a soft light earth, the trees thereon are considerably injured. On the other hand, gravel, mixed with a hard clayed earth, never admits the worm. In short, the lighter the earth where the trees stand, the earlier the worm appears, and the more complete their ravages.

These facts suggest to farmers the propriety of choosing such spots on their farms for orchards, as do not admit the worm; for hard clay and cold moist earth do not furnish this animal with agreeable lodgings.

I would further just hint to farmers, who have not a choice of soils for orchards, the possibility that, by plowing or digging up the earth under the trees; just before winter, and exposing the worm to the action of rain and frost, they may perhaps destroy it, or so lessen the number, as to save the fruit of the succeeding year.

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

I M P A R T I A L R E V I E W

Of American Publications.

The MISCELLANEOUS ESSAYS and OCCASIONAL WRITINGS of FRANCIS HOPKINSON, *Esq.* Philad. 3 vol. 8vo. Price, in boards, 4 dols.

MOST of the essays contained in these volumes were formerly published in detail; and many of them were so generally admired at the time, as to establish the literary reputation of the author, and procure him a large portion of well-earned fame. This collection, therefore, cannot fail to be well received by the citizens of the united states, who will long continue to revere the memory of Mr. H. whose distinguished talents were exerted to promote the best interests of his country, in the most trying emergencies. His writings show him to have been an early, an active, and a persevering whig; and a powerful advocate for the establishment of our present form of federal government. Some of his most valuable performances on political subjects are in the allegorical form, a mode of writing in which he has been equalled by few.

The subjects of these essays being almost as various as the essays themselves are numerous, we shall not so far descend to particulars, as to attempt to give an account of the several pieces. Nor does such minuteness appear necessary, when we consider that the writings and literary character of the author are very generally known. Suffice it to observe, generally, that the leading characteristics of Mr. Hopkinson's writings are, extraordinary versatility of genius, combined with extensive science; brilliancy of imagination, connected with a sound judgment and good taste; and genuine humour, uncontaminated by that low and trifling species of wit, which can yield pleasure to none but vulgar and frivolous minds.

We are informed, in a note prefixed to the first volume, that the several pieces were prepared for the press by the author, before his death; and that they are now published from his manuscripts, in the dress in which he left them. But had he lived to superintend the publication of them himself, we think it probable that he would either have revised or expunged some of them, which were written to answer purposes of a temporary nature; and others, in which particular characters are severely satirized. In our opinion, these cast a shade over the splendour of his works. In justice to the memory of Mr. H. we shall state one fact, which supports our opinion, that sundry alterations would have been made, had he lived to revise his literary productions. The editor of a daily paper, which was established in this city some time after the publication of Mr. Hopkinson's celebrated allegory of "The New Roof," applied to him for a correct copy of that performance, which he proposed to insert in his gazette. Mr. H. complied with his request; but was particularly careful to

strike out the concluding observations, in which he had burlesqued the ravings of a declamatory writer, in the public papers. This was certainly a judicious and laudable omission. For, besides that the name of the declamatory writer alluded to had become publicly known, the force and beauty of the allegory were diminished, by a conclusion which was beneath the dignity of that inimitable performance, and which had no immediate connection with it. And yet the allegory is now published in its original form; and accompanied with the essay which is the subject of the burlesque.

Of these volumes, the first and second consist of miscellaneous prose; the third commences with judgments given by Mr. Hopkinson, in the admiralty of Pennsylvania, and concludes with his poetical writings.

Should any of our readers be unacquainted with Mr. H's manner of writing, the following extract will afford them a tolerable specimen of that elegant humour, for which he was so much and so justly admired by all who knew him.

CONGRESS had, from some disgust, suddenly removed from Philadelphia to Princeton in New-Jersey: but, finding themselves but ill accommodated there, they took into consideration the fixing upon some suitable place for their permanent residence. In canvassing this question, the eastern and southern delegates could not agree on a situation equally convenient for both. On motion of Mr. G—, it was at length determined, that congress should have two places of alternate residence: one on the banks of the Potowmack, and the other on the banks of the Delaware: and it was resolved, that congress should not remain less than six months, nor more than two years at either of these places at one time. But as there was no town on the Potowmack fit for their reception, they, for the present, adjourned to Annapolis. This circumstance gave occasion for the following publication:

INTELLIGENCE EXTRAORDINARY.

THE great revolution that hath taken place in America, will undoubtedly involve many circumstances of considerable importance and curious speculation. None, perhaps, more remarkable than this, that the philosophical world may expect to be entertained with a phenomenon in mechanics, altogether new, and which cannot fail to engage universal attention.

The Americans having observed the great irregularities to which the political systems of Europe are liable, have invented a method of regulating the affairs of their empire by *actual mechanism*. For this purpose an immense pendulum hath been constructed, of which the point of suspension is fixed somewhere in the orbit of the planet *Mars*, and the *Bob* is composed of certain heterogeneous matter, of great specific gravity, called the *American congress*.

This miraculous pendulum is to vibrate between Annapolis, on the Chesapeake, and Trenton, on the Delaware; a range of about 180 miles.

It will require the most subtle mathematical investigations to ascertain the true path of this political bob: for it is pretty certain that it will not move in a *straight line*, nor in a *cycloid*, nor in a *parabola*, nor in an *hyperbola*, nor in any other known curve; but will have a motion peculiar to itself, forming a *crooked line*, the properties of which cannot be reduced to any of the rules within the present system of mathematics.

Although the oscillations of this pendulum will not be performed in, yet they will average equal times. Two vibrations must be made in two years: but these vibrations may bear no determinate proportion to each other; for their relative proportions will depend entirely upon the specific gravity of the bob: which being, from the nature of its composition, very variable, will render the oscillations equally variable with respect to each other: and, which is very extraordinary, although in all other instances, the more ponderous a body is, the more it is disposed to rest, and the shorter and slower will its vibrations be when suspended, it will be the reverse in the present

case; for the bob will be inclined to motion more or less, in proportion as the matter of which it may be composed shall happen to be more or less dull and heavy.

By the oscillations of this pendulum and its heavy bob, are thirteen wheels of the American machine to be regulated. And, it is expected, that the different combinations of motions, the actings and counter-actings, the checks and counter-checks of the moving parts, will so correct and balance each other, as to produce, in the final result, a movement so perfectly equable, that the great *desiderata*, viz. the perpetual motion, and the discovery of longitude, will no longer puzzle the brains and drain the purses of seekers in science.

But the most entertaining consequence of this improvement in politics will be, that it will render visible the locomotive faculties of the several nations in Europe; so far at least as the same may be ascertained by their respective ambassadors and envoys. For, as they must all follow the movements of the American bob, they will do this according to the genius of the countries to which they respectively belong. The volatile and active will always keep within reach of the object of pursuit; the careless and indolent will loiter by the way; and the dull and phlegmatic be so distanced, that by the time they shall have arrived at one of the limits of oscillation, they will find it necessary to tack about and follow the pendulum in its return to the other.

In order to render this alternate peregrination as convenient as may be to their ministers, the several governments of Europe are to raise by contribution the sum of four hundred thousand guineas, for the purpose of levelling the roads between Annapolis and Trenton, building bridges, and erecting houses of residence in each of those towns, if those can properly be called houses of residence wherein the inhabitants are to have no rest.

Some have thought that when this monstrous pendulum shall be once set in motion, it will not be possible to confine it within the proposed limits; but that it will, by its great weight (contrary to the usual laws of gravitation,) enlarge its field of action, and acquire a velocity which will cause it to swing from New-Hampshire to Georgia.

A further improvement hath also been suggested; which is this—Many philosophers have been of opinion, that the most regular and proper motion of a pendulum would be to cause it to swing in a horizontal circle, and not in a vertical plane, as the common practice is, so that the string or rod may describe a cone, of which the apex will be in the point of suspension, and the base formed by the circumference of the circular plane in which the bob moves.

Should this idea prove just (which Mr. Rittenhouse has been directed to ascertain) the revolutions of America will be performed in a circle, whose diameter, north and south, will be from a point in St. John's river, Nova-Scotia, to the mouth of the great river-Mississippi, and west and east, from the Lake in the Woods, to an unknown distance in the Atlantic ocean. The only inconvenience will be the cutting circular road through mountains and forests, for the accommodation of foreign ministers and the officers of congress; and the providing sufficient ships at the point where the said line of circumvolution shall leave the continent, and enter on the waters of the Atlantic, in order that their excellencies, and their honours, may be attendant on this sublunary planet in every part of its orbit.

Oct. 1783.

A. B.

In a commencement oration, written by our author, we find the following strictures on the modern system of education.

After the youngster hath been taught to spell, read, and write, in his mother tongue, he ascends the first step of learned education.—The *Latin language* is the object, to attain which, a Latin grammar is put into the poor boy's hands. This grammar is called the rudiments or foundation of that language: by which one might suppose, that the grammar had been given by inspiration, and the Romans derived their language from it. But the fact is just the reverse; for in every language, the grammar is, and must necessarily be, the result, and not the origin of that language: but notwithstanding this undeniable truth, the Latin must be inculcated according to the method and discipline of the schools, *a posteriori*, in more senses than one.—Well! through this grammar, at all events, the bewildered pupil must wade, groping for a year or two in utter darkness, and learning by rote a complicated system of rules, the propriety or application of which it is impossible for him to see in any instance.

August, 1792.

P

These rules are framed partly in elegant prose, and partly in much more elegant verse, in order, I suppose, to insinuate to the student some taste for Latin poetry, whilst he is learning the rudiments of the language. If I had not, ladies, a respectful regard for your ears, and no small tenderness for my own teeth, I would give you a sample of our grammar versification.

After these rules have been got by rote, as I said before, it may be thought that there is nothing more necessary to the knowledge of the Latin tongue—But alas! this is only the beginning of troubles—The rules must not only be got by memory, but the exceptions also to those rules—Now, good people, you must know that these exceptions are so very numerous, that, in many cases, it is immaterial which you choose for a standard, the rule itself, or the exception.

The excellency of this method of teaching a language, by means of its grammar, may be illustrated by a familiar parallel. You must know, ladies, that when a man stands, or walks, or performs any motions of the body, such positions and motions are all reducible to mathematical principles. In all cases, it is necessary that what is called the centre of gravity should be supported; were it otherwise, the person must unavoidably fall to the ground: and thus are all our movements reducible to system. Now, if the present mode of education is right, (and who dares assert it is not?) you should not suffer your children to walk, or even attempt to walk, before they have learned these rules, for which purpose you must necessarily provide mathematical nurses, and geometrical dancing masters. Oh the excellence of learning! What delight must it afford the fond parent, to see young master standing like the rafters of a house, and miss dancing in triangles, rhomboides, and trapeziums!

But to proceed. We will suppose the young student hath made some advances in the knowledge of the Latin language, according to the method proposed. The first observable consequence is, that he loses, or at least gains, no ground in a taste for the elegancies of his native tongue. His diction becomes stiff and awkward, and his handwriting intoerable. So that whilst he is studying the anatomy of a dead language, he remains a stranger to the beauties of the living.

It is probable that there are many amongst the ladies, whom I have now the honour to address, who have never studied grammar, or know any thing of its rules; and yet I venture to affirm, that a few lines, written by your fair hands, and dictated by gentle nature, shall convey more lively sensibilities, and shall find a shorter way to the heart, than a whole page—aye, or forty of them—composed by the most learned grammarian, with *Dilworth* on his right hand, and *Entick* on his left.

In the mean time, the assiduous youth reads *Ovid's Metamorphoses*, for the improvement of his morals; and learns from *Horace* to be chaste and temperate. That time which might be usefully employed in studying the histories of those nations with whom we are, or may be connected, is consumed in reading the delectable and lamentable story of *Aeneas* and queen *Dido*. The one, a hero of so insignificant a cast, that all the laudable ingredients of his character may be comprised in the words *Pius Aeneas*; and the other, to speak delicately, not the most shining example of female virtue and moderation. The one, a discourteous knight, and the other a furious enamourata.

It just occurs to me, that *Dido's* greatest misfortune was, that she lived in a barbarous age, when lawyers were not to be had for love or money. Had her famous amour happened in our day, she might have recovered at least, £.7.0 damages,* which, all things considered, would have been much better than cutting her throat upon a wood-pile—as desperate *Dido* did—This by the bye.

The young student is at length fitted for the higher classes of science. He learns mathematicks, geography, natural philosophy, logic, ethics, and metaphysics.

With respect to the three first, I would only say—That if they were divested of some scientific pedantry (I mean as they are taught in the schools), they are worthy the attention of a rational mind, inasmuch as they advance the knowledge of truth; for of all valuable things, truth is the most valuable.

But of all the systems of complicated nonsense, that ever puzzled the busy brains of mortal man, logic is surely the most insignificant! An art which no ingenuity can apply to any one useful purpose of life. Imagine to yourselves, gentle hearers, a society of logicians, whose conversation in the common occurrences of life should be conducted in *Syllogistic* mode and form. The learned house-keeper goes to market, and

* This alludes to a circumstance of the time, something like the case of queen *Dido*.

endeavours to persuade the butcher to lower the price of his mutton in *clarant*; the butcher enforces his demand in *barbara*. The logical lover also attacks his dulcinea in *form*. He assures her, in *particular affirmatives*, that he is enamoured of her charms; and from these *premisses*, draws an *artful conclusion*, that she ought to encourage his passion, and return his love. The lady replies, in *universal negatives*. The gallant then plays off his whole battery in a compacted *sorites*. The lady answers only in the *simple form*—a weakness is discovered in her *middle term*—she is reduced to a *dilemma*, and surrenders at discretion.

In such a process, what is to become of Cupid and his darts! What is to become of the logic of the eyes, and a thousand nameless expressions of the feeling of the heart, which nature alone can dictate! What is to become of them! Why they are entirely out of the question. Syllogisms—invincible syllogisms, must supply their place. What is learning good for, unless it makes us wiser than nature!

But I may be told that logic never was designed for such purposes; and that its use is the discovery of truth, and the detection of error—Here I join issue—and am bold to assert, that from the days of Aristotle to the present moment, mankind are not indebted to *logic* for the discovery of any one useful truth, or the detection of any one dangerous error—and further—that no man ever was *convinced* by a syllogism.—But I observe their reverences begin to frown—I shall, therefore, not urge this subject any further.

Ethics and *metaphysics* bring up the rear of a learned education. It would tire your patience, my indulgent hearers, should I enter upon a detail of all the whimsical absurdities with which these sciences abound. If a man should conduct himself through life, according to the strict rules of *ethics*, he would be just as ridiculous as the knight of *La Mancha*, governing himself in the most common occurrences by the solemn formalities of chivalry.

As to *metaphysics*, it is a visionary system, wherein uncertain conclusions are drawn from uncertain premisses, and in which the very terms used have no determinate meaning. The whole is an ingenious fabric built in air; having no real, known foundation, whereon to rest: not unlike the Pagan creed, that the world stands upon the horns of a bull; the bull on the back of an elephant; the elephant on a great tortoise; and the great tortoise upon nothing.

It must be owned, however, that we are indebted to metaphysics for some very curious and entertaining riddles: such as—that *infinite* carried beyond *infinity* becomes *finite*—that one *infinity* may be twice as long as another *infinity*—that *soul* is not *matter*, and that *matter* is not *soul*; and in short, that it is no matter whether there be any soul or not—Oh! the heights and the depths of learning!



MODERN CHIVALRY: containing the ADVENTURES of CAPTAIN JOHN FARRAGO, and TEAGUE O'REGAN, his servant. Vol. II. By H. H. Brackenridge. Philadelphia, 1792.—Price, half a dollar.

MR. B. pursuing the plan of his first volume*, continues, in this, his satires upon various descriptions of men. His remarks are occasionally whimsical and ludicrous, but have seldom the appearance of ill nature. He seems to have been, for the most part, in a laughing humour, when he wrote; and we believe few persons will peruse the work, without also experiencing risible emotions.

We are sorry to observe, that the captain's travels are not very remarkable for variety. Some favourite scenes, which were exhibited in the first volume, are again brought forward, with little variation, in this. Peter Pindar is not more desirous of ridiculing, again and again, kings and royal academicians, than our author appears disposed to satirize popular elections, the American Philological

* For an account of the first volume, see the *Asylum* for February 1792, page 123.

Society, ignorance in the clergy, and Indian treaties, &c. Not satisfied with the strictures upon these several subjects, in his first volume, he has again attacked them in this. Several new characters, however, are brought into view; and amidst much light reading, new and valuable observations frequently occur. Mr. B. affects to write merely for the sake of style, but no person, who has perused the work, can, for a moment, look upon this pretension in a serious light.

The *first book* contains remarks on popular elections; particularly on a disposition, which is said to be prevalent among the people, to raise low and ignorant characters to the highest public stations. This book also contains observations on the vanity and self importance of the English nation, who are said to undervalue all the world beside.

The adventures of the captain and Teague at the house of an elderly lady, where they had put up for the night, occupy the *second book*. As a specimen of our author's descriptive talent, we shall extract his account of this lady's person.

She was a good looking woman, being about fifty-seven years of age, with gray hairs, but a green fillet on her left eye-brow, as it seems the eye on that side was subject to a deflection of rheum, which made it expedient to cover it. It could not be said that her teeth were bad, because she had none. If she wanted the rose on her cheek, she had it on her nose, so that it all came to the same thing. Nothing could be said against her chin; but it used her mouth ill in getting above it. She was not very tall, but what she wanted in height, she made up in breadth; so that multiplying one dimension by the other, she might be considered as a very sizeable woman.

This handsome personage became passionately enamoured of Teague, who felt an equal flame, (for she was very wealthy) and they were to have been united in wedlock next morning; but the captain, unwilling to lose his servant, found means to dissuade him from the match.

The man (said the captain) who surrenders himself to the arms of a superannuated female, for the sake of fortune, acts a part not less unworthy and disgraceful, than the prostitute who does the same for half a crown. While a man has the use of his limbs and arms, he ought to be above such mercenary motives; and true happiness can be found only in congruity, and what is natural.

The *third book* is an admirable satire upon those ignorant preachers, who bellow forth to their still more ignorant hearers, an incoherent and unintelligible jargon, which kind of rant passes frequently for good *practical* preaching.

The *fourth book* opens with some strictures on city elections; in which wealth, particularly in the funds, is said to be the candidate's chief recommendation. The remaining part of this book is occupied by the truly pathetic story of a lovely, but unfortunate female.

In the *fifth book*, a negro member of the philosophical society is introduced, delivering an annual oration to the society, in which he endeavours to show that the original complexion of the human species was black.—In order to reconcile the various theories on this subject, Mr. B. wittily conjectures, that Adam was a white man and Eve a black woman; and that some of their children took after the father, and others after the mother.—This book also contains observations on the doctrine of universal salvation; a curious specimen of debates in congress; remarks on the decay of learning, particularly of the Greek language, in our seminaries of education; and a burlesque on Indian treaties.

The sixth book commences with an ironical defence of slavery, in which the cruelty and injustice of the traffic in human flesh are exhibited in several striking points of view. One argument used in defence of negro slavery is, its being practised by the most devout persons of every religious persuasion, except the quaker; no other religious society having made it a term of communion, not to hold a slave. The plan of a gradual abolition is thus pointedly ridiculed.

In the phrenzy of the day, some weak minded powers, in Europe, begin to consider what is called the African trade as a moral wrong; and to provide for a gradual abolition of it. If they will abolish it, I approve of its being done gradually; because, numbers being embarked in this trade, it must ruin them, all at once to desist from it. On this principle, I have always thought it a defect in the criminal codes of most nations, not giving licence to the perpetrators of offences, to proceed, for a limited time, in larcenies, burglaries, &c. until they get their hands out of use to these pursuits, and in use to others. For it must be greatly inconvenient to thieves and cut-throats, who have engaged in this way of life, and spent time, and expended money, and run great risks in acquiring skill in their employment, to be obliged all at once, to withdraw their hands, and lay aside picking locks, and apply themselves to industry in other ways, for a livelihood.

We have next some strictures on the quibbles and technical formalities, which too generally characterize the practitioners of law. We shall conclude this article with the following report of a law case, which seems well calculated to ridicule the trivial distinctions and uncertainty of the law.

What came before the court was a motion in arrest of judgment. A Jonathan Mun had been indicted, and found guilty of "feloniously taking and carrying away water out of the well of Andrew Mab." It was moved in arrest of judgment, that larceny could not be committed of water in a well, it being real property; for it was a distinction of the common law, that larceny could not be committed of things real, or favouring of the reality, Black. 232. 2 Ray. 470. Hawkins, &c. So that taking away the soil was merely a trespass; and taking away the water could be no more.

It was answered, that water being *fluitans et mobilis*, could not be considered as real property; that an ejectment would not lie for water, but for so many acres of land covered with water, Yelv. 143. 1 Barr. 142. Because it was impossible to give execution of a thing which is always transient and running, Run. 36 quotes Cro. Jac. 150. Lev. 114. Sid. 151. Thence it is that in a grant of the soil it is necessary, as we see from old forms, to add the right of ways, woods, and water-courses, Lilly. Con. 132, and 179. Bridg. Con. 321. That whatever might be said of water in its natural bed on the soil, as water in a running stream; yet a well being dug by the labour of hands, the water thus acquired, must be counted as personal, not real property, Barcraiy, Titius, and Locke. That at a well, the water, being drawn up by the bucket, and thus by one act separated from the freehold, and by another taken from the bucket, it becomes a subject of larceny; as in the law of corn, trees, or grass growing. For if these be severed at one time; and at another time taken away, it is larceny. Hawk. Pl. Cr. 93.

It was replied, that an ejectment would lie of water in a well; for here the water is fixed in a certain place, within the bounds and compass of the well; and is considered as part of the soil. Run. 37. That, *ex vi termini*, in the indictment, "out of the well," it must be considered as water *ex*, out of or from the well; that is, water severed by the very act of taking; for otherwise it would have been expressed, by "water out of the bucket" of Andrew Mab; not out of the well; and so the taking could not be larceny, but trespass; as in the case of a tree that is cut down at one time, and taken away at another; or apples growing on a tree, or shaken down, and gathered from the soil; the first being a trespass, the second larceny. *Curia advisari vult.*

The captain whispering to lawyer Grab, enquired what difference it made in the punishment, whether it was larceny or trespass? He was answered, that in the one case it was hanging by the common law, and in the other to pay the value of the property. A very material difference indeed, said the Captain, to depend on so nice a distinction.

Columbian Parnassiad.

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

ADDRESS to the DEITY.

By CHARLES CRAWFORD, Esq.

O THOU, most worthy to be praised,
 adored!
 Eternal, boundless, and almighty Lord!
 Who the vast heav'n drew as a curtain
 forth,
 Who took and upon nothing hung the
 earth;
 While all the morning stars together
 sung,
 And from thy sons loud Hallelujahs
 rung;
 And said to the tumultuous ocean wide,
 Here shalt thou come, here thy proud
 waves abide!
 At thy rebuke which instant fled along,
 Scared at the potent thunder of thy
 tongue.
 At thy command the sun dispensed his
 ray,
 Flamed in th' ethereal vault, and gave
 the day;
 In highest heaven who keep thy chief
 abode,
 From ever, unto endless ever, God;
 As with a garment clothed around with
 light,
 In dazzling Majesty severely bright;
 The awful splendors of whose throne
 display,
 To eyes of Seraphim resistless day.
 Thou sendest rapid lightnings through
 the air,
 They go, and say unto thee, Here we are!
 Who can hold back thy all-commanding
 hand?
 And who the thunder of thy force with-
 stand?
 Heaven's pillars tremble at thy stern re-
 proof,
 Waked and surprized at thy dread power
 aloof;
 Thou overturn'st the mountains in thine
 ire;
 Thou art a jealous God, and a consum-
 ing fire.

Clouds are thy chariot; and thy chario-
 teer
 A mighty Cherub, riding through the
 air.
 Where can I go from thy all-searching
 eye?
 And whither, whither, from thy spirit
 fly?
 If I should take th' excursive wings of
 morn,
 And to the sea's remotest bounds be
 borne,
 There I should meet thy unconfined com-
 mand,
 Urged by thy power, and guided by thy
 hand.
 If up to highest heaven I could ascend,
 Or down to lowest hell my footsteps
 bend;
 In highest heaven, or lowest hell, where-
 e'er
 I bent my footsteps, I should find thee
 there:
 No darkness is impervious to thy sight,
 But flows me to thee like the broadest
 light.
 Thy eyes run to and fro the earth to find,
 And shelter him who bears a virtuous
 mind.
 I'll cleanse my heart to win thee to a-
 bide,
 As a gigantic champion at my side.
 Gaiest vice with terror though thou art
 endued,
 Yet thou art full of mercy to the good.
 Can the meek mother, whom affection
 filled,
 Be with relentless enmity instilled,
 Against the little darling whom she bred,
 Reared in her arms, and with her bosom
 fed?
 Yes, the meek mother, whom affection
 filled,
 Can be with ruthless enmity instilled,
 Against the little darling whom she bred,
 Reared in her arms, and with her bosom
 fed.
 But thou wilt never thy own sons neg-
 lect.
 But thou wilt never cease the righteous
 to protect.

O Lord, how various are thy works and great!

In wisdom were they all produced complete.

With riches hast thou filled th' extensive earth,

Which brings luxuriantly her blessings forth.

The sea, as well as the delightful land,
Declares the work of an Almighty hand.

There hulky vessels make their trackless way,

And there Leviathan is wont to play.

In all the glorious works which thou hast made,

Various and countless living creatures tread.

They call upon thee for their daily food,
Thy hand thou openest, they are filled with good:

While I have being I will speak thy praise,

In that my voice triumphantly I'll raise.

DESCRIPTION of a CHURCH.

(By the late Francis Hopkinson, Esq.)

AS late beneath the hallowed roof I trod,

Where saints in holy rapture seek their God;

Where heart-stung sinners, suing heaven for grace,

With tears repentant consecrate the place,
Oh! how my soul was struck with what I saw,

And shrunk within me in religious awe!

The massy walls, which seem'd to scorn the rage

Of battering tempest and of mouldering age;

In long perspective stretched, till breadth and height

Were almost lost in distance from the sight;

With monumental decorations hung,
They spoke mortality with silent tongue.

There, forrowing seraphs heav'nward lift their eyes,

And little cherubs weep soft elegies.

I trod—and started at the mighty noise;
The hollow pavement lifted up its voice;

Responsive to the stroke, the walls around,

Through lengthened aisles, prolonged the solemn sound.

Far in the west, and noble to the sight,

The gilded organ rears its towering height:

And hark! methinks I from its bosom hear,

Soft issuing sounds that steal upon the ear

And float serenely on the liquid air.

Now by degrees more bold and broad they grow,

And riot loosely thro' the aisles below;

'Till the full organ lifts its utmost voice,
And my heart shudders at the powerful noise:

Like the last trump, one note is heard to sound

That all the massy pillars tremble round;

The firm fix'd building shivers on its base,

And vast vibration fills th' astonished place:

The marble pavements seem to feel their doom,
And the bones rattle in each hollow tomb.

But now the blast harmonious dies away,

And tapers gently in a fine decay:

The melting sounds on higher pinions fly,

And seem to fall soft oozing from on high;

Like evening dew they gently spread around,

And shed the sweetness of heart-thrilling sound;

'Till grown too soft, too fine for mortal ear,

The dying strains dissolve in distant air.

Methought I heard a flight of angels rise,

Most sweetly chaunting as they gained the skies;

Methought I heard their lessening sound decay

And fade, and melt, and vanish quite away.

Hail, heaven-born music! by thy power we raise

Th' uplifted soul to acts of highest praise:

Oh! I would die with music melting round,
And float to bliss upon a sea of sound!

DISAPPOINTED LOVE

(By the same.)

RECITATIVE.

HIGH raised in æther, from her silver throne,
The moon in melancholy mildness shone;
Nor voice, nor sound disturbed the mid-
night hour,
Save the sad southwind murmur'ing in
the bower;
When, sable clad, with slow and pensive
mien,
Narcissa, lonely, passed the dusky green;
All wan with wasting grief, forsook her
bed,
And sought the silent mansions of the
dead.
Her bosom heaved with many a deep-
drawn sigh,
And the big tear stood trembling in her
eye;
Then from her lips thus broke the voice
of woe—
Then planets listened, and the moon
moved slow.

AIR.

Farewell to all that promised joy;
No flattering hopes my thoughts employ;
A wounded heart bleeds in my breast,
And death alone can give me rest.

And thou, lamented youth, farewell!
With thee the smiling prospect fell;
Sad o'er thy grave broods black despair,
For all my hopes lie buried there.

But now thy form moved in my sight,
I glowed with love and dear delight;
Thy bosom burned with equal fire,
With equal pangs of fond desire.

But now I deck'd me for thy bride;
Elate in youth and beauty's pride,
My throbbing heart beat quick alarms,
Whilst bliss approached in *Damon's* arms.

A voice soon strikes my startled ear,
Whose dismal accents yet I hear;
Forbear, fond maid, forbear it cries,
For *Damon*, thy loved *Damon*, dies.

All strength forfakes my tottering frame;
My tongue scarce utters *Damon's* name;
Prostrate I fall; my eye-balls roll,
And anguish rings my tortured soul.

Yet, yet, I hear the deep-toned bell,
With minute strokes tell out his knell;
My swelling heart grows big with grief,
And not one tear vouchsafes relief.

Oh! if beneath yon pale moon's sphere,
Thy lambent spirit floats in air,
Witness my sighs, hear me complain,
And pity my unequaled pain.

Whilst bitter grief, and pining woe,
And welcome death at last will show,
How hard their fate who ever prove
The pangs of *disappointed-love*.

TO DELIA.

WROTE ON A LEAF IN HER POCKET-BOOK.

(By the same.)

GO, little leaf, and to the fair,
The mistress of my heart,
My truth and constancy declare,
My ardent love impart.

But how shall thy small page contain
That which no bounds control?
Or how shall feeble words explain
The transports of the soul?

Go, tell her then that nothing less
Than a whole life of love,
Can all my joy in her express,
Can my fixed passion prove.

That nought but death can from my
mind,
Her dear idea part,
And lovely *Delia* ne'er shall find
A rival in my heart.

Go, tell her all our peaceful years
In mutual bliss we'll spend;
And hope to meet beyond the spheres,
When this frail life shall end.
May, 1768.

EPIGRAM.

MORS JANUÆ VITÆ.

DEATH is the gate of life, they say;
The way to bliss, all sects agree:
Then, surely, none can grudge to pay
So small a toll—the doctor's fee.

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

HISTORICAL SKETCH of the PROCEEDINGS of CONGRESS, in the session which commenced, at Philadelphia, on the 24th of October, 1791.

(Continued from page 64.)

ON the 18th of November, the committee, appointed for that purpose, brought in "A bill, apportioning the representation of the people of the united states, according to the first enumeration;" agreeably to which, the ratio was to be that of one representative for every thirty thousand inhabitants. The bill was taken up in committee of the whole; and on sundry motions for increasing the ratio to thirty-five, to thirty-four, and to thirty-three thousand, lengthy debates took place; which, however, were of nearly similar import with those which we have already given. We shall, however, state the substance of the debate on a motion of Mr. Macon, for increasing the ratio to thirty-five thousand.

Mr. Dayton said that he should be in favour of the amendment, not because it was a number the most agreeable to him, for he confessed that even this would produce a more numerous representation than he could have wished, but because a greater number would be less likely to meet the approbation of the committee. There was one point of view, Mr. Dayton observed, in which the subject had not yet been exhibited by any gentleman in the course of debate, but in which, on account of its magnitude and importance, it ought to be critically examined. The senate, he said, were considered as the representatives of the states, or of the state governments. The house of representatives were supposed to contain, under certain qualifications, a pure representation of the people: such was the apportionment of its members, with respect to the unequal districts or states into which this country was divided, as to give the three great states a very predominant influence upon that floor. They had only to combine their strength, and to associate almost any one of the other eleven states with them, in order to ensure success to any favourite project that they might have in view. He was aware, that it would be answered by gentlemen, that such a combination was not likely to take place between states so distant in point of situation, and differing in local interests and circumstances. He had been ever slow, he said, in the prediction of evil—but reasoning from the temper and disposition of man, and judging from past observation and experience, he would venture to pronounce, without any pretension to the spirit of prophecy, that the great states would thus combine their influence, whenever they should deem it for their advantage, and that the interests of the other states would of consequence become the sacrifice. Those states then that are thus exposed, of which number he considered at least two thirds of those which now formed the union, would find their only security and protection against the effects of such combination in the senate. Would it, he asked, be consistent with prudence or with safety, for those very states to assent to a measure directly tending to weaken, if not destroy that security? Even now, he said, the senate would have need of all its firmness in continuing to oppose any act, in the carrying of which the house should be determined to persevere. But what, he enquired, would be the consequence, when the increase so ardently wished for by many gentlemen should have taken place? Would the senate have fortitude enough, even where they thought they had just cause, stedfastly to counteract the will and determined purpose of a body consisting of two hundred members, boasting to derive their appointments from a purer, and from the purest source, calling themselves the representatives of the great body of the people, and professing to speak the sense of their constituents?

Let 30,000 be adopted as the ratio of representation, and he hesitated not, he said, to declare, that whenever the representatives should think proper to resolve any important point of dispute into a question of firmness between the two houses, the senate must yield to their superior weight, and shrink from the unequal contest. In the event of their defeat, in a single instance, the independence of that branch would be materially affected, and the legislative balance shaken in its centre.

August, 1792.

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These dangers, Mr. Dayton further observed, were by no means imaginary, but would too soon be realized, if the house continued to increase by fifties, in the manner they were beginning.

If the motion under consideration, for increasing the ratio, and lessening the number of representatives, should prove unsuccessful, their reliance, he said, would then be upon the senate. That body, he was sure, was too mindful of their own privileges and importance, to make a voluntary and deliberate surrender of their independence—they were too regardful of the interest of their constituents, to assent to an act giving an undue weight to that branch of the legislature in which the great states had such unreasonable influence. If, however, in this, his last reliance, he should be disappointed, and the bill be likely to pass both houses, he hoped the yeas and nays would be entered upon the journals, that it might be known hereafter, when the events he had predicted should have taken place, who it was that had thus given up the union to the control of three or four of its members; who were the men that had voted for the extraordinary increase of one branch, at the expense of the independence of the other, and thereby destroyed that equilibrium of the government, upon the preservation of which, the fairest hopes of its well-wishers were founded.

Mr. Garry, in reply to the gentleman from New-Jersey, said he was surprised to hear the remarks which he made, when he recollected his being a member of the convention; in which it must be remembered by that gentleman, that the larger states consented to placing the small states on a par with them in the senate, to obviate the difficulty which the smaller states objected against the large representations from the larger states. He said the independence of the senate was secured by the constitution—and he was not apprehensive that the increase proposed would overwhelm that branch of the government, or lessen their importance, or shake their firmness. The gentleman had talked of combinations in the larger states—but he presumed no facts could be produced to support such an apprehension.

The proposed increase in the representation was founded on the principles of justice and equity, it was strictly agreeable to the spirit and design of the constitution, which contemplated an increase, in some degree proportionate to the increased population of the states—he hoped, therefore, that the constitution would be fairly and honourably carried into effect.

Mr. Boudinot was not yet convinced, from all the arguments he had heard, that by increasing the number of representatives to 113, as proposed by the bill, the wants, wishes, and interests of their constituents, would be more fully embraced, than by adopting the amendment then under consideration. It had not yet been taken into the account, that a certain species of property in three or four of the states (slaves) would be represented in the next congress, if the bill passed, by at least 12 members, above the proportion of other states, whose property (though of superior value) was not entitled by the constitution to any representation at all. That he did not mean to find fault with the constitution in this respect, but to make it the rule of his conduct, although in the construction of it, he would not increase the evil, when two extremes were given, and the intermediate number was optional. He had said, and he rested on the constitution for the proof, that it contemplated one member for each state as the lowest, and the ratio of one for 30,000 persons as the highest numbers. That the convention in settling the house of representatives, without a precise knowledge of the amount of the citizens of the union, had done it in a certain proportion to the number of senators, which he had thought a good rule to go by, till the proposed amendment to the constitution was ratified by three-fourths of the states; but as gentlemen seemed to think that this would soon take place, he had consented to agree to the ratio of 34,000, which would give 100 members. This would accord with the spirit of the amendment to the constitution, and prevent the necessity of passing any other act when the amendment should be completed. He was therefore in favour of inserting *four* after *thirty*, or any ratio that would confine the number of representatives to 100, or under.

Mr. Lucevance remarked, in answer to Mr. Dayton's objections, that the states were disproportionate respecting territory, and consequently were so as to the number of people. That an equality would take place amongst the people of the several states by the ratio proposed, although more members would come from some states than from others. He mentioned that every member of the house of representatives

flood in relation to the people of America, and ought to consult the interest of the whole, and not the particular interest of the state in which he was elected. Should this general principle operate, and which, he supposed, ought to actuate each member, no danger was to be apprehended from a combination, as the general good was the object of consideration. If this should not be the prevailing principle, it might be the interest of the states to have as great a number of representatives as could be obtained; yet, he supposed, unless a division of territory took place, the people in each state would be entitled to be represented in proportion to the numbers in each; and the danger that it was supposed would exist, could not be readily remedied. He also observed, that he imagined the senate would not be subject to the influence suggested. The senate was an independent part of the legislature, and would decide all questions that came before them, as the judgments of the members should dictate. So long as a reciprocal negative existed, as to the acts of either branch of the legislature, he hoped we should find firmness in each to decide properly. The senate had frequently rejected the bills of the house, and had amended others—some very important ones: and the influence of the members of the house of representatives did not operate on their decisions. The objection to the proposition, as not being agreeable to the amendment proposed to the constitution, he observed, was not well founded. He explained his ideas respecting the nature of the amendment, and concluded that the proposition was conformable to it; and observed, that the nature of the amendment was contemplated, when the proposition respecting the ratio was made.

Some amendments to the bill were reported to the house, by the committee, and agreed to; but every attempt to increase the ratio of representation proved ineffectual. On motion that the bill should pass, it was, on the 23d of November, resolved in the affirmative—yeas 43; nays 12. It was then transmitted to the senate for their concurrence.

The senate passed the bill with amendments; the principal of which was, that the ratio of representation should be, one representative for thirty-three thousand inhabitants. This amendment was the subject of a very lengthy debate, in the house of representatives. On motion to agree to this amendment—

Mr. Gerry observed, that the bill had passed both the committee of the whole, and the house, by a large majority. The principle, as he was informed, on which the amendment had taken place in the senate, was to reduce the fractions which would result from the ratio proposed by the house; but he said this difficulty had been fully considered in the house. The representation, every body knows, is now unequal; and it must be submitted to for two years longer—and now it is proposed, at that period, to deprive the people of that representation to which they are entitled by the constitution!

He thought it was extraordinary, that, after the ratio proposed in the bill had been agreed to by the house, by so large a majority, a proposition to alter it should have been agitated and carried in the senate. Till some better reason than he had heard assigned should be offered, he should be against concurring with the senate. He moved, therefore, that the house disagree to the amendment of the senate. The motion was seconded by Mr. White.

Mr. Livermore was in favour of agreeing to the amendment: he enlarged on the inequality in the representation, from the great fractional numbers which would result from the ratio of 30,000. He was fully of opinion that the public business could be full as well transacted by 105 members, the number which would be produced by a ratio of 33,000, as by 112 or 113, the number arising from the ratio of 30,000.

Mr. Benson said there was one idea, which, if it had been considered in time, might have been adopted, and would perhaps have given very general satisfaction; and that was, that the representatives of the united states should amount to a certain number, according to the whole number of the people, say one to 30,000: this would have given a surplus number, which might have been assigned to those states that have the largest fractional numbers. He had formerly, he said, voted for 30,000; but as the principle of equality was more particularly attended to in the amendment, he should now vote for the ratio proposed by the senate. He observed, that some states were stationary; and the increased representation of the larger states, when once established, never would be receded from—this ought to be taken into serious consideration.

Mr. *Madison* observed, that the idea of diminishing the fractional parts appeared to be the only reason for the alteration proposed by the senate. The aggregate of these fractions only had been taken into consideration; but, if the fractions of any particular states should be augmented by the amendment, he conceived that the argument amounted to no good reason for agreeing to it—and this, he said, would evidently be the case.

Mr. *Williamson* was opposed to a concurrence. He observed, in general, that the operation of the amendment was to diminish the fractions to the eastward, and increase those to the southward. The southern states, he said, had suffered so much under the harrow of speculation, that he hoped no measures would be adopted to lessen the means of information, to the people of those states, by denying them that proportion in the representation to which they were entitled. He regretted that some of the southern states were not fully represented at this time in the senate—he thought it probable, that a different decision, in that case, would have taken place.

Mr. *White* observed, that the amendment would operate generally against the larger states.

Mr. *Sedgwick* differed from those opposed to the amendment; in his statements respecting the fractional parts to be produced by 33,000. He said they were fewer on the whole than would result from any other number between 30 and 40 thousand, and those numbers both included; and this, he said, figures would demonstrate. Hence he deduced a greater degree of equality, and relative justice between the several parts of the union. He disclaimed all local motives, and suggested the propriety of gentlemen forbearing any imputations of that kind, as totally alien from the subject.

Mr. *Boudinot* defended the amendment, and observed that the senate were in the legal exercise of their office when they passed it, and had most undoubtedly a right so to do.

He read several calculations, to shew that the aggregate of the fractions would be reduced upwards of 90 thousand, by a ratio of 33 thousand, and that the fractions in every state, except one, would be diminished also by it.

Mr. *Findley* said he had expected to hear something new on the subject, to induce an alteration in the opinion of the house, but had heard nothing. Fractions, said he, were fully considered before, both in the house and in the committee. This he considered as one of the lesser matters pertaining to the subject. He said the best way would have been to have settled the ratio, without knowing the numbers of the people in the several states; though that could not be done, as the numbers were known; yet, he said, he had made it the rule of his conduct in voting. The principle being established, there would be no room for combinations, nor any ground for complaints and reproaches, respecting either southern or northern interests. He was for adhering to the principle, as that contemplated in the constitution—and this he conceived the house had done, and he hoped they would not depart from it; and as to fractions, in competition with that principle, he considered them of very little consequence. He did not deny but a smaller number of representatives would be competent to doing the public business; but dispatch of public business, and a republican representation of the people, he conceived were distinct things. He, therefore, should have been in favour of a larger representation.

He controverted the right of the senate to decide for the house, in regard to this question. It was not, he said, a question of right and privilege. It appertained principally to the representative body.

He then considered the question, as it respected the senate; and, he thought, that a large representation was necessary, as a barrier to the influence of that body. Nor do I, said he, think this an unreasonable jealousy, when the constitution of human nature is considered. The constitution of the united states is express on the subject; and now is the time when the people ought to enjoy the advantages of the representation of one to thirty thousand.

Another consideration to induce a large representation, he deduced from the accumulation of money capitals in the united states, which, said he, have been increased beyond all parallel. The influence of these capitals will find its way into the house. He hoped no alteration would be made in the determination of the majority of the members.

Mr. *Goodhue* said, the difference between the result of the two ratios was so small, that he did not conceive it would constitute a sufficient reason for disagreeing to the amendment; he stated that the difference between the southern and northern states, on the ratio of 30,000, was beyond all reason in favour of the southern states; whereas the difference on that of 33,000 was very small indeed, in favour of the northern states, which evidently demonstrated that the principle of equality was involved in agreeing to the amendment of the senate.

Mr. *Hillhouse* stated various particulars to shew the inequality of the representation by 30,000, particularly as it respects the smaller states. He said he rejoiced that the senate had given their opinion on the subject; they had a right to do it; they are, said he, the representatives of the people; and, on this question, are probably more impartial judges than this house.

Mr. *Gerry* still supported his motion for a disagreement. He stated a case to shew, that, in the ordinary course of population, a state at the next enumeration, which now contains 330,000, will then have a much larger fraction, by a ratio of 33,000, than any now contemplated.

He supposed the senate had a different interest in this business from that of the house. The larger states not being represented in the senate, and the representation of those states which are stationary, or nearly so, being full, is the reason of this proposed amendment.

Mr. *Williamson* still contended, that the deduction from the bill was two members from the eastern, and four from the southern states, which plainly shewed that the amendment was in favour of the eastern states; and added, that if the southern states had been represented in the senate, the bill would not have been sent back.

Mr. *Niles* suggested an amendment to the amendment of the senate, which was to strike out *one* after the word Delaware, and to insert *two*. This, he observed, he was instrumental to move, from the consideration of the manifest inequality of the representation of that state, compared with that of other states, particularly Virginia. He had no doubt, from the justice of the house, that if the amendment he proposed was not directly contrary to the constitution, it would be agreed to. He then adverted to the constitution, and read the passage respecting representation and taxation, which are to be apportioned according to numbers. He observed, that there were evidently wanting to complete the sentence, these words, *as nearly as may be*. With this explanation added, he went on to shew, that the principle of equality would be more strictly adhered to, by admitting his amendment, than by rejecting it: for if Delaware contains 58,000 inhabitants, 28,000 were certainly nearer to 33,000 than 33,000 were to 58,000. He recited other passages of the constitution, to shew that his idea was compatible with it.

Mr. *Benson* again suggested his proposition, of apportioning the representation according to the whole population. He was in favour of a large representation. The principle advanced by the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. Findley) he said, was undoubtedly just, that a large representation was necessary in a free government, for information and security: this principle was not to be disputed. And with respect to the danger from corruption, he said, undoubtedly patronage and influence would creep in; but he conceived that danger of a more serious nature was to be apprehended from another quarter. Gentlemen had mentioned the funding system. In questions of that kind, where one part of the union thought themselves the only sufferers, the liberties of this country would be but a secondary consideration. For in a republican government the majority must rule, and the minority must submit, except they are oppressed, and then they have an undoubted right to resist.

Mr. *Giles* defended the bill. He observed that the apparent inequality in the representation of the smaller states, was rendered equal by their representation in the senate. He enlarged on the idea of adhering to the amendment proposed to the constitution. The inequality spoken of, he said, was in fact in favour of smaller states. He adverted to the restless spirit in some of the states. Some of the measures of congress, he said, were so disliked, that the people in those states wished themselves separated from the government. The people of the state from which he came, were so impressed with the idea of the ratio being settled agreeably to the bill, that he really feared, the discontents of the people there would be increased to an alarming degree, should the amendment of the senate be agreed to.

The motion for agreeing to the amendment was negatived—*yeas 29; nays 51.* The senate refused to recede from this amendment; and the house to concur therein?—so the bill was lost.

On a motion made in the house of representatives, that they should recede from their disagreement to the amendment proposed by the senate, the debate was renewed, and the tendency of the amendment fully investigated.

Mr. Ames said; the amendment proposed by the senate, though a single proposition, involved two questions, which it would be proper, on this occasion, to discuss distinctly.

Is the bill wrong, as the house passed it? and is the proposed amendment of the senate fit and proper?

The original bill gives the ratio of one member to 30,000 persons, and proceeds to state the number of representatives which the respective states shall have in the next congress. If in this distribution of members, it shall appear that we have not pursued the constitution, the bill is a bad one, and it is our duty to concur with the senate, at least in striking out the exceptionable part.

The constitution directs that representatives shall be apportioned among the several states according to their respective numbers. The whole number of representatives being first fixed, they shall be apportioned to any state according to its census. The rule of three will shew what part of the representation any state shall have. The wisdom and caution of the constitution have left very little to congress in this affair. Though congress is to apportion the members, the rule of apportionment is fixed; the number of representatives will be 112. These are to be apportioned to each state according to its numbers. What part of the 112 members will Virginia have according to its people? The answer is easily found. Virginia, having 630,000 persons (which is her federal number, after deducting two fifths for the slaves according to the constitution) is entitled to 29 members? The bill gives her 21. Is that right? Who will say that the words or meaning of the constitution are pursued? Are the representatives, then, apportioned or disproportioned?

We may believe the result of figures. The sum is short and easy to reckon. Let us not then persist in a measure which palpably violates the constitution. The argument might stop here; but, to shew how other states will be wronged by the bill, it may be well to proceed. If the constitution had been silent, as we are men, common sense would have told us, and as we are freemen, we should have learned from our habits of acting, that an unequal representation is wrong. But the constitution is not silent, and yet the bill gives Virginia 21 members.

The states of Vermont, New-Hampshire, Rhode-Island, Connecticut, New-Jersey, and Delaware, have 766,428 persons, and they will have by the bill, only 21 members. With upwards of one hundred and thirty thousand persons more than Virginia, they will have no more members than that single state.

Thus Virginia has by the bill two members more than her due number compared with the whole union, and not less than four as it respects the six states before mentioned.

From this view of the operation of the bill, I draw this conclusion, which I presume is anticipated, that the proposed distribution of representatives is neither just and equal in itself, nor warranted by the constitution.

If further evidence of this injustice should be demanded, it can be furnished. Representatives and direct taxes are to be apportioned by the same rule; and there is a manifest propriety in the rule in the distribution of benefits and burdens; the constitution has wisely excluded this means and temptation to partiality.

It is an additional security to our property that those who hold the power are made to feel it when they exercise it; and that exactly in the degree that they hold it, taxes are to be apportioned according to the numbers in the respective states. It would not be allowed by the constitution to use one rule for apportioning taxes and another for the members. If two things are to be compared with a third and made equal to it, it follows that they must be equal to each other. Let us suppose this bill to have become a law; and for the more plainly shewing its tendency, let us suppose Virginia to have 630,000 persons, her true number, and 21 members, and the 13 states to have, as Delaware actually has, 50,000 persons each, and one member to each state; in the whole, 3,375,000 persons. Let us suppose a tax to be laid equal

to a dollar for each person in the 14 states, that is, a tax of 1,397,000 dollars: Virginia, in point of justice, and by the constitution, should pay only according to her numbers, or 630,000 dollars; yet she would pay 21 parts in 34, or 1,007,000 dollars, being 377,000 more than her proportion. Whether with 21 members in 34, this wrong would be imposed or submitted to, is not my question. This may be called an extreme case; yet, in fact, Delaware, New-Jersey, Connecticut, New-Hampshire, and Vermont, on a tax equal to a dollar a head, would avoid more than 150,000 dollars of their just proportion; the justice and the constitutionality of such an apportionment of taxes are upon an equal footing.

Extraordinary as this statement may seem, it is not easy to shew an authority is congress to apportion a tax on any other principle. It would not do to deprive a state of its proportion of members, and yet to saddle it with taxes, according to numbers: The departure from the rule of the constitution in the case of representatives, would be rendered both more flagrant and more galling, by an adherence to it in the imposition of taxes. Such a comment upon this law would silence its advocates; such an execution of it would disfranchise the sufferers.

But this is not the country, and I trust this is not the government to do violence of this sort; therefore, no tax would be laid. And yet, unless a new census should be taken, or a new law, at least, for apportioning representatives, should be passed, congress might be found destitute of one of its constitutional faculties.

The gentlemen who vote for this law have been importuned to defend it; anxious as we are under the fear of seeing the constitution and our primary civil rights violated, we have listened to hear reasons which would shew some respect for the one and the other. It is needless to decide whether men's passions will be soothed, or their understandings convinced by an argument of this kind, that, as the small states are equally with the large ones represented in the senate, the advantage which the bill will secure to Virginia in the representative branch is fit and proper, and that it was so intended by the constitution. Is one in equality, if it really existed, to be balanced by another? Because the constitution has secured to each state an equal vote in the senate, are we at liberty to make a new constitution as often as we make a representation law, to counterpoise it; and under a form of government contrived to secure equal liberty, and to fix right above opinion, are the measure and the nature of this retribution to the great states to depend on our arbitrary discretion? This answer is perhaps more serious than the argument. Let it be refuted by itself.

Because the great states suffer wrong in the constitutional compact, will this bill do them right? Is Massachusetts or North-Carolina benefited by giving Virginia two extra members? By this bill the great states are injured as well as the small ones. The small ones are injured as it respects each other. Delaware will have one member, Rhode-Island two; yet the latter has only nine thousand more people than the former. But the doctrine tears up the foundation of compact on which we stand, and under the appearance of vindicating the bill from a charge of violating the constitution, establishes a claim to violate it at pleasure.

It has been said that the representatives are to be apportioned among the several states; that congress is not to regard the number of the whole nation: it is not easy to see how the bill can be defended on any principle of distribution among the states. The representatives are to be apportioned according to numbers. The number of members allotted to a state must correspond either with the number of persons in any other state, or the number in all the states; compare Virginia with either of the six states beforementioned, or with the whole six; it appears that 130,000 persons in the latter will go unrepresented; compare Virginia with the nation, she has two members more than her proportion. Why then is it so zealously contended that the apportionment is not to be made upon the entire number of the union, but upon the census of each state? The bill is as naked of defence on the one comparison as the other. It departs as widely from the principles of its advocates as from those of its adversaries.

It is indeed intimated, that you are to take the ratio of 30,000; and to apply it to each state, without regarding its operation. To justify this interpretation, the text of the constitution ought to read, *each state shall have as many members as the ratio of 30,000 applied to the number of persons will give it.* But that instrument is very differently expressed, and much better; *representatives and direct taxes are to be apportioned among the several states according to their respective numbers.* Will any gentleman who

votes for the bill say that it is such an apportionment? Will it accord with the constitution to take, instead of such an apportionment, an arbitrary ratio, which, instead of apportioning, disproportions representatives to numbers? The ratio mentioned in the constitution; and in the proposed amendment to it, evidently relates to the whole number of representatives, which according to it may be had from the whole nation, and not from the number of people in a state; any other sense, besides being unnatural, would disagree with the clause which directs how representatives shall be apportioned.

By the ratio of one to 30,000 may be known the greatest number of representatives which shall form this branch of the government. Having determined the number, it remains to apportion the members according to the census in the respective states. Nothing is more natural, or corresponds more perfectly with the constitution, than to find first the whole number of representatives, and then to apportion them as the constitution directs. But this method would not suit the present emergency; for that would give Virginia 19 members, and no more. Instead of beginning with the whole number, the bill says, let us begin at the other end; give Virginia her 21 first, and, if the number should hold out, give to all the states at that rate. It seems on trial the number will not hold out to apportion in that manner; still, however, says the bill, give Virginia her 21.

Let the constitution become what the bill makes it, a dead letter. Still, however, men, and freemen, will remain, who will preserve the departed spirit; for, before the constitution was formed our rights were equal; and can it be believed that compact has made them less? Men, equal in rights, assented to a government which preserves them equal in power: 30,000 citizens residing where they may, must possess civil rights and powers equal to 30,000 in any other part of the union; yet, though a compact, which ought to be inviolable, has ordained that representation, that is to say, power, shall be apportioned according to numbers, this bill, contradicting the language of nature and compact, directs, that 30,000 in Virginia shall have as much power as near 60,000 in Delaware and several other states.

It would ill suit the seriousness of my present emotions, to say how little the supposed expediency of a numerous assembly, and many other favourite topics, have to do with the debate; constitutional questions are so frequent they have almost lost their power to impress us. But this touches the first organization of the body politic; it goes to stifle liberty in her cradle; it establishes the power of a part over the whole; it is a disfranchisement of some of the states. If the rights of Virginia were invaded, I trust I should be equally zealous to maintain them. For the common right is the common security; but this bill tears the title deed in pieces.

Having compared the bill with the constitution, and seen the result of the comparison, it remains to enquire what amendment will be proper and constitutional. In this part of the enquiry, I will not pretend to say that I have arrived at equal certainty; I have no doubt that the bill is bad, but I am not equally satisfied of the best mode of amending it.

To determine what is right, some principle must be ascertained. That first principle is equality; it is another name for justice: That which is the right of the people, therefore, is the duty of the government. But as it is not practicable to apportion representatives exactly among the several states according to their numbers, it is our duty, to approach as nearly to that equality as may be. If an apportionment is proposed, and it can be shewn that a more equal one can be made, it becomes our duty to make it. For if we have an arbitrary discretion to reject the most equal apportionment, and to adopt a less equal, what is to restrain us from choosing the least equal of all, that is to say, having no apportionment at all. If this principle is not to govern us, then we are to act without any rule at all, and the constitution was made in vain. We cannot have more representatives than one to 30,000; but in apportioning them, let us follow the constitution, and do it according to numbers; and when we stop, as we must, short of a perfect equality, it will be the constitution that restrains us. In doing this, we shall assume no arbitrary control over the equal and sacred rights of the people. We shall have done all that we can to give them energy. It has appeared on discussion, that the rule of 30,000, proposed by the bill, is so far from being the most equal, that no more capricious and unjust disproportionment of representatives has yet been suggested. The ratio of 33,000, though not free from exception, is less unequal, and leaves less unrepresented fractions.

Having made some further observations, he concluded by exhibiting a table, the object of which was, to prove that the amendment would secure a greater equality of representation, than the bill, in its original state.

Mr. *Dayton* said, that if the vote which was about to be taken, were merely to determine what should be the ratio of representation, he should have been contented to remain in his seat, and give a silent vote upon the occasion; but to him it appeared to involve in it a question and a principle of infinitely higher moment.

Two of the members from Virginia, Mr. *Dayton* observed, had candidly admitted the inequalities complained of in the apportionment prescribed by the bill sent up to the senate, and had acknowledged the advantages to be given to their state over every other: they did not, he said, contradict the calculations, nor combat the arguments which had been offered against it, but they boldly claimed and exacted those advantages as a right. This being the case, the question was in reality no longer, whether 30 or 33,000 should be the rule of apportionment, but whether the legislature of the union were in future to frame their acts with a view to the particular and almost exclusive advantage of Virginia, and to bend and accommodate their laws to the interests and will of the people or representatives of that state.

It was now also to be determined, Mr. *Dayton* further observed, whether Pennsylvania was hereafter destined to hold in her hands, as she had been in some measure used to do, the political balance of the states, to be the umpire in our disputes, and the centre of our union. Judging, he said, from the votes upon record, relating to this business, and from some other circumstances, she was no longer intended or qualified to hold that important station. The ancient prophecy, he said, seemed to be verifying among a people for whom he had never considered it as intended. The favouring of this country, the political Shiloh, was now among us, and universally known and acknowledged, and the sceptre was about to depart from Judah. These, he added, were the well known preparatives to the summons which was soon to follow, for their assembling at the New-Jerusalem. He concluded, with saying, that not Pennsylvania alone, but far the greatest part of the union would have reason to repent the determination against the amendment of the senate, and the adherence to the original bill. He, for his own part, believed that such a determination not only struck at the existence of the state sovereignties, but reached to the very vitals of the general government, and that it must eventually produce either a general consolidation of the union into one national mass, or an absolute separation of its members.

Mr. *Venable* supposed that a Virginian was possessed of equal rights with other men; if this be a government of compact, he has equal rights with other men; but is it a reason, that because Virginia has relinquished a part of her rights when this compact was forming, that she should not now hold what she has not resigned? The dispute on the ratio of representation does not affect Virginia; for whatever ratio may be adopted, her representation must always be complete: whether this be a consolidated or federal government, Virginia will have her full proportion in every case except one, that is, in case she should be reduced to a less number than one member; so that, upon whatever grounds we take it, whether fractional or constitutional, the result will be nearly the same. Calculations therefore, are out of the question, and after all the arguments of northern and southern interests, of the differences between small states and large states, the comparison is brought to Virginia and Delaware, and the question is to strike off seven members from the five large states, and add to the seven smaller ones. Thus is one sixteenth of the whole representation of the union to be deducted unconstitutionally from one part and given away to another, which has already more than a just proportion in the government: for although it is contended, that we should not argue from the proportion the small states bear in the senate, yet, I hold it fair, in speaking of a government of representation, to take the whole into view, and not be governed by such partial comparisons. Under this consideration, I say, that every man in Virginia, as represented in the two branches of the legislature, is to a man in Delaware only as one to eleven and one half, and in the election of a president only as one to one and one half. This is an advantage enjoyed by individuals in the smaller states more than by those in the larger, and this advantage would be still increased by an adoption of the amendment of the senate: is it, therefore, just to increase this inequality? Is it fair that a man living in the neighbourhood of another, with only the boundary line of a state between them, should be represented only in the proportion of one to eleven and one half?

August, 1792.

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I contend that the principle which comes the nearest to hold out equal rights to every man, is the most proper one, and one that I will always contend for, as a citizen of the United States, and as a citizen of Virginia. I shall never wish to encroach upon the constitution, but I will be equally against destroying the balance between the rights which the people have delegated, and those they have retained.

Take the subject in any point of view, the five large states will send, suppose 31 members, to the house of representatives, and 10 to the senate, whilst the nine smaller states will have 31 members in this house, and 18 in the senate, so that the majority of the representation in the one is overpowered in the other, and taking the whole aggregate of the inhabitants of the United States, if divided into the majority contained in those five large states, and the minority in the nine smaller ones, it appears that the minority of the people can dictate to the majority in elections, &c.

Government is formed by an association of the people upon principles of equality, and whilst we admit the argument of sovereignty retained to the states in the senate, let us not lose sight of justice, right, and equity. He concluded, by declaring himself of the same opinion as formerly, in favour of the bill; and as there were no reasons offered by the senate, or for them, that could induce him to change, consequently he could not recede from his opinion.

Mr. *Madison*, after making a few prefatory observations, said he felt himself compelled to take some notice of the arguments that had been used this day, on the subject before the house: he would not, however, attempt any reply to the gentleman from New-Jersey, nor pretend to follow him in his flights of imagination respecting the New-Jerusalem or the umirage of Pennsylvania, but leave it to those to whom such observations might have been addressed to draw their own conclusions. He was sorry that it almost always happened, whenever any question of general policy and advantage to the union was before the house, and gentlemen found themselves at a loss for general arguments, they commonly resorted to local views; and at all times, as well as the present, when there was most occasion for members to act with the utmost coolness, when their judgments ought to be the least biased, it was to be regretted, that at those times they suffered their feelings, passions, and prejudices to govern their reason. Thus it is, that the most important points are embarrassed, the northern and southern interests are held up, every local circumstance comes into view, and every idea of liberality and candour is banished.

The gentleman from New-York, (Mr. Lawrance,) when he introduced this subject at the commencement of the present session, did it on the most generous plan, and disavowed every principle of calculation so much, that he then declared he had not so much as made a single calculation of the different fractions which have since been introduced into the debate. His only object was to fix a rule on general principles, agreeable to the constitution, and to the preservation of the rights of the people; and this idea was approved by two of the gentlemen from New-Jersey, who have since altered their opinions, although they then had no objections, but as to the expense the idea of fractions was not then contended for, but has since become the very essence of the opposition: and we are called on to violate the constitution, by adopting a measure that will give representatives for those separate and distinct fractions in the respective states; and afterwards are told it is not to the fractional numbers in the states that they refer, but to the aggregate of the fractions in the United States. If this reasoning is good, why do the gentlemen stop at this boundary of a representation by states? why not proceed to erect the whole of the United States into one district, without any division, in order to prevent the inequality they conceive to exist in respect to individual states?

He would not encroach upon the time of the house by protracting the debate, which had already swelled to an immoderate extent. Upon the whole, he said, this was a great question, wherein attention should be paid to the people, and a strict eye kept towards the public good, divested of prejudice; but he had heard, with pain, how much had been said to divert the house, by an attention to fractions, from the true object of general welfare. Yet, he hoped, that the government would be equally administered; that none of those predictions or threats, thrown out in the course of the debate, that no mutilation of the union, would take place; but, on the contrary, that harmony would guide the decision of this question; free from every local consideration.

Mr. Hillhouse. It has often been said this government is a government of confidence, and taking this for granted, can it ever be supposed that a plan of representation, which is unequal and unjust, can excite this confidence? This ratio of 33,000, throws an additional weight of seven representatives into the scale of the large states. If this principle can be established on this occasion, it may be also extended to taxation. Northern and southern interests had been mentioned. He was sorry the idea had ever been suggested; but as it had, there was no impropriety in adverting to it. Let a line then be drawn at any given place, and a ratio established which will do equal justice to the members on both sides of that line; a representation that will deviate from such a principle, it cannot be expected, will give satisfaction, or be cheerfully submitted to by the people. The ratio of 33,000, figures will shew it, will give a more equal representation than that of 30,000. There had not, and, in his opinion, could not, be any good reason assigned why it should not be adopted.

Mr. Boudinot said he was pleased when gentlemen were desirous of appealing to candid and fair argument, in determining important questions. In the present case, he thought there was a propriety in examining the principles of the bill and amendment, by the terms of the constitution. It had been said by gentlemen, that the ratio, when adopted, must be applied to the number of citizens in the individual states, and that no regard was to be paid to the fractions occasioned thereby, because not regarded by the constitution. This, he thought, was by no means conclusive. The house of representatives was to consist of members chosen every second year, by the people of the several states; these members not to exceed the proportion of one to 30,000. It appeared to him that the whole number of representatives, to be chosen by the people of the union, was the subject contemplated by the constitution, as constituting this branch of the legislature; while by another part of the constitution, it becomes the duty of congress, to apportion them when so ascertained, among the several states, in proportion to their respective numbers. As an instance, suppose for argument's sake, the aggregate number of the citizens of the united states to be exactly three millions, by applying the ratio of 30,000, the constitutional number of this house would be found 100; congress should then proceed to apportion (for he could apply no other meaning to the word) the 100 members among the states, as their respective numbers bore a proportion to the whole number of three millions. Thus the representatives from every state would bear an exact proportion to each other, according to the number of inhabitants in the state; and the whole representation would stand on principles of perfect equality. An equal representation appears to have been the desirable object of the framers of the constitution. It is the very spirit of our government. He insisted that this was the only mode of applying the ratio, and making the apportionment that would hold good at all times, and under all circumstances. It cannot be said with propriety, that the constitution does not proceed on principles of perfect equality in this house, yet if the ratio will be applied to the numbers in the individual states, it will always produce (as has been fully shewn by several gentlemen) very great inequality, by large fractions being unavoidable. In one state we now find one upwards of 29,000. He acknowledged the amendment did not proceed on this principle any more than the bill, for which reason he fully approved of neither, but as the ratio of 33,000 in the amendment produced a much greater equality, and came in effect nearer to his principle, (by reducing the fractions made by the bill nearly two thirds) he should prefer it, as he must vote for the one or the other.

It had been said that they were making distinctions between the north and the south—between the large and small states. He observed, in answer, that if gentlemen would introduce principles of inequality, that bore unconstitutionally hard on individual states, they ought not to take it amiss, that the suffering states would complain of the injustice. The injured must complain, and the fault, if any, lies with the first framers of the principle.

If gentlemen wished for equality, let them adhere to the principles of the constitution. Apply the ratio to the whole number of citizens, by which you find the number of representatives to constitute this house, and then apportion those representatives among the individual states, according to their respective numbers.

When gentlemen advert to the senate, and say that the equal representation of the small states there should be taken into the account, they do not consider the relative situation of the states as represented in that house. There the sovereignty of each

state is represented, and not the individual citizen. Sovereignty is perfectly equal in every state. As sovereigns there are none great or small, and if his information had been right, it was on that principle that the senate was originally constituted, but that house was a representative of every individual citizen. On the whole, he was of opinion, that by agreeing to the amendment of the senate, they would secure the great principles of equality better than by the bill.

Mr. Bondinot thought the construction he had given the constitution, was a true one. It supported the spirit of the confederation between the states, which was on the footing of perfect equality in proportion to numbers. It coincided with the spirit of our government, which was equality; and, although by it, the number of members constituting the house was first ascertained from the whole people aggregately considered, without respect to the division of states, in their political capacity, yet by the after apportionment among the respective states in that capacity, the wisdom of the constitution appeared, in thus providing a general government for general purposes, and at the same time making each individual state, as a state, essential to the existence of that government, thereby preventing, in the most effectual manner, an unnecessary entire consolidation of the union. Mr. B. said he had originally objected to the bill, on account of a too numerous and expensive representation, as well as of an unequal one, but chiefly relied on, the last, as being unconstitutional, and therefore he should still prefer a concurrence with the senate.

Mr. Gerry observed, that it had been fashionable to speak of the ratio of 30,000 as a federal number; he did not know what name to give to the amendment of the senate, unless it were called the fractional number. He then took notice of an argument which had been used to create suspicion, that there was danger to be apprehended from a combination of the larger states; but this would appear a weak argument, when it was considered that the power and influence of the smaller states are equal, in the senate, to those of the greater states. The thing is impossible, and if attempted, could not succeed.

He wished to know whether it was the opinion of gentlemen, that there was less judgment and less firmness in the house of representatives than in the senate? He hoped an equipoise would be preserved in the two branches, and that the balance would not be destroyed by constantly giving up the judgment of the house to every whim of the senate. If a latitude be now admitted, that we may increase the ratio before the expiration of the first ten years, the gentlemen in favour of the senate's amendment may insist on a ratio of 50 or 60,000; but this is ground they know they cannot yet touch upon; and the same reason that should prevent us from adopting this extreme, operates against the amendment. The whole expense of congress, from adopting the ratio in the bill, will not amount to two cents upon each citizen of the united states annually, and as population increases it will be lessened. Surely, the gentlemen in favour of the amendment cannot object to this trifling expense. They speak of a liberal policy; I wish they would shew us an example, by agreeing to the bill with a better grace than they seem to have exhibited hitherto.

Mr. Murray. The subject has gone through a very ample discussion. When the question of representation first came on, the theory of the government was ably supported to by those who urged a large representation. Sir, I most heartily agreed in the principle, on which a large majority of this house made 30,000 the ratio. As I still am of that opinion, I shall be indulged by this house, while I give my reasons for adhering with a firmness which may be deemed by some tenaciousness, to a rejection of the amendment of the senate.

I voted for 30,000, because I saw in that ratio the constitutional wishes and expectations of the people. I deemed the largest possible ratio allowed by the constitution to be the source of national government, and its best security. Nothing, sir, which I have yet heard, has convinced me to the contrary. It is unnecessary to recapitulate whatever has been said on this point. I must remark, however, that during the discussion, the members of this house, who suggested that principle, appeared to me to be convinced. They seemed to be masters of their own opinions, and to agree in this idea, without adverting to the doctrine of fractions, that the sole question was a point of theory rather than a measure of expedience; and they decided, by a large majority, that in this house, immediately warm from the very bosom of the people, the ratio of 30,000 was theoretically correct and practically useful. The bill was sent up to the senate, who returned it with an amendment of 33,000 as the ratio. I

voted against that amendment, because it was an attack upon the principle of an enlarged representation; and because the idea of fractional representation aimed at by the amendment, was but a commutation of the evil of fractions from one state to another, from the eastern to the southern; and contained a surrender of the principle, without an attainment of convenience.

Sir, it has been in the course of debate foretold, that that honourable body would be averse to an enlarged representation here. Whatever has been argued, has been verified by experience; nor can any man be at a loss to see that the temper against large representation, though not openly avowed, for that would have been impolitic, has been covertly and successfully exerted, under the semblance of equality of representation, by this doctrine of fractions. It was sent down into this house in the form of jealousy and suspicion, and it has produced its effects. It has roused the latent and local interests from their plans, and we have had debates entirely constructed on the tenets of northern and southern interests and influence.

A proposition was made by a member from New-York, Mr. Benson, and reiterated by the gentleman from Delaware. The object of this proposition was to sum up the fractions, and from the aggregate take seven members. Sir, if I was surprised, I confess I was delighted to see men who had a few days before opposed in theory the idea of a large representation, come down with moderation, and suggest this great principle, even in a bad form. I imagined they were converted. I voted against this proposition, because I thought it, first, unconstitutional, inasmuch as it could have been contemplated but in the consolidation of states; and because I thought it contained a solecism in politics. I deemed it unconstitutional, as the constitution calls for a representation of the people of the *respective* STATES in a ratio of 30,000; and if this had been obtained, it was to be done by collecting the fragments of constituents from states widely separate, and giving a representation of their fractions thus divided to that state which had the largest fraction. Thus, sir, the two from Delaware would be chosen by less than the constitution contemplates, as there are not 60,000; and it is in vain to say, that the member chosen by 25,000 is elected by the addition of 5,000 in any other state, in order to complete his proper number of constituents, for they do not elect him: and if it be said that he nevertheless does represent them as his constituents, it can only be by the idea of a consolidation having pre-existed, which no man has yet openly avowed to be the doctrine on this subject. The very first and most intelligible principle of representation in government is, that the representative is responsible to his constituents; but, sir, this, though an abstract truth, must be shewn to the people not in a fiction, but in a solid and practical mode, congenial with their habits, and palpable to their understandings.

In the adoption of this extraordinary proposition, the idea of *virtual* representation is the only one which at all protects it. No man, however, who knows the country, will tamper and trifle with so solid a part of government, as that of actual representation and actual responsibility. I never, sir, could consent to commute a known and practical measure of good, for a flimsy speculation, which could only have been invented to serve particular views, and was never thought of till it was discovered in what manner the fractions would affect particular states.

For these reasons, sir, I voted against that proposition. I shall now vote against the amendment of the senate, because I find no cure, but a partial one, for the inconvenience of fractions; and even this is to be obtained at the expense of principle. Though this amendment may gratify some states, as New-Jersey, that may have large fractions, it throws off the evil from them on other states. The fraction of Massachusetts may be smaller, but the state of Maryland loses a member, and will have a large fraction. Sir, I can find nothing in this amendment, but the design to accomplish what I humbly conceive an unwholesome end by improper means, and shall therefore vote against the proposed amendment.

Mr. Findley, From the various observations which had been made on the subject, said it had become necessary that a vote should be given with due deliberation—such a vote as constitutional justice should require: for as to general justice, it was entirely out of the question; and indeed, he said, that general justice could not be done, on the principles of any government under heaven. He adverted to the particular situation of the respective states, and said, that this general justice was not attainable in any one of them. We are not to be moved by any threats; we act on principle, and we will cherish ourselves in principle; and this principle of constitutional

equality is all that we can pretend to. But it is objected that the ratio will produce fractions, and to get rid of this difficulty of fractions, we are to reduce the representation of the people from the constitutional number of one to every 30,000; that is, we are to strike off one sixteenth part of the whole representation of the union. He urged, that the representation on the ratio of 30,000 would not be too great. He instanced the representation of Geneva, and other foreign states. If there should arise any inconvenience from the present ratio of 30,000, government were not obliged to wait for the expiration of ten years to remedy the defect; it was always in the power of congress to order another census to be taken at any time. For his own part, he had not considered fractions as an obstacle to the bill; on the contrary, he was rejoiced that the population of the country increased so rapidly, as to make those fractions always quickly increase to an whole number. To conclude, he was for going on general principles, which would certainly reflect the most honour, on the proceedings of the legislature.

Mr. *W. Smith* said he had hitherto voted uniformly in favour of a smaller representation than that which was contemplated in the bill, and in doing so he had acted from principle, without any reference to the doctrine of fractions. As the enumeration of his state was not yet known, it must be evident to every gentleman in the house that this was the case; but he now saw the necessity of changing his vote, since the bill had been returned from the senate, where it seemed there was a disposition to modify every bill, and every proceeding of this house, just as they pleased. He thought it would have a very awkward appearance to the world, if the house should give way in all cases whatever, and more especially in the present instance, where the senate had been equally divided, and the question was decided by the vote of a single member of that body, the vice-president. For these reasons, and the locality and fractions that had been introduced into the debate, he would vote for an adherence to the former decision of the house, in order to support that balance which should be preserved between the two branches of the legislature.

Mr. *Sedgwick* said, that it was impossible for him to understand on what principle the gentleman from South-Carolina, and his colleague, were to give their votes, contrary to their former expressed opinion, excepting that they had discovered that the senate concurred with them, which would not, he hoped, be generally considered as a good ground for changing; as it seemed to be embracing contradiction for the purpose of contradiction; or unless, as the gentleman had declared, that, at the time he formed his opinion, he did it on principle, by the abandonment of which, he could acquire an undue weight to the district of country from which he came, by departing from a just equality in representation.

Gentlemen had seemed to wish to obscure the merits of the present controversy, by considering it as a contest between the larger and smaller states, and by supposing that the latter would be compensated for their loss of weight and influence in this house, which would result from an unequal apportionment of the representation, by the undue influence which they possessed in the senate. He himself came from a very large and important state. Justice, however, obliged him to declare that this mode of conducting the argument, only tended to divert the judgment from the true merits of the question. What had the distribution of the powers of the government, which, by the constitution, was admitted to the interests and sovereignty of the states, to do with the apportionment of representation, as it respected either its numbers or the various interests which were to be secured by equality of influence? Was it possible that any mind should be so weak, as not to discover that the constitutional organization of the senate was wholly irrelevant to those considerations which should influence in the decision of this present question?

In contemplating the subject before the house, he observed, that a vast variety of circumstances were entitled to deliberate consideration. Among others, the number of representatives compared with the number of inhabitants of the united states. In determining which, the nature and objects of the government we were administering, its machinery, the distribution of its parts, the constitution of the other branch of the legislature, and many other objects, were to be considered. That we had not on any of these subjects the aid of experience, and that the government itself was a novel experiment. He need not therefore add, that there were no data from which any certain conclusion could be drawn. All was uncertainty and conjecture. Was an apportionment of a ratio of 30,000 eligible? As an abstract proposition, he was disposed to

give it a preference to any other. But if he was asked wherefore, he could only answer, that it was rather an inclination of sentiment, than the result of rational reflection. He would not therefore, because justice would not permit it, sacrifice to the effect of conjecture; which might be only the result of whim; the important and indispensable duty he owed to respect the claims of states to equality.

If an apportionment was made by a ratio of 30,000, the members would be seven more than if the amendment of the senate were adopted. Which ever proposition was agreed to, would any one venture to affirm that the liberties of the people would be more or less secure; the house aggregately more or less wise; or the due balance between the two houses better or worse adjusted? Considering thus the subject, does not the earnestness with which gentlemen contend for the proposition of the house, appear perfectly unaccountable? But in the progress of this business, it is discovered that an application of the principle of the house, gives a balance of weight and influence to one part of the united states, to which it is not entitled by the equal apportionment contemplated by the constitution. This is agreed by all, it is demonstrated by figures. Nor can it be denied that equality is among the most essential principles of representation, and expressly provided for by the constitution, as far as would consist with the state of our society, having a due regard to our particular circumstances. Yet all-important as this consideration is, it is to be sacrificed, with all the interests involved in it, to a fanciful idea of theory; of theory unfaucioned by experience.

For his own part, he believed that wise policy would be found perfectly to coincide with, and reconcile the various interests of this extensive country. It could not, however, have escaped the observation of every gentleman, that there existed an opinion of opposition of interests between the northern and southern states. The influence of this opinion had been felt in the discussion of every important question which had come under the consideration of the legislature. The extreme anxiety of gentlemen on the present occasion, would render all other evidence superfluous on this subject. Such a belief, he said, however ill-founded, would, as long as it continued, have the same effect as if it existed in fact. Feeling the weight of this observation, and the influence it ought to have to give to every part of the united states as nearly as might be, a due proportion of constitutional weight in the public councils, he was incapable of reconciling the conduct of members who were disposed to sacrifice the most important interests of their immediate constituents, to their strange ideas of conjectural perfection. It seemed to him that the gentlemen who came from the north, and on this occasion dissented from their neighbours, were disposed blindly to surrender all the important interests of their immediate constituents, to the arbitration of those, the whole course of whose conduct had demonstrated that they thought those interests adverse to their own.

He concluded, by warning those who had hitherto composed a majority on this subject, to reflect on the danger that would result from a pertinacious adherence to a measure so productive of the sources of jealousy. And he called on their generosity, magnanimity and justice, to respect the claims of the minority to an equal weight in the government, on the principles of the constitution.

Mr. Gerry made some reply to Mr. Sedgwick, respecting locality of interests, and declared that he would never agree to a reduction of the people's representation.

Mr. Linnane said he had always advocated a large representation, without any reference to the part of the union from which the members were to come. 30,000 would give the largest number we could get. He could have wished it had been larger; but as it could not, he should vote against 33,000, which would diminish the number. And this was the principle he acted upon. If an equality is the object, is there not a number which will produce a still greater equality than that proposed by the senate? If there is, there is no principle in the ratio of 33,000; for it ought to be carried to the full extent, to make it perfectly equal. He was sorry that the discussion of the question had excited those disagreeable reflections which had been made, and that the discussion of general principles was dwindled into a debate on fractions, and on the interests of northern and southern parts of the union. He was persuaded this would not be the proper mode of obtaining the end, which ought to be in view, but would only tend to disturb the tranquility and harmony that ought to exist in investigating and determining this subject.

Mr. Kittera having first voted for 30,000, he thought it proper to offer a few reasons for altering his opinion. He had voted for 30,000, because it would give the largest representation; but finding its unjust and unequal operation, in respect to a majority of the states, he had determined to vote for the ratio of 33,000. He then noticed the remark of Mr. Findley, that the injustice might be corrected, by an enumeration at an earlier period than that proposed in the constitution. He observed, that this was in effect saying, let us do injustice, and wait a number of years, and then justice shall be done. Why not do justice now, as far as in our power? Mr. Lawrance had said, why not adopt a ratio that would leave less fractions than 33,000? He said this was in effect saying, that because we could not do complete justice, we should not do it to any degree whatever. The superior degree of equality which would result from the amendment of the senate, had been so fully demonstrated, that he should now vote to recede from the disagreement of the house to it.

The motion to recede was negatived, as has already been mentioned.

The bill being thus lost, it became necessary to take up the business *de novo*. A new bill was accordingly reported to the house of representatives, on the 7th of February, by a committee which had been appointed for that purpose. This bill, in addition to the apportionment of representatives among the several states, according to the first enumeration, made provision for another enumeration, and an apportionment of representatives thereon, to compose the house of representatives after the 3d of March 1797.—An amendment was proposed by Mr. Benson, to establish the number of members at one for every thirty thousand persons, in the aggregate of the population of the united states; and to apportion these in such manner, that the additional members should be assigned to those states which had the largest fractions. This gave rise to a long debate; in which many of the arguments which had been previously used, in the discussion of the representation bill, were repeated. That clause in the constitution, which respects the apportionment of representatives, and of direct taxes, was quoted, both by the advocates and the opposers, of Mr. Benson's proposed amendment, as authority for their opposite principles. The motion for amending, however, was finally negatived—Yeas, 24; nays, 33.

The bill having passed the house was sent to the senate, who passed it with sundry amendments.—The principal of these were, that the number of representatives should be increased to 120; that additional members should be assigned to those states which had the largest fractions, on the apportionment of one representative to every thirty thousand persons, and that the section which provided for a second enumeration should be expunged. After a tedious debate, the question was put for agreeing to the amendment which proposed an increase of the members to 120, and negatived—Yeas, 30; nays, 31.

The other amendments were also disagreed to, by the house. A conference, on the subject of those amendments, was held by managers on behalf of each house; but these separated, without being able to bring about an accommodation.—The senate continuing to insist upon their amendments, the subject was reconsidered in the house of representatives; and a motion, for receding from their disagreement to all the said amendments was carried—Yeas, 31; nays, 29.

Those who voted in the affirmative, were, Fisher Ames, Egbert Benson, Elias Boudinot, Sbearjashub Bourne, Benjamin Bourne, Abraham Clarke, Thomas Fitzsimons, Elbridge Gerry, Nicholas Gilman, Benjamin Goodhue, James Gordon, Thomas Hartley, Israel Jacobs, Aaron Kitchell, John W. Kittera, John Laurance, Amasa Learned, Samuel Livermore, Frederick Augustus Muhlenberg, Nathaniel Niles, Cornelius C. Schoonmaker, Theodore Sedgwick, Jeremiah Smith, Israel Smith, John Steele, Peter Silvester, George Thatcher, Thomas Tredwel, John Vining, Jeremiah Wadsworth, and Artemas Ward.

Those who voted in the negative, were, John Baptist Ashe, Abraham Baldwin, Robert Barnwell, John Brown, William Findley, William B. Giles, Andrew Gregg, William Barry Grove, Daniel Heister, James Hillhouse, Daniel Huger, Philip Key, Richard Bland Lee, Nathaniel Macon, James Madison, John Francis Mercer, Andrew Moore, John Page, Josiah Parker, Joshua Seney, William Smith, Samuel Sterrett, Jonathan Sturges, Thomas Sumpter, Thomas Tudor Tucker, Abraham Venable, Alexander White, Hugh Williamson, and Francis Willis.

The bill thus passed was as follows—

An ACT for an apportionment of Representatives among the several States, according to the first Enumeration. BE it enacted by the senate and house of representatives of the united States of America, in congress assembled; That from and after the third day of March, in the year one thousand seven hundred and ninety-three, the house of representatives shall be composed of one hundred and twenty members, elected in the several States, according to the following apportionment; that is to say: Within the state of New-Hampshire, five; within the state of Massachusetts, sixteen; within the state of Vermont, three; within the state of Rhode-Island, two; within the state of Connecticut, eight; within the state of New-York, eleven; within the state of New-Jersey, six; within the state of Pennsylvania, fourteen; within the state of Delaware, two; within the state of Maryland, nine; within the state of Virginia, twenty-one; within the state of Kentucky, two; within the state of North-Carolina, twelve; within the state of South-Carolina, seven; and within the state of Georgia, two.

On the 26th of March; this bill was presented to the president of the united States; for his approbation; and, on the 5th of April, he returned it, with the following objections; to the house of representatives, in which it originated

United States, April 5th, 1792.

Gentlemen of the house of Representatives,

I HAVE maturely considered the act passed by the two houses, intituled, "An act for an apportionment of representatives among the several States, according to the first enumeration;" and I return it to your house, wherein it originated; with the following objections.

First. The constitution has prescribed, that representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers; and there is no one proportion or divisor, which, applied to the respective numbers of the States, will yield the number and allotment of representatives proposed by the bill.

Second. The constitution has also provided, that the number of representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand; which restriction is, by the context, and by fair and obvious construction, to be applied to the separate and respective numbers of the States: And the bill has allotted to eight of the States more than one for every thirty thousand.

G. WASHINGTON.

This was the first instance of a bill's being returned with the president's objections. It must afford pleasure to our fellow-citizens to see this precedent established, and to reflect that we have a chief magistrate sufficiently firm and independent, to exercise the powers vested in him by the constitution, in opposition to a majority in both houses of the legislature, when their measures appear to him to be either unconstitutional, or injurious to the public.

The bill was reconsidered, and the question for passing the same was negatived—Yeas, 28; nays, 33. So that it fell to the ground; the constitution having made the votes of two thirds of both houses necessary to pass a bill returned with objections by the president.

On the 9th of April, a new bill was reported to the house, for apportioning representatives among the respective States, according to the first enumeration. A motion to fix the ratio at *thirty-three* thousand was carried—Yeas, 34; nays, 30.

YEAS. Messrs. Ames, Barnwell, Benson, Boudinot, S. Bourne, B. Bourne, Clarke, Dayton, Fitzsimons, Gerry, Gilman, Goodhue, Gordon, Gregg, Hartley, Heister, Hillhouse, Hüger, Jacobs, Kitchell, Kittera, Learned, Livermore, Niles, Sedgwick, J. Smith, I. Smith, W. Smith, Sturges, Silvester, Thatcher, Vining, Wadsworth, Ward.

NAYS. Messrs. Ashe, Baldwin, Brown, Findley, Giles, Griffin, Grove, Key, Lawrence, Lee, Macon, Madison, Mercer, Moore, Muhlenberg, Murray, Page, Parker, Schoonmaker, Seney, Sheredine, Steele, Sterett, Sumpter, Tredwell, Tucker, Venable, White, Williamson, Willis.

The ratio being thus fixed, the bill, without further amendment, was enacted into a law.

(To be continued.)

The CHRONICLE.

PHILADELPHIA, *August 1.*

A VERMONT paper, printed at Windsor, in that state relates, that "the wife of Mr. Ashbel Webb, of the town of Bradford was, on the 12th of July, delivered of a child the most singular and extraordinary of any, perhaps, ever known in this part of the world. It had two distinct heads, four arms, one body, and four legs. The child was still-born, and the mother is in a favourable situation as to her health."

The Rev. Samson Occum, a noted Indian preacher at Stockbridge, near Oneida in the state of New-York, died on or about the 14th of July in the woods, while searching for timber, in company with a friend. He had been previously ill, but was tempted to make this excursion upon a supposition that he was getting better. He was buried on the 15th. His funeral sermon was preached by the Indian missionary, Kirkland, from Matt. 24, verse 44. Upwards of three hundred Indians, from different tribes, attended his funeral.

August 4. In consequence of notice given in the newspapers, and the adjournment that took place on the Monday evening before, a number of citizens assembled in the state-house yard on Tuesday the 31st ult. at 3 P. M. on the subject of appointing conferrees, &c. At half after three, an attempt was made to proceed to business, and Mr. McKean and Mr. Powel both named for chairman. After a noisy contest of *Yes* and *No*, those two gentlemen declined serving on the present occasion. Other names were brought forward, and among them Messrs. Morris and Barclay. Mr. Wilson endeavoured to decide which name commanded a majority, and a division for this purpose was three times effected; but the meeting was so numerous that it was found impossible to determine which was the largest mass, or to decide the question by enumeration.—A last endeavour was made by the friends to conferrees to place Mr. Morris in the chair; some confusion ensued, and the meeting was dissolved in a tumultuous and unbecoming manner.

A few days ago the powder-mill at Springfield, in Massachusetts, was blown up, by which unfortunate accident, Mr. Kennedy, the only workman then in the mill, lost his life.

At the late commencement at the university of Cambridge, in Massachusetts, thirty two gentlemen were admitted to the degree of master of arts; three to the degree of bachelor of physic; five to doctor of laws; six doctors of divinity; and six to the degree of doctor of physic. Previously to these, thirty-seven were admitted to the degree of bachelor of arts.

On the 4th of July, the anniversary of American Independence was celebrated at Dartmouth college, in New-Hampshire. In the forenoon there were various exhibitions by the students, in public speaking, music, &c. all which were highly applauded. In the afternoon the exercises were of a military kind, with a mock-battle, and other manœuvres.

A few days since, arrived in this river from Hanburgh, the brig Catharine, with upwards of one hundred and thirty passengers. They are intended to form a settlement in the Genesee country, and are to be joined by upwards of 500 more of their countrymen in a short time.

On the 24th of July ult. came into Boston harbour in distress, a large raft-ship, that had been built at Kannebeck some time before, for the purpose of carrying timber to London. She is said to be built entirely of timber, in one solid mass, without plank or sheathing, and has upwards of one thousand tons on board. Although caulked between the timbers, it seems she did not prove sufficiently tight for sea, and therefore put back for a resit.

On Sunday (July 22) the following melancholy accident happened at the camp near Alexandria, in Virginia. Serjeant Keech, of capt. Hannah's company, going through the manual exercise with a corporal, the latter had chanced to take up a musket, which, for a particular purpose, had been left loaded. When they came to the fatal words—"Present---Fire"---the corporal did so, and lodged the contents in the serjeant's body, which instantly put a period to his existence!

Capt Anderson, in the brig Sally, arrived on Thursday, in 15 days from St Eustatius, brings accounts, that, on Saturday the 14th ult. a gale of wind happened at the windward islands, that was somewhat alarming. It blew from S. to S. S. E. and continued about 8 hours with violence. That at St. Eustatius most of the vessels put to sea, several lost their anchors, and had not returned on Tuesday the 17th.—At Old Road, St. Kitts, a large ship, being unable to put sea, was driven on shore, having on board 500 hhds. of sugar, which with the ship, was entirely lost.—At Guadaloupe and Martinico they had not heard of any damage, but suppose, at Basseterre and St. Pierre they must have been much exposed.—He also relates, that at these islands there are great apprehensions of a hurricane these months—that the sages among them observe, with concern, the symptoms that almost constantly prevail previous to those calamitous phenomena.

On Wednesday arrived here the ship Pennsylvania, capt. Harding, from Havre de Grace, which place he left the 6th of June. American produce at that time was low, and there were pleasing accounts of plentiful crops all over France.

On Thursday morning was witnessed a very melancholy event at Mr. Henry Kizer's powder-mill, in lower Merion-township, Montgomery county, between the hours of nine and ten. There was a large quantity of powder in the mill, which by accident took fire, and blew up with a great explosion, which was heard at Schuy kill ferry, and was there supposed to be an earthquake. Mr. Kizer and three others, who were in the mill, were blown to pieces; and Mr. Henry Fraily, a copartner of Mr. Kizer, was so wounded that his life is despaired of. A young woman, who happened to be near the mill at the time it blew up, had both her legs broken, and was otherwise very much injured, by one of the rafters, which was carried from the building by the violence of the explosion.

The Pittsburg gazette of July 28, says, "The Cornplanter has got home from the council at Buffaloe-creek, and informs that it was determined in that council that a number of chiefs of the six nations should go on an embassy to the hostile Indians, to persuade them to peace with the united states.—Capt. Brady had been out a thirty days tour into the Indian country, but could not approach the Sanduski town nearer than five miles, as he was discovered and followed a considerable distance by parties of the hostile Indians. From this it appears, that Sanduski has not been deserted, as reported some time since."

August 8. A new system of military regulations for his army has been published by M. Fayette---several of the articles are severe. Whoever within reach of the army breaks silence is to be put in irons for six years---marauding is to be severely punished, also harsh treatment of prisoners. Death is the punishment of any soldier who cries out, *we are cut off, we are betrayed, or any thing similar.* No man in command is to be questioned for acts of severity which are necessary in an engagement. Officers are subject to double punishment for any fault they neglect to repress, or any act of disobedience to which they give way. The camp of M. de la Fayette, it is said, favours very little of the pristine *delicately* of the French armies---every officer being obliged to follow the example of the general, by being night and day in the camp.

August 11. By a person from Fort-Washington, arrived at Pittsburg, information was received that Col. Hardin, Major Trueman and two others were killed by the Indians, a short distance from Fort-Jefferson, on their way to the Indian towns, to invite them to a treaty.

Mr. Paine being informed that the British ministry intend to bring a prosecution against him, in a letter to the "Society for constitutional information," observes, a nation (as well the poor as the rich) has a right to know what any works are which are made the subject of prosecution. The getting out a cheap edition is, I conceive, says he, rendered more necessary---and he is accordingly proceeding with the work---

The society took into consideration the contents of said letter---and voted their thanks to Mr. Paine, for his disinterested patriotism---the society passed sundry resolutions expressive of their determination to support the author of the Rights of Man---and to persevere in the prosecution of the work for which they associated.

There appear several intimations in foreign papers, that the combination against France will be considerably weakened by a great part of the strength of the Prussian army being diverted towards Poland, to counter-act the pretensions of the empress of Russia to re-establish the old form of government in that country. It seems certain however, that part of the Prussian army has marched with that of Austria, against

France. "They will amount together, to near 140,000 men, who are to move in five divisions. From the length of their march it was deemed impossible for them to begin the campaign effectually till towards the end of July."---The same papers mention the Prussian and Russian ambassadors at Paris being on the eve of their departure.

The military policy of General Fayette seems in every respect to be copied from the conduct of the American FABIUS at the beginning of the war with Great-Britain. By skirmishes with the enemy on the frontiers he will teach his soldiers the absolute necessity of discipline, and will give them the *habitude* of war, without venturing a decisive action with troops, who have been taught from their infancy to look upon themselves as mere machines, and are as absolutely such, in the military line, as the cannon and mortars that attend them.

In England there appears to be a contest between the court party and the people, whether a reform in their government, shall or shall not take place. The immense influence of the crown, tho' unable so far to blind the people as to make a union with the continental powers against France a popular measure, yet it is feared, can so far operate upon certain springs, as in a great degree to defeat the purposes of the reforming societies throughout the kingdom.

Two brigantines are on their way from Old Spain to South-America; their object is said to be a complete survey of the whole extensive coast of South-America, more particularly those parts subject to the jurisdiction of Spain.

The strict enforcement of the decree of the national assembly, confirming the mulattoes of the islands in their privileges, seems to be the only practicable method of restoring peace and good order to those islands. By the latest information the adoption and enforcing of the decree in Hispaniola has nearly destroyed the confederacy between the mulattoes and the insurgent negroes. In Martinico it has produced the happiest effects, and as soon as it arrived the free men of colour gave themselves up to the colonial assembly, and swore to remain inviolably attached.

The American funds had fluctuated in a very uncommon degree in London, within the last six months. Those who speculated in them in the first instance had made immense sums, and so high was the public opinion in their favour, that the 6 per cents were run up to 150; this fictitious value, however, did not last long, and the sudden fall is said to have been one cause of the failures in New-York.

August 15. Reports from the westward say, that the Indians were assembled to the number of four or five thousand, about the middle of July, at or near the Miamée towns. It is added, that they appear inclined for war, and mean to strike some important blow towards or during autumn.

Patriotic collections are making in most of the towns through England and Ireland to assist the French in their war against the combination of tyrants.

At a meeting of the president and managers of the Schuylkill and Susquehanna navigation, August 13th, 1792---It was resolved, That the work of the canal be immediately commenced on the Crown Level.

Extract of a letter from Bermuda, July 28.

"The ship Sovereign, capt. Welch, which arrived at Barbadoes the 13th inst. from London, on her passage out spoke the Lord Camden East-Indiaman, bound home with government dispatches from Lord Cornwallis, containing the particulars of the taking Seringapatam, after a severe conflict, but that Tippoo escaped. After the capture Tippoo entered into treaty with the combined powers in the most humiliating manner, in which he gave up half his kingdom, was to pay three millions sterling in money, one half of which was to be immediately paid down in camp, and the other half in twelve months; his two eldest sons were given as hostages for the due performance of the treaty." *The above intelligence has since been confirmed.*

August 16. Accounts are received in London from the new colony of blacks at Sierra Leona, dated March 26; they are proceeding with the utmost diligence in clearing the land, and building houses---some have been sick, and some have died---Mr. Clarkson, the superintendent, had been sick, but was recovering.---The climate is described as being more salubrious than had been expected. The united consent of all the neighbouring chiefs has been obtained to establish the settlement---and the dispositions of King Naimbanna have appeared throughout to be extremely friendly. A warrant has received the signature of the king of Great-Britain for a grant of

£13,592, for the transportation of blacks from Nova-Scotia to the above settlement.

August 18. A soldier, by the name of Henry Hamilton, was condemned for mutiny, in attempting to take the life of ensign Devin, by sticking him with a bayonet in the breast. He was carried to the gallows and every preparation made for his execution, when a reprieve arrived from the commander in chief.

An agricultural society was incorporated in Massachusetts in March last; this society is now organized, its officers chosen, and committees appointed in various parts of the states to solicit subscriptions, to promote the purposes of the institution. There is no country in the world in which there is a greater field for agricultural improvement than America. In several of the states agricultural societies are established. A mutual intercourse and communications of observations, experiments, and discoveries, will be highly conducive to the promoting of this one of the first of all human concerns.

It is the most generally received opinion, that Russia would have joined in the cause of the princes against France, but for her intentions on Poland. And her views against this regenerated kingdom were not disclosed until Prussia began to engage in the conflict against France. Prussia, however, jealous of Russia's intention, appears desirous of preventing her aggrandizement; or, perhaps, wishes to assert her claim to part of the territory of Poland, should the ruin of that monarchical republic be effected. Be their intentions what they may, the Poles have tasted of the fountain of liberty—the invigorating draught will give them courage, and the justice of their cause strength to repel, it is hoped, their oppressors. The manifesto of Catharine, against the renovated empire, is marked with tyranny in every line—slightly veiled by an appearance of candour, founded on pretences scarcely plausible in a despot's eye, covering motives of the basest kind; perhaps, upon the whole, forming the darkest trait in this woman's character, and it is to be hoped the last attempt of her boundless ambition.

Austria with her whole force presses on France, who, with the energy of freedom will resist the blow, and if fortunate enough to make an impression upon the Austrian arms or territory, will carry, not death and destruction, but liberty and prosperity to the centre of the tyrant's dominions. Since the beginning of the French revolution, the nation has shewn marks of unexampled patriotism, and an ardent love of liberty; they begin to be distinguished for order and system, which united to the first will produce energy. Upon the whole, though the Austrian troops may boast of superior discipline; yet this is their only advantage. The loss of soldiers with them will be irreparable; but does a French citizen fall in the ranks, two will step forward to fill his place.

Spain will probably take no part in the contest. England has declared her neutrality; Sardinia may assist with her good will, her means in men and money are not great.

A spirit of reformation has gone abroad. Englishmen call for a more equal representation in the popular branch of their legislature, but wealth seems to outweigh numbers.

Irishmen complain, and the West-India colonies pretend that it is absurd to be governed by laws made three thousand miles from them, by men they don't know, and conceit they have a right to sell the produce of their industry to whom they please, and at the highest prices they can get. They begin to entertain an opinion that it is hard to starve when plenty is at their door. In short, they act the part of undutiful children, dislike the commands of their mother country, and are ungrateful and unnatural enough to prefer their prosperity to that of their common parent. Casting an eye to the happiness enjoyed by their elder brothers, they appear desirous of being considered as of age, and wish to be permitted to thift for themselves.

By several late arrivals from the English windward islands, we have learnt that there is the greatest uneasiness between the merchants and planters of those islands, respecting the regulations which have lately taken place in England on sugars. A deputation from all the windward and leeward islands were to meet on the 24th of July, at Dominica, for the purpose of taking into consideration the above, as well as the slave-trade business, and to petition parliament on the subject. In St. Kitts they had already come to a determination not to pay the king's duty of 4 1-2 per cent on rum, in consequence of which actions are entered into against the defaulters.

—In Jamaica, it is said, this four and an half per cent. duty is the occasion of clamour equally violent against government.

The subsequent resolutions have been agreed to by the council and assembly of the island of St. Vincents :

“ First, They feel it particularly incumbent upon them, in the present critical state of affairs, to insist upon their right of internal legislation in all matters relating to the internal government of the colony.

“ Secondly, They consider these islands intitled to a full recompense from Great-Britain for whatever losses they may sustain in consequence of either a gradual, or total abolition of the slave-trade.

“ Thirdly, They feel themselves at all times entitled to effectual protection from the mother country, and they conceive it essentially necessary, that the protection now afforded to them should be increased, inasmuch as the internal security of the colonies are greatly endangered by the questions agitated in the parliament of Great-Britain.

“ Fourthly, They consider themselves justified in expressing, in the most unequivocal terms, their astonishment and indignation at the unconstitutional and oppressive measures adopted by the British parliament, for reducing the price of British sugars at the British market, far below the price the sugars of the foreign islands are likely to obtain at all the other European markets : and for the further purposes of clogging and restricting a trade hitherto supported and encouraged by repeated acts of parliament.”

The proposed canal between the Delaware and the Schuylkill is ordered to be staked out, and the work commenced without delay. The water is to be taken from the Schuylkill at the mouth of Toney-Creek, to lead from thence to the northern bounds of this city. The fall, when it reaches the Delaware, will be about fifty feet.

On monday, the 6th of this instant, the supreme court of the united states met, when all the judges were present. The attorney-general of the united states gave notice, that he should move the court on Wednesday following, for a mandamus to the circuit-court of Pennsylvania, commanding them to proceed on the petition of William Hogburne, a claimant of a pension, in which they had refused to proceed, from a supposed nullity of the pension-law. The motion was accordingly begun on wednesday; when, after some prefatory remarks, the attorney-general was asked from the bench, whether he conceived it to be an official right to offer such a motion, as he had intimated it to be? He answered, that he did conceive it to be an official right. Upon which several observations were made, and the debate continued from day to day, until saturday last. The opinions of the judges being then taken, they were equally divided. In consequence of this division, it was improper for the attorney-general to move the subject officially. He then appeared as counsel for the invalids; and the motion, after being accompanied with the reasons, which influenced him to believe that the inferior court had erred, was postponed for a final decision until the next court. The important question “ whether a state can be sued,” is also set for the first day of the next term.

August, 22. There has been another change in the French ministry—The ministers of war, of contributions, and of the interior departments, were displaced. M. Dumourier, late minister of foreign affairs, has been placed at the head of the war department; M. Jaillac is made minister of foreign affairs, and M. Maulde is placed at the head of the interior.

The directors of the western inland lock-navigation in the state of New-York, having formed a board, and chosen general Schuyler president, the work is to be commenced immediately.

A canal has been proposed, down the waters of the Brandywine in the state of Delaware—Commissioners were appointed by the government to view the ground through which the canal should pass—a committee was lately chosen by a large number of the inhabitants met at Chester, to attend the commissioners on this business.

From the various circumstances which are related as attendant on the death of Elizabeth Reeves, we believe that the following particulars respecting that atrocious murder, may be relied on as facts.—Miss Reeves had on wednesday evening been on a short visit to a relation in Coombs's alley, which she left about eight o'clock, to go home, alone, and without any thing uncommon having occurred : from that time

she was not seen or heard of until early on thursday morning, when her body was discovered lying on the mud with the face down, in the dock near Warder's wharf. On examining, it was found that the most brutal violence had been found on her person, and a large wound on the left side of her mouth, and bruises on other parts, shewed the mult have suffered much from the most shameful abuse; several of her teeth were loose.—It appeared, from marks of her feet in the mud, that she had moved several steps from the place she was first thrown, where her comb and a ribband were found. Nothing has yet appeared to detect the villainous perpetrators of this infernal deed, but a boy declared that he saw two men in a bateau very early in the morning at the particular spot where the body was found, who made off upon his approach, and went on board a shallop down the river. Miss Reeves was about 17 years old, and apprenticed to a mantua-maker; and when it is considered that she bore a very good character, and was remarkable for her amiable deportment and pleasing manners, the loss to society must be the greater, and excite in the breasts of every friend to humanity a detestation of the diabolical actors of this horrid tragedy.

There was a considerable skirmish between the van guard of M. la Fayette's army, and a part of the Austrian army, on the 12th of June. It appears the latter gained some advantage in the beginning of the action—but M. la Fayette coming up with a reinforcement, he retook all the ground lost, and the enemy retired—the French followed them upwards of a league,—every station was retaken, and the French army displayed on a height to offer battle; but the design of the Austrians appears to have been only to surprise and cut off the van-guard of the French; not having succeeded, they retired. Of the French the lieut. colonel of the volunteers of Cote d'Or, and M. Gouvion, were killed. The Austrians carried off part of their dead, and left a considerable number on the field.

The above appears to be the business, on which the story is founded of M. la Fayette's taking Namur, and killing 2 or 3000 Austrians.

The Russians have entered the Polish Ukraine, but have been beaten in all the skirmishes which have hitherto taken place. The king of Poland is to command the army in person.

A proclamation against seditious writings has been issued in Ireland.

Considerable riots have taken place at Edinburgh, in consequence of the magistrates' interposing to prevent the populace from burning Mr. Dundas in effigy.

Extract of a letter from Charleston, S. C. Aug. 14.

“The devastations in French Hispaniola, which now seem to be drawing to a conclusion, the hurricane in the windward islands, which has done an immensity of damage to their buildings, &c. and a variety of other circumstances, seem to point out an increasing demand in the West-Indies for American lumber. It is well known that the lumber of this country and Georgia is preferable (particularly the pine) to any in the united states, for its firmness and durability, yet so miserably thin is our state of the necessary hands at present, that scarcely more sawed lumber is brought down the river than is sufficient for our own consumption, not to mention a considerable and constant importation from Georgia. It may even be asserted, with ample truth and justice, that the increase of Charleston is greatly retarded for want of sufficient supplies of this article. With every advantage from nature, this state seems to suffer not a little from an ill founded prejudice among foreigners of the insalubrity of its air. In the neighbourhood of the rice swamps it is indeed sickly towards autumn, but as these parts are generally inhabited by negroes, who have the entire care of cultivating the rice, it ought not to deter hardy and industrious men from the northward from coming and making their fortunes on the immense waste of our interior timber lands. Carolina as yet generally lies in a state of uncultivated nature; no country has more excellent mill-seats; our rivers and their branches are innumerable; and the aid of art is soon to be called in to form junctions between them by means of canals. Though our rivers are generally supposed shallow, yet there is water enough in most of them, at certain seasons, to carry down ships of three hundred tons, that might be built several hundred miles from the sea coast. With all these advantages, industrious and monied strangers will find no place in which their expectations are likely to be better gratified than in South-Carolina, a state that is rising into the most rapid importance, and only wants the nerves of freemen, and a more improved back country to render her capital the first, or only next to the first, in the united states.”

T H E

UNIVERSAL ASYLUM,

A N D

Columbian Magazine,

FOR SEPTEMBER, 1792.

BY A SOCIETY OF GENTLEMEN.

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P H I L A D E L P H I A:

PRINTED FOR THE PROPRIETORS, BY WILLIAM YOUNG,
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TO CORRESPONDENTS.

IF the author of *Reflections on the state of the union* meant to burlesque a recent publication bearing that title, he ought to have communicated his performance to some of the printers who inserted the subject of his sneering laughter.—We cannot admit any thing that has the complexion of political party.

The essay enclosed by D. E. is inadmissible, as it has already appeared in the newspapers, and does not possess sufficient merit to induce us to take it at *second-hand*. In selecting from newspapers, or other publications, we wish to exercise our own judgment.

Philo's candid and judicious "Criticism on the Universal Asylum and Columbian Magazine, for 1791," have been received. The learned author is entitled to our sincere thanks, for this his first communication. A continuance of his "Criticism," and his correspondence on other subjects are solicited.

To "shoot folly as it flies" requires a more expert marksman than *Philalethes*. We fear our correspondent has not been accustomed to shoot flying. To continue the metaphor, he has loaded with *buck-shot*, although *tom-tits* are his game.

Strictures on the fashion of the femoral garment, vulgarly called breeches, might not be ill-suited to those whom they more immediately concern, but would be altogether improper for the perusal of our *fair readers*.

Lucinda, a novel, contains some good sentiments, but the style is incorrect; and the characters are by far too romantic, for the age and country in which we live.

Verses inscribed to Miss K. would be too warm even for our love-sick readers, if such we have; and could not fail to suffuse with a crimson hue the cheek of the "angelic being" to whom they are addressed.

We shall comply with the request of *A country correspondent*, next month; when the piece transmitted by *Z. Y.* will also appear.

Want of sufficient leisure has obliged us to postpone, till next month, our review of some late publications.

PHILADELPHIA, September 29, 1792.

Current Prices of PUBLIC SECURITIES.

Six per cents, per £.	22½.		Bank U. S. whole shares per cent advance	49
Deferred six per cents,	13/7.		Bank of N. America do.	30
Three per cents,	13s.			

COURSE of EXCHANGE.

Bills of Exchange on London, 90 days,	70.		Amsterdam, 60 days, per guilder,	3s
Ditto. 60 days,	71.		Ditto. 90 days,	2/11
Ditto. 30 days,	73			

T H E
UNIVERSAL ASYLUM,
A N D
Columbian Magazine,

FOR SEPTEMBER, 1792.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM,

S I R,

I H A V E great pleasure in enclosing you an account of a private academy at Bordentown, in the state of New-Jersey, conducted in every respect, upon the principles of reason and humanity. It is communicated to you for publication, with the consent of the worthy and ingenious principal of the academy.

From, sir, yours, &c.

BENJAMIN RUSH.

September, 13th, 1792.

Bordentown, July 2d, 1792.

DEAR SIR,

I N looking over the Universal Asylum for May 1792, I observed an extract of an original letter from the rev. Mr. Winchester, dated from London; the perusal of which turned my attention toward your address to Mr. Clymer, upon the amusements and punishments proper for schools, published in the Universal Asylum for August 1790, and which I had read at that time with great pleasure, as it so well accorded with my sentiments on that subject. I had some thoughts at that time of transmitting to you, my ideas upon your plan, and of assuring you how consonant they were both with my theory and practice, but some intervening circumstances then preventing, I have since omitted it from time to time, until the subject of your address was brought forcibly into my mind by the letter alluded to above—I have frequently, since I first read your sentiments, had occasion to vindicate them when I heard them opposed, and considered as Utopian, especially by some teachers who have been noted for their brutality, a term which I think applicable to all those, who, by their cruelty to children under their care, prove themselves devoid of those feelings which distinguish us from the brutes!

This, sir, I have it in my power to do, not theoretically only, but from the actual experience of near fourteen years, during which time I have presided over the academy in this place. When I first opened school here, I commenced upon this plan, or nearly the one laid down by you, and have never had reason to alter it. I was both pleased and surprized, upon perusing your sentiments, to find them so nearly to accord with my practice.

With regard to amusements, certainly much may be done to unite the *utile* with the *dulce*, and it must be evident to every person of the least reflection, that if we can contrive to amuse whilst we instruct, the progress will be more rapid, and the impression much deeper. But to connect instruction with the very amusements, during relaxation from the discipline of school-hours, is surely of the utmost consequence, and therefore worth attempting. With an eye to those things, I have gone to some expense, to furnish myself with a variety of materials calculated thereto, such as geographical, historical, topographical and natural history cards, geometrical blocks, dissected maps, tour of Europe, &c. amusements in optics, magnetism, electricity, &c. some entirely new, and some in use heretofore; which have never failed to afford entertainment and information at the same time; and I have had sufficient proof, that rendering the exercises of oratory more agreeable, by mixing something of the dramatic kind with their orations, gives them a relish for the study, a desire of excelling and an animation in the pursuit, with which I could never inspire them when engaged in nothing but plain speaking; or when nothing of *play* was connected with their business, or amusement with their study. I know there are some who treat this method as chimerical, and the advantages derived from it as imaginary, but experience has evinced the contrary to me. If no other benefit is derived, this certainly is, that the pupil is convinced his preceptor is desirous of contributing to his pleasure as well as profit, at the same time. Convince a lad that you are desirous of promoting his happiness and real interest; and you may mould him almost as you please. Certain it is; that there is nothing more essential in the education of boys, than first to gain their esteem and affection, which is never to be done by severity, or the modes of corporeal punishments used in most schools.

The amusements referred to above, which are a part of those we make use of, so far as relate to the sedentary kind, have naturally led me to participate in them, as perhaps some explanations are sometimes necessary, and in a degree to make companions of the lads themselves. In consequence of this, they feel no embarrassment, but the greatest freedom, in asking any question for information. I have ever endeavoured to make them consider me rather in the light of a parent than a master, and I trust I have so far succeeded, as generally to have had their affections. And I now declare to you, that I would not wish to retain a scholar a minute longer than I can feel an attachment for him, and perceive a reciprocal one in return, or longer than while he would wish to remain with me. Of this, a teacher can have no stronger evidence, than, after having been absent, to see joy gladden the countenances of all his pupils upon his return, and to

receive a hearty salutation, and unfeigned welcome from each of them.

Such, sir, are the effects which the plan long since adopted by me, has uniformly produced in my school, and in my family, where all my pupils board. It has produced friends in different parts of the world, amongst those whom I have educated, and who fail not occasionally to address me with expressions of gratitude and friendship. Hence then it is the interest of the teacher, as well as comfort of the scholars, to treat them in such a way, as their calm reason shall approve, not only at the present time, but also in future life, when their understandings shall be matured. In this way only he will be remembered as a friend, and not execrated as a tyrant.

A considerable degree of sociability may be used with boys in the hours of relaxation, without lessening the master's authority, or derogating from the rules of the school in the least, in the hours of study; and a proper severity may be kept up there, without using severity or corporeal punishment. It is true, I have in some few and particular instances, deviated from this rule, so far as to try chastisement, when other means have failed; but never found in such cases, that *this sovereign remedy*, (as it is deemed by some) ever had the desired effect; and I candidly own, that I think it high time to dismiss such characters from the school, previous to the degrading application of the birch; for I have ever found boys more afraid of expulsion than any other punishment whatever, even so as to petition for the privilege of continuing, with a voluntary submission to any punishment I should chuse to inflict.

The kinds of punishment I make use of, are 1st. a serious remonstrance in private, which, when given with an evident concern for the boy's misconduct, and as the reasoning and remonstrance of a friend, seldom fails of affecting the mind of the offender; in which case, if you can bring him to tears, it is far better than *whipping-tears* from him, for in this case they are tears of anger and repentment, whereas in the former case they are tears of contrition.

2nd. Preventing the one in fault from partaking in some favourite amusement, as being unworthy of some usual indulgence while guilty of a misdemeanour. Such prohibition is extremely mortifying, and produces a good effect.

3d. During the hours of school, we mark them for each offence, and make prisoners of them for a term, the duration of which is to be measured by the number of the marks, or frequency of the offence. I find it necessary, however, to vary the nature of the confinement, as to *strictness or boundaries*, according to circumstances. VIZ.

1st. To give certain limits without doors, which are extended or contracted, as the case may require, or the misconduct merit.

2nd. To limit them only to the house, or to a certain room, where they may see and converse with such as pass and repass, without having any particular task assigned them.

3d. For inattention to, or default of having their lessons, a confinement to the school-room, and all the discipline and decorum of the same exacted, until the lesson is learned.

4th. A strict and solitary confinement in a dark room for higher misdemeanours, until a returning sense of duty, and suitable acknowledgements restore them to their liberty, and to the favour of their tutor.

Lastly. After all those means have been tried, if any should prove incorrigible, they are dismissed from the school and family, and sent home in disgrace, with letters to their friends confirming the same; this is in reality more dreaded, as I hinted above, than all the dreadful insignia of *birch, block, or ferula*; and I have ever found this system to have the desired effect, except in one or two boys, where vice had been too deeply rooted prior to my receiving them. I confess the circumstance of having them all under my own roof, consequently the whole government of them, as to their morals as well as manners, gives me an advantage over those who merely undertake to teach children sent to them from their parents at certain hours, and enables me more effectually to put my plan in practice. It is but too commonly the case, that teachers profess not to have any thing to do with the *morals* of their scholars; but I suppose *moral instruction* to be one very essential branch of education, and so nearly connected with their literary pursuits, that when the mind is impressed with a sense of duty and obligation to their parents, to their tutors, to society, and even to themselves, much more is to be expected from them, as to their application, and consequently to their improvement. But whatever disadvantages an ordinary school may labour under, I am convinced this mode may be adopted with considerable success, if both masters and parents would heartily concur therein. I cannot help lamenting with Rousseau, that that part of our lives prior to the cares and anxieties to which all, who are acting on the great theatre of the world, are incident, should be made wretched by the tyranny of our seniors! Surely our lives are sufficiently short, without abridging that happiness which we are capable of enjoying, and which nature seems to have pointed out to us as our right, about the age to which we have reference. From an impression of this kind, I have always endeavoured to promote the happiness of my pupils as far I could, without allowing them such indulgencies, as would infringe upon their improvement, health, or morals; and every step which can be taken toward making their learning a pleasure, largely contributes to this desirable end. In consequence of which, I hear my former scholars, who are now men in business, say the time they spent at school was the happiest part of their lives. And I can testify in return, that such is the pleasure I take in the profession (agreeably to this system) of forming the tender mind, and "teaching the young idea how to shoot," that were I possessed of ever so capital an independency, I should not leave the employment without the greatest regret.

I am convinced, my dear sir, that I need make no apology for the liberty I have taken in writing to you upon the subject of an address, which you had made to another person; nor fear my having so often mentioned myself in the course of this epistle being construed into arrogance or egotism, since my professed design in addressing you, was to assure you of the *practicability* and *efficacy* of a mode of education recommended by you, and which has been confirmed by several years

practice in my seminary. That you may more fully have it in your power, to answer the objections which may be made to your system of discipline and amusements; by adducing facts to refute them; and that this instance might be quoted as one, in addition to others of which you may be in possession, is the sincere wish of, dear sir,

With every sentiment of respect,

your humble servant,

BURGISS ALLISON.

Doctor Benjamin Rush, Philadelphia.

On the CULTURE of FLAX.

To the Philadelphia County Society for the promotion of Agriculture and Domestic Manufactures.

GENTLEMEN,

HAVING cultivated FLAX with considerable profit and advantage, I wish to recommend it as an object meriting greater attention from our farmers.

The use of flax is as necessary in our clothing, as wheat in our nourishment—our soil and climate are as well adapted to raise the one as the other. Why then should we remain under obligations to distant foreign nations, for this valuable article? It is suggested that it is cheaper to purchase imported linen, than to raise flax and manufacture for ourselves. I always entertained doubts of the truth of this opinion, and am now convinced, from the experience of several years, that it is totally without foundation. Some good husbandmen object to flax, because they say it exhausts the soil more than any other crop: I have not found this to be the case. During the last summer, I cultivated flax and potatoes in the same field; each crop had an equal quantity of manure; on gathering an excellent crop of flax in July, the ground was immediately plowed, and sowed with turnips; produce one hundred bushels of good turnips per acre: on removing the crops of potatoes and turnips, about the middle of October, the ground was put into wheat: the wheat on the flax and turnip ground this harvest was fully equal, if not superior, to the wheat on the potatoe ground—Another objection to flax is, that it is a very uncertain crop: on good ground, under proper cultivation, no crop will better answer the expectation of the farmer. Flax will grow and flower on any soil, but it requires a rich loam or clay to bring it to perfection for the use of the farmer. The Irish, who for many years have had great experience in the cultivation of this valuable plant, generally raise it on ground manured and planted with potatoes the preceding year. They sow on such ground three and four bushels of the best Riga or American seed to the acre. May not the fineness of the Irish flax be owing to this thick sowing, rather than to their flax being pulled before it is ripe? It is said the Flemings never pull the flax intended for their fine cambricks and linen until

the seed is ripe.—The quality of the flax may also depend very much on the future operations of rotting, breaking and hackling. In America, flax is for the most part rotted, by being laid thin on a grass field.—The time required in that operation depends on the dryness or wetness, heat or cold of the season.—Flax is judged to be sufficiently grafted, when its bark is a little blistered, towards the extremity of the plant, and when it parts easily from the reed, which at this time becomes very brittle; but no written description can possibly convey a knowledge of this point, at all equal to that which is acquired by experience. I have exposed flax in the months of August, September, and October, and have always found that it rotted in August, the best; and am informed, by farmers of experience, that the injury which the flax is said to receive by the heat of the midsummer sun, is by no means equal to the benefit it receives by being quickly maturated. When the flax is exposed in a variety of weather, in a cold season, the putrefaction necessary to loosen and destroy the cohesion of the fibres of the flax from the reed is so tedious, as frequently to injure the small fibres themselves. Mills have been erected for breaking of flax, but the success attending them has never warranted their general use; recourse is still had to the Dutch hand-brake. I have seen a foot machine for swinging or scutching, by which one man can scutch fifty weight per day: this is double the quantity that can be performed by one person by hand in the same time. The labour and expense of dressing flax is, without doubt, the greatest objection to its cultivation; but in these points Europeans have no advantage over us, as they, in every instance, are subject to the same difficulties.

Flax is certainly one of those necessary articles, which we should cultivate in sufficient quantity, to enable us to supply ourselves with every kind of linen, because our country is as well calculated for it as any other. Whatever other nations, on account of climate or situation, can raise and sell cheaper than we can do, and are willing to exchange for the produce of our farms, or industry, let us import from abroad. This is the basis of *just policy, true economy, and genuine liberty.*

I am, gentlemen, with great respect,
yours, &c.

G E O. L O G A N.

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*An approved method of WASHING OLD PAINTINGS,
and giving them a GOOD GLOSS.*

TAKE an ounce of tartar, and as much glass-wort; boil them in a pint of water till it is half wasted, and then strain it. When it has stood till it becomes only lukewarm, dip a sponge therein, and rub the prints with it. Then immediately wash it with warm clear water, and wipe it over gently till dry. To varnish them, take whites of eggs, beat them to a froth, and lay them on the pictures with a feather.

A LETTER to the Rev. DOCTOR WHITE, on CHURCH MUSIC.

[From the Works of the late F. HOPKINSON, Esq.]

I AM one of those who take great delight in sacred music, and think, with royal David, that heart, voice, and instrument should unite in adoration of the great Supreme.

A soul truly touched with love and gratitude, or under the influence of penitential sorrow, will unavoidably break forth in expressions suited to its feelings. In order that these emanations of the mind may be conducted with uniformity, and a becoming propriety, our church hath adopted into her liturgy, the book of psalms, commonly called *David's Psalms*, which contain a great variety of addresses to the Deity, adapted to almost every state and temperature of a devout heart, and expressed in terms always proper, and often sublime.

To give wings, as it were, to this holy zeal, and heighten the harmony of the soul, *organs* have been introduced into the churches. The application of instrumental music to the purposes of piety is well known to be of very ancient date. Indeed, originally, it was thought that music ought not to be applied to any other purpose. Modern improvements, however, have discovered, that it may be made expressive of every passion of the mind, and become an incitement to levity as well as sanctity.

Unless the real design for which an organ is placed in a church be constantly kept in view, nothing is more likely to happen than an abuse of this noble instrument, so as to render it rather an obstruction to, than an assistant in, the good purpose for which the hearers have assembled.

Give me leave, sir, to suggest a few rules for the conduct of an organ in a place of worship, according to my ideas of propriety.

1st. The organist should always keep in mind, that neither the time nor place is suitable for exhibiting all his powers of execution; and that the congregation have not assembled to be entertained with his performance. The excellence of an organist consists in his making the instrument subservient and conducive to the purposes of devotion, None but a master can do this. An ordinary performer may play surprising tricks, and shew great dexterity in running through difficult passages, which he hath subdued by dint of previous labour and practice. But he must have judgment and taste who can call forth the powers of the instrument, and apply them with propriety and effect to the seriousness of the occasion.

2nd. The voluntary, previous to reading the lessons, was probably designed to fill up a solemn pause in the service; during which, the clergyman takes a few minutes respite, in a duty too lengthy, perhaps, to be continued without fatigue, unless some intermission be allowed: there, the organ hath its part alone, and the organist an opportunity of shewing his power over the instrument. This, however,

should be done with great discretion and dignity, avoiding every thing light and trivial; but rather endeavouring to compose the minds of the audience, and strengthen the tendency of the heart in those devout exercises, in which, it should be presumed, the congregation are now engaged. All sudden jerks, strong contrasts of *piano* and *forte*, rapid execution, and expressions of tumult, should be avoided. The voluntary should proceed with great chastity and decorum; the organist keeping in mind, that his hearers are now in the midst of divine service. The full organ should seldom be used on this occasion, nor should the voluntary last more than *five minutes* of time. Some relaxation, however, of this rule may be allowed, on festivals and grand occasions.

3d. The *chants* form a pleasing and animating part of the service; but it should be considered, that they are not songs or tunes, but a species of *recitative*, which is no more than speaking musically. Therefore, as melody or song is out of the question, it is necessary that the harmony should be complete, otherwise *chanting*, with all the voices in unison, is too light and thin for the solemnity of the occasion. There should at least be half a dozen voices in the organ gallery, to fill the harmony with bass and treble parts, and give a dignity to the performance. Melody may be frivolous; harmony, never.

4th. The prelude which the organ plays immediately after the psalm is given out, was intended to advertise the congregation of the psalm tune which is going to be sung; but some famous organist, in order to shew how much he could make of a little, has introduced the custom of running so many divisions upon the simple melody of a psalm tune, that the original purpose of this prelude is now totally defeated, and the tune so disguised by the fantastical flourishes of the dextrous performer, that not an individual in the congregation can possibly guess the tune intended, until the clerk has sung through the first line of the psalm. And it is constantly observable, that the full congregation never join in the psalm before the second or third line, for want of that information which the organ should have given. The tune should be distinctly given out, by the instrument, with only a few chaste and expressive decorations, such as none but a master can give.

5th. The interludes between the verses of the psalm were designed to give the singers a little pause, not only to take breath, but also an opportunity for a short retrospect of the words they have sung, in which the organ ought to assist their reflections. For this purpose the organist should be previously informed by the clerk of the verses to be sung, that he may modulate his interludes according to the subject.

To place this in a strong point of view, no stronger, however, than what I have too frequently observed to happen; suppose the congregation to have sung the first verse of the 33d psalm.

“ Let all the just to God with joy
Their cheerful voices raise;
For well the righteous it becomes
To sing glad songs of praise.”

How dissonant would it be for the organist to play a pathetic interlude in a flat third, with the slender and distant tones of the echo organ, or the deep and smothered sounds of a single diapason stop?

Or suppose again, that the words sung have been the 6th verse of the vi. psalm.

“ Quite tired with pain, with groaning faint,
No hope of ease I see,
The night, that quiets common griefs,
Is spent in tears by me.”—

How monstrously absurd would it be to hear these words of distress succeeded by an interlude selected from the sag end of some thundering figure on a full organ, and spun out to a most unreasonable length? Or, what is still worse, by some trivial melody with a rhythm so strongly marked, as to set all the congregation to beating time with their feet or heads? even those who may be impressed with the feelings such words should occasion, or in the least disposed for melancholy, must be shocked at so gross an impropriety.

The interludes should not be continued above sixteen bars in *triple*, or ten or twelve bars in *common* time, and should always be adapted to the verse sung: and herein the organist hath a fine opportunity of shewing his sensibility, and displaying his taste and skill.

6th. The voluntary after service was never intended to eradicate every serious idea which the sermon may have inculcated. It should rather be expressive of that cheerful satisfaction which a good heart feels under the sense of a duty performed. It should bear, if possible, some analogy with the discourse delivered from the pulpit; at least, it should not be totally dissonant from it. If the preacher has had for his subject, penitence for sin, the frailty and uncertainty of human life, or the evils incident to mortality, the voluntary may be somewhat more cheerful than the tenor of such a sermon might in strictness suggest; but by no means so full and free as a discourse on praise, thanksgiving, and joy, would authorize.

In general, the organ should ever preserve its dignity, and upon no account issue light and pointed movements, which may draw the attention of the congregation, and induce them to carry home, not the serious sentiments which the service should impress, but some very pretty air with which the organist hath been so good as to entertain them. It is as offensive to hear lilt and jiggs from a church organ, as it would be to see a venerable matron frikking through the public street with all the fantastic airs of a *Columbine*.



ACCOUNT of Mr. JOHN S. HUTTON, of Philadelphia, aged 108 years.

AFTER having a few days since taken Mr. Hutton's portrait, from the life, which is to be preserved in my Museum, the following particulars, respecting the old gentleman, were collected from his children, and others of his acquaintance.

That he was born in the city of New-York, in 1684; and was bound an apprentice to a sea-faring man, who put him to school, in New-York, to learn navigation; at which time he became intimate with a boy who worked at the white-smith's trade, with whom he amused himself, in acquiring the use of the hammer, from whence he obtained a facility in working at plate-work, in the silver-smith's business. He followed a sea-faring life for thirty years, and then commenced the silver-smith's trade, without having served any apprenticeship to it; yet, in Philadelphia, he has been esteemed one of the best workmen, at hollow work, in that line of business, and there are still pieces of his work in this city much esteemed. He made a tumbler in silver when he was ninety-four years old.

Through the course of a long and hazardous life, in various climes, he was always plain and temperate in his eating and drinking; and avoided spiritous liquors, excepting once, when he was a lieutenant in a privateer, which sailed from Barbadoes in Queen Anne's wars; being on a cruise on the Spanish main, he, with 50 or 60 men, made a descent on a village, in pillaging of which, himself, with most of the men, became intoxicated. The Spaniards took advantage of their situation, and got between them and the sea, and killed every man of his party, except himself and one other, whom they made prisoners; from which state he attempted an escape, by cutting out a sloop, but was detected, and again put into confinement.

He married his first wife at New-York, whose maiden name was *Catharine Gheefeman*, by whom he had eight children, twenty-five grand-children, twenty-three great-grand-children, and three great-great-grand-children.

At the age of 51 he married his second wife, in Philadelphia, her maiden name *Ann Vanlear*, 19 years old at the time of the marriage; by whom he had seventeen children, forty-one grand-children, and fifteen great-grand-children.

The state of his issue, at this time, according to the best accounts I could collect, are:

		born.	dead.
Children by his first marriage,	are,	8	7
Grand-children	- -	25	6
Great-grand-children,	- -	23	
Great-great-grand-children,	- -	3	
Children by his second marriage,	are,	17	12
Grand-children,	- -	41	16
Great-grand-children,	- -	15	4

Total born, - - - - - 132 45

Now living eighty-seven; of whom the greater number reside in Philadelphia—two families of them in Richmond, Virginia.

His second wife died in Philadelphia, 14th Nov. 1788, aged 72 years and an half. He never had an head-ach; and has often said that he thought himself in his prime of life, when at the age of sixty years. He was always fond of fishing and fowling; and 'till his 81st year, he used to carry, in his hunting excursions, a heavy English musquet. He was ever a quiet, temperate, and hard-working man; and is now, a good humoured, hearty old man. He can see, hear, and

walk about, and has a good appetite, with no complaints whatever, except from the mere weakness of old age.

In the early part of his life he was on two scouts against the Indians,—he used to tell, that in one of those excursions, they went out in the night; how they lifted up their feet high in stepping, to prevent a noise amongst the leaves; that they took an Indian woman prisoner, who led them to where the Indians lay; that they fired on, and killed most of the Indians, before they could get to their arms, and a few only escaped. That the Indians came in and made a peace, before this scouting party returned.

He knew the noted pirate Teach, called Black-beard; that an act of oblivion had passed, which permitted all pirates to return to their allegiance; that Black-beard then came to Barbadoes, where he saw him; this was a short time before that pirate made his last cruise, and was killed in Carolina.

His grand-father, by his mother's side, Mr. Arthur Strangeways, died at Boston, sitting in his chair, when at the age of 101 years. His father, Mr. John Hutton, was born at Bournedures, in Scotland, where, it is said, there are many of the family now living.

C. W. P E A L E.

Philadelphia, Sept. 3d, 1792.



On the THEORY of the TIDES.

[Translated from the works of a modern French author.]

THE *lunar* theory of the tides, with which the world has hitherto been content to be satisfied, has nevertheless been involved in inexplicable difficulties. For my own part, I am fully of opinion that the ebb and flow of the sea, the origin of which many writers have left among the secrets of nature, are owing entirely to the alternate melting of the ice at the poles, which, in their respective winter seasons, are surrounded with an ocean of ice, upwards of three thousand leagues in circumference, but, in their summer, are reduced to a much less extent.

It has been objected to this new theory, that “it denies the supposed action of the moon upon the face of the ocean, which agrees so well with the various phenomena of the tides.” But they who consider the arguments advanced, with proper attention, will see, in a work I have written on the subject, that I do not by any means absolutely deny the lunar influence upon the ocean; but instead of making the moon act with most power on the seas about the equator, by an imaginary attraction, which produces not the least effect, (as there are no tides, or at least hardly any perceivable ones within the tropics) I restrain her influence to the frozen seas at the poles, where the melting of the ice is partly occasioned by the rays of the sun, reflected with considerable heat from her surface, a fact well known to

the ancients,* and which has been demonstrated by the moderns from the simple experiment of a glass of water. Besides, it is not true that there is a perfect agreement with the phases of the moon and the flow of the tides, in all parts of the world. The ebb and flow upon our own coasts, (France) answers rather to the mean, than the real and exact motion of the moon. In other places, the waters of the great ocean obey other laws, which Newton himself was aware of, when he said, "Undoubtedly there exists in nature some other partial cause of the regular return of the tides, which acts conjointly with that we have assigned, but which is still unknown." These general effects, then, which would not agree with Newton's theory but in part, are clearly accounted for from the direct influence of the sun, and the indirect influence of the moon in reflecting her rays upon, and melting the ice at the poles, alternately, as the sun is in the winter or summer signs. The liquefaction of the ice perfectly accounts also for the regular return of the tides, their delay for several minutes every day, and other phenomena wholly inexplicable upon any other plan.



HISTORY of the AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

(Continued from our last—page 89.)

CAMPAIGN OF 1780.

DURING the continuance of count d'Estaing on the coast of America, in the autumn of 1779, sir Henry Clinton was exceedingly alarmed for the safety of New-York. It was supposed that the reduction of Savannah would be speedily effected by the Americans, when aided by a naval force of such considerable magnitude; and that the next step would be an attack upon New-York, by the French fleet, in conjunction with the American army, under general Washington, which was stationed on the North-river, not far from that city. This apprehension put a period to the offensive operations of the British to the northward, in the latter part of the year 1779, and caused them to act entirely on the defensive. To render New-York capable of a vigorous defence, engaged all the attention of sir Henry Clinton. The troops and marine force, which had long been stationed at Rhode-Island to very little purpose, were withdrawn, for the purpose of strengthening the garrison; and these defensive measures were continued, till the news of d'Estaing's ill success, and of his final departure from the coast, relieved the British from their anxiety, and induced them to prosecute their plan for the reduction of the southern states. South-Carolina was fixed upon as the first object of

* It is well known that the rays of the moon, especially towards the fall, will render fish, and other animal substances, putrid, in a few minutes. Likewise, take two basons or pans, with a small quantity of water in each, just enough to cover the surface, and set them out in a bright moon-light night, one in the shade, the other exposed to the rays of the moon, and the latter will be by far the soonest evaporated.

enterprise; as well on account of the suitableness of the climate for winter operations, as of the richness of the country, and its distance from the centre of force and action, by which the prospect of its obtaining any timely or effectual relief, was rendered extremely faint. Nor was it at all likely, even if the obstacle of distance were removed, that general Washington could afford the southern states any immediate succour; his army being greatly reduced, by the expiration of the time for which a considerable proportion of the soldiers had been enlisted, and their consequent return to their homes.

Sir Henry Clinton having committed the command of the army in New-York to general Knyphausen, embarked for the southward, with a large body of choice troops, including a strong detachment of artillery, and 250 cavalry. Furnished with an ample supply of provisions and military stores, and accompanied by vice-admiral Arbuthnot, with a suitable marine force, he sailed from New-York, a few days before the close of the year 1779.—The fleet experienced so much tempestuous weather, that it did not arrive at Savannah until the end of January. The transports and victuallers sustained considerable injury in the passage. Some were lost; others dispersed and damaged; a few were taken by the Americans; an ordnance ship went to the bottom, with all her stores; and most of the artillery, with all the horses appertaining to the cavalry, were lost.

Towards the middle of February, the fleet sailed from Savannah; and, after a short passage, the troops were landed at North-Edisto, about thirty miles from Charleston. They immediately took possession of John's-Island and Stono-ferry; and, soon after, of James's-Island and Wappoo-cut. A bridge was thrown over the canal, and a part of the royal army took post on the banks of Ashley-river, opposite to Charleston.—Sir Henry Clinton, perceiving that the Americans had fortified Charleston pretty strongly, resolved not to risque an attack with his present force, after the losses it had sustained.—He dispatched an order to New-York for a reinforcement of men, and a supply of stores; and directed major-general Prevost to send him twelve hundred men from the garrison of Savannah. The royal army, waiting to be reinforced, did not commence the siege until the end of March. This time was assiduously improved by the Americans, in strengthening and extending the works which had been previously thrown up for the defence of Charleston.

The assembly of South-Carolina, which was sitting when the British landed, adjourned, after delegating to governor Rutledge, and such of his council as he could conveniently consult, a power to do every thing necessary for the public good, except taking away the life of a citizen without a legal trial.—The governor immediately ordered the militia to repair to the standard of their country; but, notwithstanding the urgency of the occasion, this order was obeyed by few. He was now reduced to the necessity of issuing a proclamation, under the extraordinary powers with which he was invested, requiring such of the militia as were regularly drafted, and all the inhabitants, and owners of property in the town, to join the garrison immediately, under pain of confiscation. It was remarkable, that even this rigorous measure produced little effect. The people were

so much dispirited by a series of ill successs, and particularly by the late repulse at Savannah, that they had in general given up the cause of their country for lost.—Their despondency must have been great indeed, when the very men who not a month before had turned out with alacrity could now tamely look on, while the enemy invested their capital, and over-ran their country. Such being the state of the public mind, it is highly probable, that had sir Henry Clinton pushed for the town, immediately after his landing, he might have possessed himself of it in a very few days. But his design was, to run no risk; he therefore proceeded slowly, and with the utmost circumspection, both before and after the commencement of the siege. He had taken care, however, to block up the harbour, previously to the debarkation of his troops; so that the shipping of the Americans could not have been saved by their evacuating Charleston; and their baggage, field artillery, and stores, must have fallen into the hands of the enemy, for want of waggons to remove them.

General Lincoln had taken uncommon pains to render the garrison capable of sustaining a siege. Until the near approach of the enemy called him to other duties, he had made it his constant practice, to assist personally in forwarding the works; and this example was attended with very beneficial effects—it excited such a degree of emulation among all ranks of people, that they seemed to vie with each other, in this necessary, but laborious service. Lines and redoubts were extended across Charleston neck, from Cooper to Ashley river. In front of these were strong abattis, and a wet ditch, which last was made by passing a canal from the heads of swamps, that run in opposite directions. Deep holes were dug, at short distances from each other, between the abattis and the lines. On the right and left, the lines were of considerable strength; and were so constructed, as to command the wet ditch, in almost its whole extent. In the centre was erected a citadel of mason-work; and at all the landing places, around the town, works were thrown up by the garrison.—It had been expected that commodore Whipple's Squadron, which was stationed at Five-fathom-hole, and consisted of the Bricole, of forty-four guns, and five other vessels, mounting from thirty-two to sixteen guns each, would have been able to prevent the shipping of the enemy from crossing the bar; but upon the approach of admiral Arbuthnot, with one ship of fifty, two of forty-four, four of thirty-two guns, and the Sandwich armed ship, it was found that Whipple's force would be inadequate to the undertaking. He therefore fell back to Fort-Moultrie, whence he soon after retreated to Charleston. The crews and guns of all the vessels, except one, were put on shore, to reinforce the batteries; and, with a view to prevent the shipping of the enemy from passing into Cooper river, from which they might have enfiladed the lines, eleven vessels, with chevaux-de-frize on their decks, were sunk in the channel, opposite to the exchange. Congress, and the states of North and South-Carolina, had given general Lincoln reason to expect an army of nearly 10,000 men; and it was not till it was too late to attempt a retreat, that the assurances he had received were found to be fallacious. When the town was invested

by the enemy, his whole force, including militia, consisted of little more than 3000.

In the mean time, sir Henry Clinton was employed in forming a depot at Wappoo, on James's-Island, and in erecting fortifications on that island, and on the main, opposite to the southern and western extremities of Charleston, that he might proceed to the commencement of a regular siege, as soon as the expected reinforcement should arrive, from Savannah. Accordingly, upon being joined by a detachment of twelve hundred men, from that garrison, he, on the 29th of March, caused an advanced party to cross Ashley river; and, in a few days, broke ground, at the distance of eleven hundred yards from the American works.

Admiral Arbuthnot had crossed the bar, and anchored at Five-fathom-hole, on the 21st of March. Here he remained till the 9th of April, when, seizing the advantages of a strong southerly wind and a flowing tide, he passed Fort-Moultrie, and anchored, near the remains of Fort-Johnson, in the vicinity of Charleston. Colonel Pinckney, the commanding officer at Fort-Moultrie, kept up a brisk and well directed fire on the ships, during their passage; but they passed the fort with such rapidity, that their loss, in killed and wounded, was but twenty-seven. Taught by the unsuccessful attempt of sir Peter Parker to reduce that fort, in 1778, admiral Arbuthnot adopted the more prudent plan, of not stopping to engage it.

Sir Henry Clinton discovered the utmost circumspection, in his manner of conducting the siege. His approaches were made with such extraordinary caution, that the field-works of the Americans, which had been hastily thrown up, cost him no less than three parallels. On the 10th of April, the day after admiral Arbuthnot passed Fort Moultrie, the first parallel was completed, and the garrison was summoned to surrender; but general Lincoln answered, that the same sense of duty which had prevented him from abandoning Charleston, during sixty days knowledge of their hostile intentions, operated now, with equal force, in prompting him to defend it to the last extremity. This answer served as a signal for the opening of the British batteries, which began to play on the 12th, and soon acquired a decided superiority over those of the garrison. This advantage arose from two causes—the British had twenty-one mortars and royals, whereas the Americans had no more than two; and the regular force in the garrison was much inferior to that of the besiegers. Besides, the attention of the Americans was divided, by the joint attack of the land and naval forces of the enemy, at the same time.

Feeble indeed were the exertions made by the people of South-Carolina, to afford relief to their suffering brethren in Charleston. About the beginning of the siege, a work was thrown up near Wando river, nine miles from Charleston, and another at Lemprière's point, to preserve a communication with the country, by water. Measures were also taken to secure a ferry over the Santee, as well to favour the coming in of reinforcements, as to facilitate the retreat of the garrison, if a retreat should eventually be found necessary.

Lieutenant colonel Tarleton, who commanded the British cavalry, had landed at Savannah, where he soon obtained a fresh supply of

horses for his corps, to replace those which had been lost on the passage from New-York. Attaching himself to the troops which marched from Savannah, as a reinforcement to sir Henry Clinton, he missed no opportunity of scouring the country, in different directions, wherever he had any expectation of coming up with small parties of militia, which he frequently surpris'd. In these attacks he was almost uniformly successful. On the 27th of March, however, he was checked, for the first time, by lieut. col. Washington, at the head of his corps of horse. The Americans took seven prisoners, and oblig'd Tarleton to retreat; but, being unsupported by infantry, they did not venture to pursue him. At the beginning of the siege, general Lincoln order'd the cavalry, in number about 300, to keep the field, for the purposes of covering the country, and preserving a communication between it and the town. The country militia were order'd to act as infantry, in conjunction with this corps; but with this order they did not, generally, comply; so that the cavalry was not supported in such a manner as would enable them to render any essential service. On the 14th of April, this corps was surpris'd and routed, at Monk's-corner, by a British detachment, under lieutenant-colonels Tarleton and Webster. About twenty-five were killed or taken. The remainder effected an escape, by concealing themselves, for several days, in the adjacent swamps. The British having now but little to fear, from any American force without the lines of Charleston, extended themselves to the eastward of Cooper river, with no more than two hundred and fifty horse, and six hundred infantry. It was determin'd, in a council of war, held on the 16th of April, that the weak state of the garrison render'd it improper to send out a detachment, capable of encountering even this small force. On the 6th of May, the remains of the American cavalry, which escap'd from the surpris'e at Monk's-corner, experienced a still greater disaster. They were surpris'd, at Laneau's ferry, on the Santee, by Tarleton, who charg'd them with a superior force, and kill'd, captur'd, or dispers'd the whole. Major Call and seven others escap'd on horse-back, by urging their way through the British cavalry; a number got off, by concealing themselves in swamps; and lieut. col. Washington, major Jameson, and about half a dozen privates, sav'd themselves by swimming across the Santee. On the same day, Fort-Moultrie was surrender'd to the British. The garrison, however, was small; col. Pinckney, with about 150 men, having been previously withdraw'n to Charleston.

While the British were thus successful in all their undertakings, the Americans acquitted themselves with great resolution, in defending Charleston against the attack of a much superior force; but their hope of being able to prevent the town from ultimately falling into the hands of the enemy, became every day more faint.

On the 19th of April, the second parallel was completed; and on the following day the besiegers were join'd by a reinforcement of 3000 men, from New-York. On the 21st, it was agreed by the garrison, in a council of war, that a retreat would be attend'd with many distressing inconveniences, if not altogether impracticable. They therefore advis'd, that, before their affairs became too critical, offers of capitulation should be made to sir Henry Clinton, which might ad-

mit of the army's withdrawing, and afford security to the persons and property of the inhabitants. These terms being proposed, were rejected without hesitation; but the garrison, though disheartened by this offer to capitulate, did not yet entirely despair of succour. They therefore determined not to recede from the terms which had been asked, till their situation should become more desperate. Hostilities were accordingly renewed.

About this time, a party of 200 men, commanded by lieutenant-colonel Henderson, made a sally. They attacked the advanced working parties of the British, killed and wounded several, and took eleven prisoners. This was the only sally made during the siege. The garrison was too weak to engage frequently in such hazardous service.

On the 6th of May the besiegers had completed their third parallel; but, before its batteries were opened, sir Henry Clinton entered into a correspondence with general Lincoln, on the subject of a capitulation. Lincoln was disposed to close with Clinton's offers, so far as they respected the army; but it was thought that more favourable terms might be obtained for the citizens. With this view, a conference was asked; but Clinton, instead of granting it, answered, that hostilities should re-commence at eight o'clock. The firing, however, was not renewed before nine; when it was begun by the garrison. A severe cannonading now took place, on both sides. The British cannon and mortars played on the garrison, at a distance of less than one hundred yards. Vast numbers of shells and carcasses were thrown into almost every part of the town, and several houses were burned. The Hessian chasseur's were so near, that they could strike, with their rifles, almost every person who showed himself above the lines. The besiegers, by pushing a sap to the dam which supplied the ditch with water on the right, had drained it, in several parts, to the bottom, insomuch that they were enabled to pass the ditch. They then advanced within twenty-five yards of the main works, and began to prepare for a general storm. The garrison was now reduced to the last extremity. No hope of succour remained. A considerable part of their cannon was dismounted, and some of the remainder rendered useless, for want of shot. The militia of the town had thrown down their arms; and the citizens, in general, were exceedingly discontented and clamorous. Under such circumstances, it would have been the height of madness, to attempt, with a force short of 3000 men, scattered along extensive lines, to stand the assault of 9000 well disciplined troops, especially when they must expect to be attacked by a strong naval force at the same time. The citizens, fully sensible of their situation, addressed general Lincoln, expressing their willingness to agree to the terms which had been offered by the besiegers, and requesting that they might be accepted. General Lincoln accordingly wrote to sir Henry Clinton, and offered to accept the terms which had been proposed. The British commanders, wishing to avoid the cruel extremity of a storm, and aware of the impolicy of pressing to unconditional submission, an enemy, whose friendship was desirable above all things, and to conciliate which was their chief object, granted the same conditions which they had before offered. Articles of capitulation were signed on the 11th of May.

The garrison were allowed some of the honors of war ; but they were not to uncase their colours, nor to beat a British march. The continental troops and seamen were to keep their baggage, and remain prisoners of war till exchanged. The militia to return to their respective homes, as prisoners on parole ; and, while they adhered to their parole, were not to be molested, in person or property, by the British troops. The citizens, of every condition, to be considered as prisoners on parole, and to hold their property on the same terms with the militia. The officers, of the army and navy, to retain their baggage, unsearched ; and also their servants, swords, and pistols. They were permitted to sell their horses in Charleston, but not to remove them. And a vessel was permitted to carry general Lincoln's dispatches to Philadelphia, unopened.

The British return of prisoners, by including every adult male inhabitant, was swelled to upwards of 5000 ; but the proper garrison, at the time of the surrender, did not exceed half that number. The number of continental privates was somewhat short of 2000, and of these 500 were in the hospitals. The number of officers captured was out of all proportion to that of the privates. One major-general, six brigadiers, nine colonels, fourteen lieutenant-colonels, fifteen majors, eighty-four captains, eighty-four lieutenants, and thirty-two second lieutenants and ensigns, became prisoners of war. Many country gentlemen, who were mostly militia officers, repaired to the defence of Charleston, although they were not able to muster privates, equal to their respective commands. The regular regiments were also fully officered, though greatly deficient in privates. Hence arose that disparity which has been mentioned. It was unfortunate for the Americans that so many of their officers were made prisoners. The reasons for retaining so many in the town, during the siege, were chiefly founded in an apprehension, that their being ordered out would dispirit the army. It is not unworthy of remark, that, notwithstanding the gloomy prospects of the Americans, at this disastrous period, only twenty soldiers deserted during the siege.

The opinion of the world with respect to the merits of a military commander, is generally founded upon the degree of success which may have attended his arms. Good or ill fortune, usually stamps the character of the general with celebrity or disgrace, although every reasoning or observing man must acknowledge the conclusion, in such general terms, to be unsupported either by reason or experience. Had general Lincoln succeeded in the defence of Charleston, it is probable that his conduct would have been highly extolled ; but as this was not the case, he was very ungenerously and undeservedly censured, for having risked so much for its preservation. It will not be denied, that sound policy dictated to the Americans, the propriety of abandoning their towns to destruction, rather than risk too much for their defence. And so uniformly was this rule observed by the commander in chief, and by the officers acting under him, that this was the first instance in which the Americans attempted to defend a town. But general Lincoln had particular reasons for this deviation from the example of the commander in chief. Charleston was the only considerable town in the southern extremity of the union ; and

South-Carolina and the adjacent states seemed willing to make great exertions for its preservation. Reinforcements, which would have been fully adequate to its defence, were promised, and expected. As long as an evacuation was practicable, he had such assurances of support that he could not, with propriety, attempt it. Before the utility of these assurances was ascertained, the British force was so advantageously posted, that, in the opinion of a council of war, a retreat, if not wholly impracticable, would at least have been attended with extraordinary hazard, and many distressing inconveniencies.

(To be continued.)



FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

A PROJECT for LESSENING the EXPENSES of GOVERNMENT.

[Written in 1784, but now altogether inapplicable in Pennsylvania.]

HONEST and sensible men may differ in opinion respecting the forms of government, but all agree in this, that frugality is necessary in the administration; not only as a saving to the pockets, but to the morals of a people: for, as a great author observes, the emoluments of office are generally wasted in the excesses of dissipation and luxury.—It is therefore that I have contemplated, with the anxiety of a good citizen, our civil list, to the enormous amount of which, not only the multiplication of needless offices, but the supernumeraries in the several departments, those excrescences (or, as they have been emphatically stiled, fifth wheels) as useless, as they are unornamental, to the machine of government, do so largely contribute.

Having said thus much, I must beg the reader's attention to a project I have conceived, for saving to the state a considerable share of the expense incurred by means of these *redundants*: from which I can hope to derive no immediate benefit to myself, but what will be common to my countrymen, in proportion each one to the extent of his taxable property, being incited thereto by the unmixed spirit of patriotism.

My first thoughts were, to employ my project upon the great council for the executive affairs of the state; of whose conformation and structure I did not at all approve. In the distribution of power, under the constitution, this division of it ever appeared to me as an awkward and unwieldy succedaneum for a second legislative branch; an inadequate counterpoise to a one-legged legislature.—But what I chiefly condemned in it was, the number of counsellors required, to which the paucity of the business committed to them was surely mightily disproportioned; but the council of censors having, by the fortuitous, though judicious restoration of a comma, and the introduction of a parenthesis, in the frame of government, found means considera-

bly to multiply the employment of that board,* I was obliged to turn aside from my original mark.

Forced, for this reason, to begin with that great legislative department which shares, with the former body, the sovereignty of the state, I am peculiarly lucky in timing my project so just in the nick, and when it will best bear: that is, when this department is about, with unprecedented humility, voluntarily and patriotically to ease itself of the labour of executing some of its most important functions, rights, and privileges; † all which gives my scheme a double propriety.

This branch of the public authority, it is well known, consists now of between seventy and eighty members; a number which, though inconveniently great for discussion and deliberation, respect for our law-givers would not suffer us greatly to wish an abridgment of, but rather put us to seek for reasons to justify.

I will suppose, then, that the following considerations might have had considerable influence in this point.

That numbers, in a legislative body, as in the military, would have a certain effect in producing respect and impressing awe, and so were essential to the dignity of the commonwealth. That matter, as well as spirit, is requisite to animal life, both giving effect to it. And that, as, in mechanicks, the lead of the jack is as necessary to motion as the wheels or flyers; so the certain weight of dulness and sluggishness, inseparable from, and the concomitants of large bodies, were indispensable to all legislative movements. And, lastly, that as the representative should be, as it were, the image of the constituent, or the person represented, and reflect, as in a mirror, his likeness, condition, and faculties; the larger the provision made in this case, the better would be the chance of accommodating the various characters, the wise, the foolish, the refined, the gross, the honest, and the knavish, who make so many classes in society, with each its proper and distinct representative.

But to come nearer to my project, which does not respect our present members of assembly, who are all noted for wisdom, in literal conformity to a rule of the constitution, but may be applicable to their successors, who, as we have reason to suppose, will be made up, like all other popular bodies, of what I shall call, for want of some better distinction, *effectives* and *non-effectives*. It is upon the latter I propose to try it. The former do actually *think* and *vote*; the latter only *vote*: the former employ the faculty of speech; to the latter it is wholly unnecessary—the former should be endued with as much locomotion, at least, as to carry them to and from ——— tavern, where every business of the house, but the formal, is usually transacted; the latter need no other use of the motive faculty, than what will raise them into an erect posture, when it is necessary to affirm a question.

Now, sir, I humbly conceive that these *non-effectives*, which, I suppose, may be two parts in three of the whole body, if made of *waged*,

* The constitutionalists, conceiving their strength to lie rather in the executive council than in the assembly, contrived, by this manœuvre, to throw the appointment to almost all the state offices into the hands of the former.

† An act passed the assembly, co-operating with the executive in the new plan of power.

whether beech, oak, ash, or poplar, would be to the full as useful as in an animal state; and to the unspeakable benefit of the commonwealth, in point of saving.

I would therefore humbly propose, that a bill be brought in, as soon as may be, authorizing and directing the supreme executive council to contract with Mr. Cutbush, who has so long displayed the delicacy and excellency of his chisel in the carving of ships lions, to prepare, in his best manner, the complete figures or effigies of any number, not exceeding fifty, of able-timbered assembly-men, to be delivered in time to take their seats, and be assigned to the city and counties respectively, at the first meeting after the autumnal election. To engage with the ingenious Mr. Rittenhouse, to endow the said members with so much of the automatical powers, as will enable them to give their affirmative vote, which, as we have said before, being performed by the simple act of rising, will be but an inoperative work to his journeymen, easily executed by them, under the orders of that great master. To employ Mr. Peale in decorating and finishing the said automata, with his various tints—a sober brown for the cloathing, and yellow for as many wigs in the group, as shall be thought expedient.*

Economy, sir, should ever be the butt and aim of governmental arrangement, and I flatter myself to have hit on an idea, that will secure to me as much praise in this respect, and, I hope, more success, than what has attended the great Mr. Burke, in his late plans of reformation in the government of Great-Britain; for assuming one hundred and fifty days in the year for the sessions, fifty non-effectives, at fifteen shillings per diem wages, are an annual expence to the state of five thousand six hundred and seventy-five pounds; whereas my men, from the first hewing of the outline to the last stroke of the brush, will not, at one hundred pounds a-piece, cost in the whole more than five thousand pounds; which may be funded by a trifling charge upon the impost, or excise, of three hundred pounds per annum—an important difference, in the present exhausted condition of the treasury, and when people are so little disposed to pay taxes.

No other saving occurred to me at first, but I have since considered that there will be a further one in the article of *mileage*, which has sometimes amounted to a capital sum. On a closer view of this my political bantling, I have discovered some other agreeable features in it, not to be omitted in the present tablature.

My members so constituted being of a sober, *solid*, and *leggish* cast, and of natural immobility, will seldom give the speaker occasion to call to order; neither, from faction, misunderstanding, or miss, will they be so apt to make hasty secessions, and leave the public business at sixes and sevens—an instance of which we lately had cause to regret, in some of their prototypes.

Being also fixures, they will, thereby, be in a great measure removed from the influence of out-door jontos, from which such pernicious consequences have often flowed; and, besides, being considerable dulled in

* One of the parties in the state, frequently called *yellow-wigs*, whether they wore wigs or not.

the auditory faculty, and labouring under the infirmity of a locked-jaw, it would be somewhat more difficult for the constitutional and republican parties, the one to catch them by the ear, the other to take them by the teeth. *

Furthermore, it would reflect peculiar honour upon the state, in being the only instance of public encouragement, that I know of, existing in America, given to the noblest of the polite arts, *fiatuary*; so highly esteemed and cultivated by the illustrious ancients, so neglected by the modern nations of Europe, but altogether a stranger to these western shores—my scheme would moreover be the means, in the session, of carrying genteel strangers, men of taste, to see, if not to hear; and in recess would afford a handsome perquisite to the door-keeper.

My expedient, besides, whilst it can give no just offence to the jealous principle of rotation, established in our government, can only respect animal representation, and which, in that case, is the only security we have against the tyranny of a single branch, unchecked as it is by any co-ordinate body, is happily free from its great defect, the necessary newness and greenness of the members from the frequent change; whereas, by my method, the members will, after a time, be fully matured, and well *seasoned* to their places.

I am not unaware, that ingenuity and plausibility may suggest some objections to my improvement. The old saying may be urged against me, *ex quoque ligno non fit Mercurius*, but this, it should be remembered, was spoken in reference to *wits*, and not to *legislators*. It may be insinuated that such wooden members would not know when and which way to vote; but surely this may be obviated, by assigning them over to the will and disposal of the leaders of the house, at the beginning of each session, by some equitable and convenient rule, as shall be agreed on—little different indeed from a practice long established in all public bodies, with respect to animal non-effectives.

I expect, too, it will be objected, that my members will not be able to answer at roll-calling; but this ceremony, unprecedented in the British house of commons, from which we pretend to derive our rules, and borrowed from the practice of privateers, or of iron-works, in multering their crew of seamen and labourers, may well be waved in favour of my members, as the clerk may be assured that he has them on the spot: And I am certain it will not escape remark, that my method will be the only one always to obtain an early quorum, through the want of which the public business often greatly suffers, but which the pains and penalties of the half-crown fines generally fail to procure.

Having succeeded so well in parrying all objections, whether sober or captious, I publish this my scheme, for the consideration of the respectable body it is meant to affect, and I flatter myself the great savings pointed out, and the other advantages in it, of a public nature, will induce a disposition for proceeding forthwith to its execution, which I stand ready further to assist with my advice and opinion, whenever any committee of the house shall incline to confer with me on the subject.

A.

* The republican party in the city; frequently accused of debauching the country members of the opposite side with good dinners.

A P A T H E T I C S T O R Y.

[From MODERN CHIVALRY—By H. H. BRACKENRIDGE. *Esq.*]

AS there were some circumstances in the account of the young woman, that were a little striking, the captain's curiosity was excited to let her be called in, and present herself. Accordingly, the old lady stepping out, a young woman made her appearance, of considerable beauty; but in her countenance expressions of woe. Her blue eye seemed involved in mist; for she shed no tears—her sorrow was beyond that.

Young woman, said the captain, it is easy to perceive that you have not been in this way of life long; and that you have been brought to it, perhaps, by some uncommon circumstances. My humanity is interested; and it occurs to me to ask, by what means it has come to pass. The part which he seemed to take in her distress, inspiring her with confidence; and being requested by him to relate her story frankly, she began as follows:

My father, said she, lives at the distance of about twenty miles from this city, and is a man of good estate. I have two brothers, but no sisters. My mother dying when I was at the age of fourteen, I became house-keeper for the family.

There was a young man that used to come to the same church to which we went. He was of the very lowest class, mean in his appearance, of homely features, and a diminutive person. Yet he had the assurance to put himself in my way on every occasion; endeavouring to catch my eye; for he did not dare to speak to me. But I hated him, and was almost resolved to stay at home on Sundays, to avoid him; for he began to be very troublesome. His attention to me were taken notice of by my brothers. They were confident that I must give him some encouragement, or he would not make such advances. My father was of the same opinion. I assured them I had never given him any encouragement, and I never would; that I was as much averse to him as possible.

I shunned him and hated him. He persisted a long time, almost two years, and seemed to become melancholy, and at last went away from the neighbourhood; and, as I heard afterwards, to sea. I began now to reflect upon his assiduity, and endeavours to engage my affections. I recollected every circumstance of his conduct towards me, since the first time I was obliged to take notice of him. I reasoned with myself, that it was no fault of his, if his family was low; and if he himself had not all that comeliness of person which I wished in a husband; yet he was sufficiently punished in his presumption in thinking of me, by what he must have suffered, and by his going to sea, which he did to get out of my sight, finding his attempts to gain my affections, hopeless. I dreamed of him; and scarcely a moment of the day passed, but my thoughts were running on the danger to which he was exposed. It seemed to me that if he came back, I should be more kind to him. I might at least shew him, that I was not insensible of his attachment.

September, 1792.

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In about a year he returned, and the moment I saw him, I loved him. He did not dare to come to my father's house. But I could not help giving him encouragement, by my countenance, when I met him in public. Emboldened by this, he at last ventured to speak to me; and I agreed that he might come to a peach orchard, at some distance from my father's house, and that I would give him an interview. There he came often; and with a most lowly and humble behaviour, fixed my regard for him. Not doubting the violence of his love for me, and my ascendancy over him, I at last put myself in his power. Becoming pregnant, I hinted marriage; but what was my astonishment to find, that, on various pretences, he evaded it; and as I became more fond, he became more cold; which had no other effect, than to make me more ardent than before. It had been usual, for many months, to meet me every evening at this place; but now I had gone often, and did not find him there. At last he withdrew altogether, and I heard he had left the settlement. Worthless and base, as I now knew him to be; and, though my reason told me, that in person he was still as homely as I first thought him, yet I continued to love him to distraction.

What was my distress, when my father, and my brothers, found that I was with child? They charged me, unjustly, of having deceived them with respect to my attachment to this low creature, from the first: In fine, my father dismissed me from the house: My brothers, no less relenting than he, in their resentment against me, upbraided me with the offers I had refused, and the treatment I had given to several gentlemen, in their advances to me. For, indeed, during the absence of this worthless man, I had been addressed by several; but my pity and compassion for the wretch, had so wrought upon me, that I could not think of any, or scarcely bear them to speak to me.

Dismissed from my father's house, (even my younger brother, who was most soft and yielding in his nature, seeming to approve of it,) I went to the habitation of a tenant of my father; there remained some time, and endeavoured to make compensation, by the labour of my hands, for the trouble I was giving them. But these poor people, thinking my father would relent, had informed him where I was, and of the care they had taken of me. The consequence was, that, at the end of three months, he sent for the child, of which I had been brought to bed some weeks before; but ordered them instantly to dismiss me, that I might never more offend his hearing with my name.

I wandered to this city, and the first night lay in the market-house, upon a bench. The next morning mixed with the women that came to market, and enquired for work of any kind. I could find none; but at last meeting with a young woman who felt for my distress, she told me, that she had a small room in this city, where she had lived some time with an aunt that was lately dead; and that now she supported herself by doing a little in the millinery way; that if I would come and take breakfast with her, and see where she lived, I was welcome. Going with the poor girl, I found her lonely and distressed enough. Nevertheless I continued with her several months. But the work was small that we got to do, and times becoming still worse, I was obliged to sell the clothes that I brought with me, to the last

petticoat and short gown, to support ourselves and pay rent. To bring me to the last stage of misery, the poor girl, who was more expert than I was, in making any little provision that could be made, fell sick, and in short time died. I could bear to stay no longer in the room, and coming out to wander in the streets, like a forlorn wretch indeed, and sobbing sorely by myself, when I thought no one heard me, I was observed by this woman, at whose house you now are, and pressed by her to go home. I soon found what sort of a house it was, and had I not been watched, when I talked of going away, and threatened to be sent to jail, for what, it is pretended I owe since I came to the house, I should not have been here longer than the first day.

The captain, feeling with great sensibility, the circumstances of her story, made reply: Said he, Young woman, I greatly commiserate your history and situation, and feel myself impelled to avenge your wrong. But the villain which has thus injured you, is out of my reach, in two respects: first, by distance; and second, being too contemptible and base to be purified by my resentment, even on your account. But revenge is not your object, but support and restoration to your friends, and the good opinion of the world. As to money, it is not in my power to advance you any great sum; but as far as words can go, I could wish to serve you: not words to yourself only; but to others, in your behalf. It is evident to me, that you have suffered by your own too great sensibility. It was humanity and generosity, that engaged you in his favour. It was your imagination, that gave those attractions to his vile and uncomely person, by which you was seduced. You have been a victim to your own goodness, and not to his merit: The warmth of your heart has overcome the strength of your judgment; and your prudence has been subdued by your passion: or, rather, indeed, confiding in a man whom you had saved from all the pains, and heart-felt miseries of unsuccessful love, you have become a sacrifice to your compassion and tenderness. The best advice I can give you, is, to compose yourself for this night. Preserve your virtue; for I do not consider you as having lost it: your mind has not been in fault, or contaminated. I will endeavour to find out some person, who may be disposed to assist you; and though it may be difficult for you yet to establish lost fame, it is not impossible! So saying, he left the room; but the young woman, impressed with these last words especially, viz. the difficulty, if not impossibility, of regaining reputation, sunk down upon her chair, and could not pay him the compliment of thanks, at his departure.

During the night, through the whole of which he lay awake, at the public house, he ruminated on the extraordinary nature of this incident, and the means which he would adopt to recover this woman from her unfortunate situation.

Thought he, I am in a city where there are a great body of the people called Quakers. This society, above all others, is remarkable for humanity, and charitable actions. There is a female preacher, of whom I have heard; a Lydia Wilson: I will inform this good woman of the circumstance; and, if she gives me leave, I will bring this stray sheep to her; she may have it in her power to introduce her to some place, where, by needle-work, and industry, she might live, until it may be

in my power, taking a journey to her father; and stating the case, and giving my sentiments, to restore her to her family.

Early next morning, as soon as it could be presumed, the Quaker lady had *set her house in order*; that is, after the family might be supposed to have breakfasted, which was about nine o'clock, the captain set out; and being admitted, stated to Mrs. Wilson, the exact circumstances as before related. The pious woman readily undertook every office in her power. Accordingly, taking leave, the captain set out for the house of Mrs. Robeson.

At the door, he met a number of men coming out, and, on inquiry, he found a coroner's inquest had just sat on the body of a young woman of the house, who had the preceding evening, suspended herself from the bedpost with her garter. He was struck, suspecting it must be the young woman whom he had so much in his thoughts. Going in, and enquiring, he found it to be the case; and that they proposed to bury as soon as the few boards of a coffin could be got ready. As a man of humanity, he could not but shed tears; and blame himself that he had not given her stronger assurance of his interposition before he left her, that she might not have fallen into despair, and taken away her life.

The coffin being now ready, the funeral set out, not for the burying ground of a church-yard; but for a place without the city, called the Potter's-field: For suicide forfeits christian burial: Her obsequies attended, not by a clergyman in front, nor by scarfed mourners, holding up the pall; nor was she borne on a bier, but drawn on a cart; and the company that followed her uncovered herself, were not decent matrons, nor venerable men, but old bauds and strumpets, and cul-lies, half drunk, making merry as they went along.

Being interred, they returned home; but the captain remaining some time, contemplating the grave, thus spoke:

Earth, thou coverest the body of a lovely woman, and with a mind not less lovely; yet doomed in her burial, to the same ground with negroes, and malefactors; not that I think the circumstance makes any difference; but it shews the opinion of the world with respect to thy personal demerit. Nor do I call in question the justness of this opinion; having such circumstances whereon to found it. But I reflect with myself how much opinion, operating like a general law, may do injustice. It remains only with heaven's chancery to reach the equity of the case, and absolve her from a crime; or at least qualify that which was the excess of virtue. If the fair elements that composed her frame, shall ever again unite, and rise to life, and, as the divines suppose, her form receive its shape, and complexion from her mental qualities, and conduct on earth, she will lose nothing of her beauty; for her daring disdain of herself and fate, was a mark of repentance,—stronger than all tears. Yet had she acted the nobler part of holding herself in life, preserving her mind and body chaste until famine had taken her away, or the hand of heaven moved for her relief, she had shone, at the last, rising with superior brightness; been ranked amongst the first beauties of heaven, and walked distinguished in the paradise of God. Doubtless the Almighty must blame, and chide her for this premature and rash step. Fallen to the last

point of depression, he was about to relieve her, and the sequel of her days might have been happy and serene. It was a distrust of his providence. She heard my words, though she did not know my heart. And surely it was my intention to relieve her. But she erred against my thoughts; she eluded the grasp of my humanity. For this she will be reprimanded by the Most High; and fail of that supereminent glory which awaits heroic minds. Yet, O world, thou dost her wrong, in sentencing her to so low a bed. Shall the wealthy, but dishonest men; matrons chaste, but cold and cruel in their feelings; shall these have a stone built over them, and occupy a consecrated spot; whilst thou, unworthy, art thrown amongst the rubbish of carcasses, swept from jails; or of emigrants, unknown as to their origin and place.

Farewel, lovely form, whom late I knew; and let the grass grow green upon thy grave. Thy sorrows are expunged; but mine are awake; and will be so, until I also come to the shades invisible, and have the same apathy of heart with thee.



DIRECTIONS to STUDIOUS PEOPLE for the PRESERVATION of their HEALTH.

AS studious people are necessarily much within doors, they should make choice of a large and well-aired place for study. This would not only prevent the bad effects which attend confined air, but would cheer the spirits, and have a most happy influence both on the body and the mind. It is said of Euripides, the tragedian, that he used to retire to a dark cave to compose his tragedies; and of Demosthenes, the Grecian orator, that he chose a place for study where nothing could either be heard or seen. With all deference to such venerable names, we cannot help condemning their taste. A man may surely think to as good purpose in an elegant apartment as in a cave; and may have as happy ideas where the all-cheering rays of the sun render the air wholesome, as in places which they never reach.

Those who read or write much should be very attentive to their posture. They ought to sit and stand by turns, always keeping as nearly in an erect posture as possible. Those who dictate may do it walking. It has an excellent effect frequently to read or speak loud; this not only exercises the lungs, but almost the whole body. Hence studious people are greatly benefited by delivering discourses in public. Such indeed sometimes hurt themselves by over-acting their part; but this is their own fault. The man who dies a martyr to mere vociferation merits not our sympathy.

The morning has by all medical writers been reckoned the best time for study. It is so; but it is also the most proper season for exercise, while the stomach is empty, and the spirits refreshed with sleep. Studious people should therefore sometimes spend the morning in

walking, riding, or some manly diversions without doors. This would make them return to study with greater alacrity, and would be of more service than twice the time after their spirits are worn out with fatigue. It is not sufficient to take diversion only when we can think no longer. Every studious person should make it a part of his business, and should let nothing interrupt his hours of recreation more than those of study.

Music has a very happy effect in relieving the mind when fatigued with study. It would be well if every studious person were so far acquainted with that science, as to amuse himself after severe thought, by playing such airs as have a tendency to raise the spirits, and inspire cheerfulness and good humour.

It is the reproach of learning, that so many of her votaries, to relieve the mind after study, betake themselves to the use of strong liquors. This indeed is a remedy; but it is a desperate one, and always proves destructive. Would such persons, when their spirits are low, get on horseback, and gallop ten or a dozen miles, they would find it a more effectual remedy than any cordial medicine in the apothecary's shop, or all the strong liquors in the world.

It is much to be regretted that learned men, while in health, pay so little regard to these things. Nothing is more common, than to see a miserable object over-run with nervous diseases, bathing, walking, riding, and, in a word, doing every thing for health, after it is gone; yet, if any one had recommended these things to him by way of prevention, the advice would, in all probability, have been treated with contempt, or at least with neglect. Such is the weakness and folly of mankind, and such the want of foresight, even in those who ought to be wiser than others.

With regard to the diet of the studious, we see no reason why they should abstain from any kind of food that is wholesome, provided they use it in moderation. They ought, however, to be sparing in the use of every thing that is sour, windy, rancid, or hard of digestion. Their suppers should always be light, and taken soon in the evening. Their drink may be water, fine malt liquor, not too strong, good cyder, wine and water, or, if troubled with acidities, water mixed with a little brandy.

We shall only observe, with regard to those kinds of exercise which are most proper for the studious, that they should not be too violent, nor ever carried to the degree of excessive fatigue. They ought likewise to be frequently varied, so as to give action to all the different parts of the body; and should, as often as possible, be taken in the open air. In general, riding on horseback, walking, working a garden, or playing at some active diversions, are the best.

We would likewise recommend the use of the cold bath to the studious. It will, in some measure, supply the place of exercise, and should not be neglected by persons of a relaxed habit, especially in the warm season.

The studious ought neither to take exercise, nor to study, immediately after a full meal.

M O D E R N H O N O U R.

MAN of honour! what a prostituted term! by all repeated, by few understood—the vain man's riddle, and the wise man's stumbling-block! As every principle implanted in the human breast, that incites to noble and virtuous action, ought to be fostered with caution and treated with care; so when this active quality called honour, warms the passions and the blood, it ought to be treated with respect, for many are its precious qualities. But the misfortune is, a fate attends this similar to what attends on all rich and valuable metals---it is often counterfeited. Honour is a splendid and comely garment; and therefore every hare-hearted knave, since he cannot put it on, will put on its likeness. He will make a scurvy merit of imitating that virtue which he has not. The flower which would bloom and flourish in the soil of virtue, will spread and wanton as a rank weed in the soil of vice.---Hence we may trace the abuse of honour: every one gives it his own definition; and when a man has an inclination to play the knave, it is easy to reduce it to the standard of his own principles and convenience.

Who, then, is this man of modern honour? who, but a fellow that is fiery as flint, and who pretends to be *feeling* all over---one who starts at the shadow of an affront, yet passes his whole life in affronting religion and virtue---one who can tell a thousand lyes with the greatest indifference, yet would run a thousand men through the body if they charged him with telling any---one who would not hear a disrespectful word of his sister, yet would ruin half the young women in the neighbourhood, merely for the *reputation* of doing it?---are not these the features of the man of honour?

The character of this *man of honour* is perhaps the most despicable in society. Let those therefore be satisfied with it, who can attain to nothing else: 'tis purchased at too low a price to create any jealousy in noble souls. Some fortune, and many vices, will make it complete: virtue has nothing to do with it.

And yet the laws of this false principle are considered as indispensable. It is almost impossible to evade them. It is in vain that the brave man has vindicated his courage in a thousand dangers, a thousand fields: if a fool beckons him to a duel, he must follow, and rob at once his family, his friends, and his country, to gratify the ignorance of men who ought not to be regarded. What a distressing dilemma! What a delicate situation is a brave man reduced to, when he hesitates between the laws of his country and the laws of *honour*! On one side he sees the sword of justice hanging over his head, if he should dare to act in violation of them; and on the other he hears the stimulating voice of the point of honour cry aloud; "It is better to perish a thousand times than to live dishonoured." What a cruel alternative! Death or infamy.

De L'Isle and De la Fosse were two French officers, who lived not long ago. They had both been born in the same town, the same street, and were almost next-door neighbours. They had passed their infancy, and the first part of their youthful years, together as play-

fellows or school-fellows, and a most cordial friendship was contracted. Unfortunately for them and their parents, an officer's commission for each was purchased, in two different regiments, between whom had long subsisted an inveterate animosity. Whenever a rivalry of this kind happens between two regiments, it is the business of their superiors to caution against their meeting each other, either on march or in garrison, and even to guard against a meeting of the individuals; for which reason, before the one regiment arrives at garrison, it is evacuated by the other.

De L'Isle's regiment was upon duty at Montpellier, and De la Fosse bore his commission in a regiment that was to succeed it. The latter having a strong desire to see the former, obtained leave to go a day or two before, on pretence to see a friend of his who was much indisposed. De L'Isle was transported with joy at seeing him, as well as on account of the obliging stratagem he had invented for that purpose. Having dined and drunk a cheerful glass of Frontinac together, De L'Isle conducted his friend to a kind of licensed gaming-house in the environs of Montpellier. They played a few games: De L'Isle, having the run of cards in his favour, won every one. The other, somewhat piqued, said unguardedly, "It is impossible to win so; how do you contrive to get such cards?" Keep your temper (replied De L'Isle) the cards may favour you in a game or two more.---This friendly altercation ended in a laugh on both sides. They paid the usual tax of the place for cards, went home, supped together, and on parting, took a farewell embrace of each other, De L'Isle being to set out from Montpellier with his regiment the next morning, in order to make room for De la Fosse's.

It seems, unhappily for them both, and quite unknown to De L'Isle, that an officer belonging to his corps, who had got intelligence of De la Fosse's belonging to the regiment adverse to theirs, stood behind while they played at cards, in order to observe what should pass between them. The busy listener had remarked the impatient expressions at losing, which De la Fosse's too warm temper had let escape. These seeming to imply an innuendo of foul play, he construed as an affront; which, on account of the then subsisting regimental antipathy, was not then to be put up with. Wherefore waiting on De L'Isle in the morning, he told him his sense of the affair, and that he must go the demand immediate satisfaction, both for the sake of his own honour, and that of the corps to which he belonged.

De L'Isle, alarmed at the cruel purport of this unexpected visit, remonstrated to his brother officer the undesigning and good-natured warmth of his friend; that they had been intimate from their infancy; that the fatal consequences, perhaps, of such a requisition would effectually ruin his peace of mind for ever, should he be even the survivor.

All his excuses, however, were treated as unmanly; and he was told, he might do as he pleased; but, that a faithful narrative of the affair should be laid before the superior officers.

Torn with anxiety and horror, he went to De la Fosse's lodgings, and acquainted him with the terrible dilemma they were both in, and that the horrid mandate of military usage must be obeyed. They went out upon the ramparts of the town, drew their swords, with great regret, against each other, and soon received on both sides wounds sufficient to disable them from continuing the combat any more that day, as well as to atone, in the judgment of any men but refined barbarians, for so trifling, nay, imaginary an affront.

This duel was fought in the sight of some of De L'Isle's officers, who had been sent on purpose to observe him. As soon as he got his wounds dress'd, he repaired to satisfy his superior officers: these refused to see him, but ordered it should be intimated to him that what he had done was not enough, because one of the parties must die.

In consequence of this merciless injunction, the distracted youths, neither desiring to outlive his friend, by mutual agreement ran upon each other's sword, in the fond hope of expiring together: which was nearly the case; for De la Fosse dropt in the instant at De L'Isle's feet, who was so terribly wounded that his recovery was despaired of for six weeks by the surgeon, to whose house he had been privately conveyed, and where he was kept secreted from all the enquiries of justice.

De la Fosse was, by the immediate care of the military gentlemen, thrown into a hole dug for that purpose, and round which they stood with their swords drawn, till the flesh was all consumed, or so far disfigured that the sentence of the law could not be executed upon it, viz. That the body of a person slain in a duel is to be dragged on a sledge, through the streets, &c.

In about three months after this unhappy catastrophe, De L'Isle escaped privately in the night time from Montpellier, and fled to Spain, where he has lived ever since, lamenting the loss of his country, his parents, and his friend.

Is there no one now who blushes for this savage honour? Let us leave this character to those who are willing to be satisfied with sounds and emptiness. All the *men of honour* in the universe are not worth one virtuous man. True honour is the bright sun which warms noble souls to noble deeds. To be honourable is to be virtuous: The temple of VIRTUE leads to the temple of HONOUR.



The FURIES, a Fable. From the German of M. LESSING.

MY furies begin to turn old, said Pluto to the messenger of the gods: I must have others more fresh and young: go then, and take a circuit through the earth, and choose me three persons proper to fulfil the employment which I destine them. Mercury obeyed, and departed.

A short time after this, Juno said to Iris, could you not find out for me among the mortals, two or three girls, sage, but perfectly so?

You understand me! I have a great desire to confound Venus, who who so often boasts that she has subjected the whole sex to her dominion. Go, and endeavour to make this discovery. Iris departed, and searched every corner of the earth, but in vain. She at length resolved to return. Ah! cried Juno, seeing her return alone, is it possible! O virtue! O chastity!

Goddess, said Iris, I should have brought you three girls, who were all three perfectly sage—who all three never in their life smiled upon a man—who all three had destroyed in their heart, the very seeds of love; but alas! I arrived too late. How, too late! said Juno? Yes too late:—Mercury had just carried them off for Pluto—

For Pluto!—and what would Pluto make of these virtuous girls!—
FURIES.

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SINGULAR ACCOUNT of the STORMING and CAPTURE
of a FORT by a DRUNKEN SAILOR.

[From Ives's Voyage to the East-Indies.]

IN 1756, Admiral Watson, having sailed with his squadron, and the King's troops, from fort St. David, to the assistance of Calcutta, in the East-Indies, stopped at Mayapore, on the banks of the Ganges, where the enemy had a place of considerable strength, called Bougee Fort, which it was necessary to secure before he proceeded farther in the expedition. The action was begun by a brisk cannonade from the squadron, which soon silenced the cannon of the fort: but the garrison not offering to surrender, and continuing to discharge fire-arms and small arms, it was determined, in a council of sea and land officers, that colonel Clive should endeavour to take it by assault. For this purpose, at five in the evening, the admiral landed an officer, two midshipmen, and about forty sailors from each ship, under the command of captain King, to assist the colonel in storming the fort, which he intended doing just before daylight, under the cover of two twenty-four pounders mounted close to the ditch. In the meantime, the colonel had given directions that the whole army, (the necessary guards excepted) and the detachment from the ships, should rest on the ground, in order to recover themselves, as much as possible, from the great fatigues they had undergone in the preceding day's service.

All now was quiet in the camp; and we on board the ships, which lay at their anchors but at a small distance from the shore, had entertained thoughts of making use of this interval to refresh ourselves also with an hour or two of sleep; but suddenly a loud and universal acclamation was heard from the shore, and soon after an account was brought to the admiral, that the fort had been taken by storm. This was a joyful piece of news, and the more so as it was quite unexpected; but when the particular circumstances that ushered in this success were related, our exultation was greatly abated, because we found

that the rules so indispensibly necessary in all military exploits had been entirely disregarded in the present instance, and therefore could not help looking upon the person who had the principal hand in this victory, rather as an object of chastisement than of applause. The case was this.

During the tranquil state of the camp, one Strahan, a common sailor belonging to the Kent, having been just served with a quantity of grog (arrack mixed with water,) had his spirits too much elated to think of taking any rest; he therefore strayed by himself towards the fort, and imperceptibly got under the walls. Being advanced thus far without interruption, he took it into his head to scale at a breach, that had been made by the cannon of the ships; and having luckily gotten upon the bastion, he there discovered several Moor-men sitting upon the platform, at whom he flourished his cutlass, and fired his pistol, and then, after having given three loud huzzas, cried out, "*The place is mine.*" The Moorish soldiers immediately attacked him, and he defended himself with incredible resolution, but in the recounter had the misfortune to have the blade of his cutlass cut in two about a foot from the hilt; this mischance, however, did not happen, till he was near being supported by two or three other sailors, who had accidentally straggled to the same part of the fort on which the other had mounted. They, hearing Strahan's cries, immediately scaled the breach likewise, and echoing the triumphant sound, roused the whole army, who, taking the alarm, presently fell on pell-mell, without order and without discipline, following the example of the sailors. This attack, though made in such confusion, was followed with no other ill consequence but the death of the worthy captain Dougal Campbell, who was unfortunately killed by a musket-bullet from one of our own pieces in the general confusion. Capt. Coote commanded the fort for that night, and at day-light the fort saluted the admiral. It was never exactly known what number of Moors there were in the fort when our people first entered. We took in the fort eighteen cannon, from twenty four pounders downwards, and forty barrels of powder.

Strahan, the hero of this adventurous action, was soon brought before the admiral, who, notwithstanding the success that had attended it, thought it necessary to shew himself displeas'd with a measure in which the want of all military discipline so notoriously appeared. He therefore angrily inquired into the desperate step which he had taken. "Mr. Strahan, what is this that you have been doing?" The fellow, after having made his bow, scratched his head, and with one hand twirling his hat upon the other, replied "Why, to be sure, Sir, it was *I* who took the fort,—but I hope *there was no harm in it.*" The admiral with difficulty, was prevented from smiling at the simplicity of Strahan's answer; and the whole company were exceedingly diverted with his awkward appearance, and his language and manner in recounting the several particulars of his mad exploit. Mr. Watson expatiated largely on the fatal consequences, that might have attended his irregular conduct, and then, with a severe rebuke, dismissed him; but not before he had given the fellow some distant hints, that at a proper opportunity he would be certainly punished for his

temerity. Strahan, amazed to find himself blamed where he expected praise, had no sooner gone from the admiral's cabin than he muttered these words—"If I am flogged for this, here's action, I will never take another fort by myself as long as I live, by G—d!"

The novelty of the case, the success of the enterprise, and the courageous spirit which he had displayed, pleaded strongly with the admiral in behalf of the offender: and yet, at the same time, the discipline of the service required that he should shew him outwardly some marks of his displeasure: this the admiral did for some little time; but afterwards, at the intercession of some officers, which intercession the admiral himself prompted them to make, he most readily pardoned him. And it is not improbable, that had Strahan been properly qualified for the office of boatswain, he might on some other pretence, before the expedition had ended, have been promoted to that station in one of his majesty's ships. But, unfortunately for this brave fellow, the whole tenor of his conduct, both before and after the storming of the fort, was so very irregular, as to render it impossible for the admiral to advance him from his old station to any higher rank, how strongly soever his inclinations led him to do it.

On M O N O P O L I E S.

OF all the scourges which Providence, in the course of its administration, has suffered mankind to impose or inflict upon each other, this has been the most severe;—other evils were temporary in their nature, and limited in their operation; but this, like the stroke of the torpedo, attacked the vital principle—and of countries, comparatively fair and populous, made frequently a howling wilderness:—it acted like the cramp on the human system, and tended to depress every effort of national industry.

By monopolies, I mean any and all privileges granted by sovereigns to a few in their dominions, for the purpose of carrying on any branch of trade or commerce exclusively; whereby, to the inequalities which by nature and education subsist among mankind, were superadded an artificial mean of acquiring riches, at the expense of the peace and comfort of a nation, that the throne of an outrageous despot might be supported, by the creatures and satellites of its own power.

Not contented with armies of hired and disciplined assassins, ready to execute their mandates—not satisfied with prisons, doleful and obscure, in which to deposit, in perpetual oblivion, the victims of their malice;—insecure in the midst of treaties and stratagems devised for their preservation, and of family compacts instituted for the maintenance of their authority;—they invented also monopolies, in order to divide, as it were, the people among themselves, and to create among them an order, not decorated indeed with titles, nor ornamented with mystic ensigns of supposed and hereditary rank, but, what was

much worse, bearing in their train innumerable evils, and in their hands charters of unequal and arbitrary privileges.

Awful and afflicting would be the detail of excesses flowing from this lamentable source, were the pages of history traced, as far as they could lead us, in the search of miseries endured from this quarter!—But it will be sufficient to confine ourselves to a few instances, of such modern date as are, or have been, within every body's view.

And, first, of the East-India company of England, deservedly pre-eminent in the list:—What horrors—what devastations—hath not this incorporation produced in Asia!—What a destruction of private industry and virtue hath it not occasioned in Britain!—Fair and populous regions of India have been laid waste, by sword and famine!—and the navigation of England was not suffered to exist, but for the benefit of this company, beyond the Cape of Good Hope. On the one hand, you see Asia given up to private rapacity and avarice;—on the other, a few ships employed, as might suit the fancy of the India managers! In the one case, generals and contractors, supercargoes and directors, riot in the spoils of Hindostan; on the other, a few influential ship-owners divide the profit of all the freight the company would suffer to be earned in those seas. In a minute of lord Cornwallis's, of Sept. 18, 1789, he says, “I can safely assert, that one third of the Company's territories in Hindostan, is now a jungle inhabited by wild beasts.”—In a private letter from India, dated in Nov. 1791, it is said, “The Mahratta and Nizam's forces have burnt, plundered, and devastated, wherever they have marched; and it is impossible to give any probable computation of the number of unfortunate people, who have already perished by this war and its consequences: but I am confident I should not exceed the truth, if I put it at above *one million of souls!*”—Both these papers were read in the house of commons of England, so late as the sixth of June last, by Mr. Francis, a member of that house; about which time, Mr. Fiott, a spirited merchant of London, proved to a meeting of India stockholders, assembled in Leaden-Hall-Street, that upwards of 200,000 sterling per annum had been, for many years past, paid by the company, for freight to certain favoured old ship-owners, more than they needed to have done, in case of a fair and general competition for such freight, by way of public contract.

By the operation of this company, then, thus incorporated, it happens,

First. That a stock is created in the market that becomes food for the bulls and bears of the alley.

Second. That loans are made to the government, increasing the national debt, and, of course, the national burthens.

Third. That this money is ready at the call of the minister, to be employed against America, or any other people daring to be free.

Fourth. That this company contract themselves debts of eight millions, in the manner of the national debt, affording further alimnt to purposes of stock-jobbing.

Fifth. That India is devastated—its miserable inhabitants put to fire and sword—its sanctuaries invaded—its princes dethroned—its

treasuries pillaged;—as has been fully described by Sheridan, by Burke, and by numerous other writers. *Sixth.* That the marine of England is deprived of that freedom of spreading its sails to the breeze, that it enjoys in all but the Indian seas.

Seventh. That the officers of the company alone enjoy the fruits of victory, while they pay not the expenses of the war;—returning rich to their own country, to purchase seats in parliament, or to be the subject of state-trials, ending in nothing but immense expense and loss of time to the nation; and

Lastly. That for all this the stockholders get 6 to 8 per cent per annum, on their capitals, which they might as well, and more easily have earned in any other way—

Let these facts be long impressed on the memory of Americans, who draw from India only the fruits of an honourable and equitable trade—and if ever, in a moment of national frenzy and delusion, it should be proposed to them to engage in similar establishments, let the still weeping shade of Asia arise to avert at once the misery of her sister and her own.

RUSSELL

Philadelphia, September, 1792.

On PUBLIC CREDIT.

THERE is no subject generally so fascinating to popular declaimers, as that of public credit, wherein they appear to include all possible description of national good—and doubtless it is a benefit for a nation, as it is for an individual, where either have contracted just debts, to have the easy means, as well as the disposition to pay them; but there is this difference between the two cases, an individual considers his credit as concerned in the extinction of his debts, whereas nations usually place theirs, in an ingenious minister's ability to provide for the interest of them;—in the one case, a man is said to be in a state of sound credit when he is clear of pressure; in the other, a nation is said to be rich, when it is subjected to perpetual and increasing burthens. If you say of a man, he is a man in good credit, you suppose of him as either out of debt, or as competent and willing instantly to pay his debts, out of his real or personal property;—if you say of a nation that it is in good credit, as it is in England for instance, it is only meant that the minister contrives to pay the interest, without ever dreaming of the principal.

It would seem also, that an individual became in good credit, in proportion to the small amount of his debts, whereas a nation is in better credit, just in proportion to the largeness of them, as in England, where the funds never were so high as since they have become of an almost incredible magnitude.

The subject is new in this country, and certainly merits, by its importance, the investigation of our ablest statesmen—a debt has been contracted during the war, which became, by general neglect of it, so in-

considerable in value, as to be compared and called after those balloons, that have lately arisen to excite matter of speculative curiosity: this debt, by a new order of things, has become restored to its pristine value, and the public credit of the country has been proportionably applauded. Were this all, the prospect would be flattering and agreeable; but, unfortunately, we are every now and then told of new loans made in Holland, or of the bank; these are cited as proofs of public credit, whereas, unless applied to pay off other debts, they ought rather to lessen the credit, in proportion as the sum owing is increased.

The truth is, public credit, as every other thing, has its good and its evil;—let it be our study to secure the one and to avoid the other: the good of public credit consists, in the settled order; it supposes of payment of the debts of the state, whereby its creditors are benefited; but the evil consists, and a very formidable one it has proved in other countries, old in the science, that it administers to the officer at the head of the treasury, an easy facility to borrow; this is connected with a constant readiness, in the government of a country, to enter into any war or adventure, however absurd in itself, and destructive to the human race, where the head of the treasury can easily obtain the necessary loans; these again are never paid off, nor meant to be, but are only to be put on interest, and taxes imposed on the people in the most plausible, and least obnoxious manner, to raise the sums necessary to pay that interest; such has been the history of public credit in England, and such it will be here, unless guarded against by a vigilance on the part of the people, almost beyond what it is to be expected they will exert.

Such a state of things, public credit means public taxes; the more debt, the more imposts; and unfortunately should there come into government, men, admirers of the system, fond of proving to their constituents the excellence of their credit, by the free use they make of it; such men will be for war, because war of any kind creates debt, debt creates taxes, taxes create offices and officers, and so it goes on, till the poor are saddled, as in England, with unsupportable burthens, contributing to the enriching and aggrandizing only of a few; hence, you will see, in their papers, on the one side, the queen ornamented at a ball, with a dress and jewels worth 100,000 guineas, and on the other, misery and wretchedness attending the common people, and reducing many of them to want the necessaries of life: In one part of the picture, you behold the splendour of opulence existing in the castles of the noble and the affluent; in the other, the wretched peasantry abandoning the country; here, a poet-laureat singing his birth-day ode; and there, a Goldsmith lamenting over his deserted village.

To conclude, while we applaud a sound state of public credit, let us build it only ON THE PAYMENT of our debts; for whatever our sophisters may say on the subject, we shall then best deserve credit when we least solicit it:

R U S S E L L.

Philadelphia, August, 1792.

On the INDIAN WAR.

THAT a prosperous state of credit is apt on nations, as on individuals, sometimes to work ill effects, by leading them into hazardous and unprofitable adventures, the subject we are considering sufficiently evinces;—before the restoration of the finances of the Union all was peace, or if it was disturbed by any temporary and fugitive alarms, they subsided, by the necessity of forbearance on the one side, or of moderation on the other; but no sooner was money plenty, than war follows on its heels; instead of cultivating peace every where, retrenching expenses, and paying off our debts,—the country is, as it were suddenly, and by surprise, involved in a new war, and heavy expenditures—a war, wholly unprofitable in its object, and hopeless as to its success; for what is the object of it? To extirpate the Indians: as it would be inhumane, so it would be without benefit to us; and as to compelling them to an honourable peace, little is to be expected from a treaty, dictated by force on the one side, and necessity on the other; were any treaty capable of continuance with a wandering herd, subject to continual warfare, offensive or defensive, with the frontier settlers, it is hopeless as to its success; for what armaments can penetrate regions comparatively unknown, to pursue an enemy that flies as you advance, unless he sees a fair occasion to strike decisively, in a country without resource to our troops in case of a misfortune.

To have formed an effectual barrier on our borders, and limited our territorial possessions within their just bounds, would at once have kept both the settlers and the Indians in awe, and would have obtained the hitherto unknown limits of our pursuits; war might thus have been avoided, and the country have been left to pursue that pacific system, by which alone its public credit can be supported, and its debts be honourably extinguished—but then, how many offices had been wanting, how many lucrative contracts would have been lost, and how great a waste of money would have been prevented from flowing into the coffers of those concerned in this business?

If this war continues, it is easy to say its expenditures will be growing, and it will prove a regular and constant drain upon the treasury, very little calculated to enhance its credit,—to say nothing of the discouragement it affords to Europeans to come into this country, engaged in a ruinous warfare: many of them are prevented by it from visiting us, our lands suffer in the sale, by being conceived to be the bone of contest, and the nations of the earth exclaim against the injustice of a people, unable to cultivate what ground they have, still panting after more.

Let it be the study then of the people, in their elections, to choose those men to represent them that may lay the axe at the root of this evil, men of such patriotism, independence, and disinterestedness, as anxious above all things to secure their own rights, may be at the remotest distance from invading those of others; thus the poor Indian may become safe in the hunting grounds allotted him,—and the country enjoy a dignity, credit, and peace proportionate to the wisdom and integrity of its views.

RUSSELL.

Philadelphia, August, 1792.

OF FARM-YARD MANURE.

[From a valuable little Treatise, entitled "Sketches on Rotations of Crops"—lately published in Philadelphia.]

TO conduct the business of a farm to full advantage, we must exercise our reasoning faculties, and build up principles which systematically embrace such a regular course of particulars, as will best follow and depend on each other for obtaining the one whole of the design of farming. It is not immediate product alone that we aim at: for, whilst we wish to obtain repeated full crops, our reason assures us it is indispensibly necessary to that end, that the soil be preserved in full vigor. The mind then is employed, principally, on the objects of preservation and improvement of the productive powers of the earth. Observations on the state of common farming fix the opinion, that in general no unconnected, random pursuits tend to ensure a succession of advantageous husbandry for any length of time.

Well chosen rotations of crops, together with due culture, are believed to be so favourable to the ground, as to need but little addition of manure, in comparison of what the common random crops absolutely demand. Still the application of manures is held to be an essential branch of farming, a great link of the chain, in every instance. If very rich soils require, comparatively, but a moderate quantity, in a rotation where ameliorating crops are prevalent, yet middling and poor soils want all that can be obtained; and under the *old courses*, all soils eagerly demand *more manure than can be procured*. These exhausting courses, we see, are continually impoverishing our farms. Too many farmers, therefore, incline to move to fresh lands; where they would precisely act the same murderous part over again.

The two principal links in good farming, are proper *rotations of crops*, which are treated of above; and *manures*, of which it is wished the occasion would admit of more than the few observations that follow.

In the American practice, *hay and fodder are stacked in the fields; and the cattle are fed round the stacks and fodder houses*: the disadvantages whereof are,

1. A wasteful use of the provender;
2. The dung lying as it is dropped without straw, or other vegetable substance brought to it, the manure is little in quantity; and
3. That little, not lying in heaps, is reduced abundantly by exhalation and rain; leaving scarce any thing to the soil.

In the English and Flemish practice (scarcely observed by a few of our husbandmen) cattle are carefully housed, or otherwise confined to a fold-yard (straw-yard) in which are shelters against cold rains, during the whole winter, and as far through the spring as food will last: the advantages of which are,

1. A fair expenditure of the provender, *without waste*;
2. Less exhaustion of the juices; because of the dung lying together in large heaps:

3 The dung being mixed with the *straw*, and other vegetable substances brought to the beasts as *litter*, the whole is trod together, and forms a large quantity of very valuable manure.

It may be no exaggeration to affirm, that the *difference* in the quantities of manure obtained from an equal stock of cattle by these several methods, may be as three to one. If six acres may be annually manured by the inferior method, then may eighteen by the superior. Now on a supposition that *manured land is kept in heart five years* without repeating, in the one case but thirty acres will always remain in good order; in the other ninety acres: A very important difference! Indeed it is all the difference between an husbandman's poverty and his riches.

Do cattle, when foddered round hay-stacks and fodder-houses, or ricks, give twelve large loads of manure (forty heaped bushels) each? do they yield *one* such load? It is an established fact that, in the course of a winter, cattle do yield full twelve such loads; and if soiled or fed well, during the summer, with green cut grass or clover, they may be expected to yield more and richer manure; provided that in both cases they are *kept up*, on a *full quantity of litter*. Here, by the way, it may be noted that a lot of grass only sufficient to keep one beast in *pasturing*, has sufficed five or six in *soiling*; and what is of immense importance to the state of the ground and of future crops, the ground being *imrod*, is left *light* and *mellow*. Another favourable circumstance attends this method: the beasts are kept in *shade*, and considerably protected from flies, especially if the house be kept dark during the heat of the day, with only air-holes near the ground and above their heads. But it will be said, the ground round the stacks receives the dung dropt, as a dressing to so much of the field. Alas! we know this extends to a very small distance, and even then the effects are in no part considerable. The place where, is some eminence: the rains and winds of half the year wash away or evaporate from the frozen ground most of the rich substance of the winter's lean dung so dropt about; and the ground is, when unfrozen, during all that time, trod down and poached, to a degree that nearly destroys the benefit remaining from the dung dropt. A fodder house (a hollow rick, made of maiz tops in the way of thatch) was set up in a field, as is usual; it was fenced in: at the south front of it the maiz was husked, and the husks were sheltered in the fodder-house; they were fed out in the course of the winter to cattle in front of the rick; in April, the rick or fodder-house, being then empty, was pulled down, and the covering given to the cattle. The soil thus *sheltered* by the fodderhouse for six months (October to April) shewed marks of richness, greatly superior to the ground on which the cattle were foddered during the same time: grass, weeds and crops, during the four or five following years, shewed this in their great growth: where the fodderhouse, 300 feet in length and 20 in breadth, stood and sheltered the ground, the richness of the soil was strongly marked; when but a faint superiority, over the common field, appeared where the cattle were fed.

Litter is an essential, without which farm-yard manure is of no account; and unless it be in full proportion to the number of cattle, it is not thought highly of—but is as a half done thing. Good farmers in England deem full littering of such importance, that after reaping with sickles and inning their wheat, they chop the stubble with scythes, and stack it for litter, for their live stock. Besides the straw and stubble for litter, they apply to the same use, fern and such other vegetable substances as they can procure; and they buy straw from common farmers who are not in the practice. In all countries, most farmers are careless of improvement: they look not beyond their old habits.

The like materials may be so applied in America—straw, stubble, maiz stalks, fern, weeds before they seed, flags, wild oats, sea-grass, leaves of trees, &c. Our farmers say, “there is no manure in corn-stalks;” and they leave them standing in their fields. I have been used to draw them into my fold-yard, in the fall and during the winter; where they were laid thick, as litter to grown cattle, and were soon trod into a sponge-like state; in which condition they catch and retain the dung and urine of the cattle, so as to give a great quantity of manure, uncommonly rich.

In November, all the cattle are to be confined from wandering about the fields. The fold yard is then well littered; and as often as the litter is trod into the dung, or is soaking wet, more litter is added; so that the beasts may always lie clean and dry. They are thus confined and littered till there is a full bite of grass in May. All the cattle that can are to be under shelter from cold rains during that time. It is an indispensable measure that all horses and young cattle be so sheltered. Litter is to be given them as above.

“In many situations,” says Mr. Young, “the dependance of a farm for manure, is on the straw-yard. If in that case the farmer does not properly proportion his arable crops which feed cattle, to those which litter the yard; and both these to the quantity of his grass fields, the farm will be long before it gets well manured.”

To PREVENT the FIRING of HAY-STACKS.

IN Hertfordshire, (Eng.) the farmers, for this purpose, stuff a sack as hard as they can with hay, and tie the top tight with a cord, making the rick round it, and pulling it up as the rick advances in height: it is pulled out at the top when the rick is finished, and leaves a tunnel in the middle of the hay, which admits a circulation of air, and prevents the heat, which otherwise might occasion its destruction.

In some counties, farmers place a sheep-crib in the middle of the rick, which admits a current of air, and keeps the hay from heating.

M I R A ; A F R A G M E N T .

—S H E was fantastically drest.—I wish, said I to my uncle, as she passed by us, that those ladies who study to look fine, would consider what will be the advantage of their labour and expence. They seem to believe, that the more tawdry their appearance, the more acceptable they will be to the gentlemen.—It is true, they may gain by this the admiration of coxcombs; but the heart of a man of sense was never caught by ribands. Would you choose her for a friend, who had so despicable an opinion of you, as to suppose you more pleased with a new cap, than a refined understanding!

“Mira” said my uncle, looking after her with a sigh, “has been changing her dress and complexion once a day, for fifteen years; sometimes she is too white, and at other times too red: Always possessed of the mistaken notion, that beauty of person is all that is needed to make one altogether amiable; and that the next change will render her more beautiful than the last. But Mira, save her fondness for dress, and a wish to appear more handsome, was a girl of good sense.—I was her intimate friend at the age of twenty, and had a sincere affection for her:—I told her of her faults; she thought I exaggerated, and was affronted: Few girls, Timothy, can bear you should be so friendly. I inclosed the little poem, of which you saw the copy yesterday, in a letter to her, and bade her adieu.”

I shall conclude with my uncle’s

O D E T O M I R A .

MIRA, can rouge of blushing hue,

Or all the washes France e’er knew

Add beauty to the rose?

Or, sprinkled with the lov’d perfume,

Say, will it richer sweets assume,

Or more regale the nose?

Then cease, nor hope by art to place

New charms upon that lovely face;

Nature alone can please.

’Tis affectation spoils the fair;

Mira, avoid the affected air,

And act, I pray, with ease.

But grant it true, that by your skill

You’ll make that face more beauteous still;

Are you by this more blest?

Did beauty ever gain a friend;

Or with life’s ills one pleasure blend,

Or sooth the grief-swoln breast?

A mind illumed and virtuous heart,

Well pleased to ease a wretch’s smart,

To me endear the more

Than beauteous Venus self could boast,

Or could coquettes complain they’ve lost,

From sixteen to four-score.

Columbian Parnassiad.

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

A PARAPHRASE on the 16th chapter of
of St. LUKE'S GOSPEL, from the 19th
verse to the end.*

AMONG the various tribes which
breath'd on earth,
Of man's frail race, of mortal boasted
birth,

A certain nobleman, supreme in power,
Tasted fresh pleasures every circling hour.
Rich purple robes his soften'd limbs infold;
His garments glistened with refulgent
gold :

The Tyrian-Crimson blush'd upon his
vest;

And finest linen his nice taste confess'd.
Exotic dainties grac'd his lordly board;
With choicest wine his massy cups were
stor'd.

Each day's repast was as a sumptuous
treat;

With every elegance of life replete.
Day followed day, while each succeeding
night

Teem'd with gay novelty and fresh de-
light.

But mark the contrast—at his gate there
lay

A wretched cripple off the common way;
Rank sores and ulcers did his body fill,
Undress'd by pity, and unprov'd by skill :
No tender hand had sooth'd the poignant
smart,

No touch of friendship, no relief from art.
Naked and hungry, he sends forth a groan,
And, dying, makes his heart-felt anguish
known;

Pleads for a morsel of the glutton's crust,
A little morsel of the very worst ;—
The very crumbs his dogs refus'd to chew,
The most despis'd wretched scrap would
do.

But this denied, he ordered from the
gate;

Nor suffer'd there his sorrows to relate ;
The dogs, much kinder than their chur-
lish lord,

A transient comfort from their tongues
afford ;

His sores they lick, but ah ! too late all
aid ;

For Death's cold hand had all his sorrows
laid.

Just as his soul had left its shatter'd case,
A guard of angels did the spirit grace.

With airy swiftness, soft they soar on
high,

Beyond the limits of the vaulted sky.
To holy Abraham they their charge trans-
late

And place him in the most enraptured
state.

No funeral obsequies his body grace ;
His mortal part you on a dungbill trace :

Where soon corruption seizes its remains ;
Scarce any form the squallid mass re-
tains.

The rich man gorg'd, replete with
pamper'd food,

Cram'd with each dainty that the great
term good,

Fill'd with diseases, from luxurious fare,
Met too the doom which Adam's race

must share ;
Sighed his last breath on velvet's softest
down,

Torn from life's treasures, with a poi-
gnant groan !

In state superb the sumptuous carcase lay,
Where blazing tapers made a midnight
day ;

With solemn pomp, at length, consign'd
to dust

Were the vile fragments of disease and
lust.

* When we recollect this important parable, and remember who spoke it, and join the description, in the 25th of Matthew, of the last judgment, where it is said " Then shall he also say unto those, depart from me ye accursed," see 41, 42, 43, to the end—One would almost wonder that any professing wealthy christian should not be liberal in alms ; for the poor seem to be like the steps of the patriarch's ladder ; the steps for the rich to climb up on from earth to heaven ; not to trample on, but to ascend as on the hallowed steps of the altar.

A stately tomb of polish'd marble rose,
Where the nice *arbiters*, each touch be-
stows

That skill and fancy can with taste unite,
And by its form the curious eye de-
light,

Or wandering stranger to the spot in-
vite,

To read the praises on the *speaking stone*,
And view the fair inscription wrote
thereon.

Here lie the atoms of the loathsome
thing,

While rival *bards* his great eulogium sing;
Call him *good, learned, great, polite* and
wise!

And hail his spirit in its native skies

But oh behold! the sad reverse here
view,

And let your thoughts the rich man's
soul pursue:

To hell's dark, dreary mansion is he
hurld,

Deep to the center of a burning world!

Here former comforts prove a source of
woe,

When he those comforts could no longer
know.

His eyes he lifts, in anguish and despair;
Sees distant regions, placid, sweet, and
fair;

Views happy *Lazarus*, serenely laid,

Fanned in the zephyrs of a heavenly shade;

Then in the agony of dire distress;

The wretched rich man does his suit ad-
dress:

O father *Abraham!* in mercy hear;

And listen to my first, my only prayer!

Send *Lazarus* down from his delightful
seat,

And let him enter this profound retreat;

One drop, one little drop but let him
bring,

From the pure fount of heaven's refreshing
spring;

One little drop, perchance, would cool this
flame,

And the fierce burnings of these torments
tame.

My son! my son! the *patriarch* replied,
Remember now your former fatal pride;

You had your good things in life's giddy
sphere;

While *Lazarus* remain'd unpitied there;

You ask'd a *drop of water*, but too late;

He ask'd a *morsel* at your sumptuous gate.

Both, both denied, you have exchanged
your bliss—

Be thine the sorrow, and the glory his.

Besides, a gulph impassable remains,
Betwixt your dreadful and these blissful
 plains;

A gulph so awful, that the spirits here,
Can't dart across the terminated sphere;

Nor dare the spirits of the dark abode
Bound o'er the barrier of their gloomy
road;

This the grand *Isthmus* which divides the
 plains,

Where awful horror and where pleasure
ad-reigns—

A line tremendous to the sinner's eye;
A screen of mercy to the saints on high.

Then thus spake *Dives*, Since all good
below,

Is quite excluded, let my brethren know
This place of anguish is no priest-craft
scheme,

No tale of poets, no *enthusiast's* dream!
But a dread certainty, a *very bell*,

Where wretched spirits are confin'd to
dwell,

Perhaps for ever, if some cheering ray
Shines not to bless us with a glimpse of
day.

Five sons my mother to my father gave;
I first descended the untimely grave,

Perchance forewarn'd, they yet may shun
my doom,

Nor like me enter this tremendous gloom.

Then *Abraham* thus the pleading soul
bespoke,

For them in vain thou dost mine aid in-
voke.

The law of *Moses* points the road to *truth*;
The prophets preach to each attentive
youth;

Let them then listen to the points they
tell,

And these shall guide them from the
paths of hell.

O father! father! *Dives* ardent cried,
That's not enough their devious steps to
guide:

If from the dead a soul commission'd flew,
And stood before my thoughtless bre-
thren's view,

They might repent, not take the dreary
road

Which leads immediate to this dread
abode.

The saint once more the sinner thus
address'd:

And this grand truth in these clear words
express'd:

The law lies open to mankind below;
Moses forewarns them of impending woe:
The prophets tell them of their future
fate,
And draw the portrait of life's fleeting
date:

If these prevail not on the harden'd mind,
No other motives shall admision find.
Tho' from the dead a ghastly spirit rose,
And hallow'd souls their dark contents
disclose,
A sinner's tongue would ridicule the
voice,
And to the last, in vicious ways rejoice.

Laura.

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

FEMALE LUSTRE; an ODE.

FAIR Chloe youthful minds subdues,
Whil't e'en the old her empire
own:

Honoured by her is every muse;
The graces bend before her throne.
Her heart by goodness is refined,
And knowledge triumphs in her mind.

Behold her in the dance appear!
Whil't grace o'er every step presides;
The maid in conversation hear,
Each sentiment whil't reason guides.
To prudence and to reason true,
She charms the many and the few.

Loved Chloe! still thy power maintain
On reason and discretion's plain;
Thus shalt thou general favour gain,
Till thou shalt bless the happy man:
Nor even then that favour lose,
Since none to worth can praise refuse.

Ye glitt'ring gems, withdraw your blaze,
Nor emulate the source of light!
How weak, how transient are your rays!
Meanly they vanish, wrapped in night.
Meteors awhile may gild the skies,
But Virtue's radiance never dies.

Phila. Sept. 1792.

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

The HEROINE in HUMBLE LIFE.

EVEN in early youth her solid mind
To sacred truth was steadily inclined.
By worth regarded, favoured by the wife,
Earth she adorned, and painted for the
skies.

Bereft of either parent, soon she found
The clouds of dark dependence gather
round;
Yet to these ills she studied to conform,
And with becoming firmness met the
storm.

Received beneath the hospitable roof,
Patient the toil endured, and bore reproof.
By virtue governed, and with prudence
blest,
E'en base Suspicion all her worth cen-
sured.

But death soon shifts the scene of mental
ease,
And Betty must another mistress please;
Another master too—within whose doors
Not e'en the hour of midnight, peace in-
sures.

Here Revelry's loud voice was often heard;
Here Luxury in all her pomp appeared,
Oft in the kitchen Ribaldry prevailed,
And in respect to modest Virtue failed.
Still patient, soon she bid a mild adieu,
And from wild Dissipation's scenes with-
drew.

An humble roof she sought; that roof
was found,
Which promised quiet, by reflection
crowned.

But ah! how vain the hope!—A Fury
here
Reigned like the storm, which blasts the
fruitful year—

'Twas Jealousy!—Rage triumphed in
her mien,
And on her face Suspicion's gloom was
seen;
Which, like the gust, its fury would re-
veal
In many a flash, and roar in many a peal.

Contention's home she quits; her peace-
ful mind,
By worth endeared, to Heaven was still
reigned;

But now disease attacks her feeble frame,
And malice on her conduct dares decam.
Of every friend, and all support bereaved,
By public charity at length received,
Wearing from earthly comforts her de-
sires,

This heroine without a good expires.

This simple tale, ye mild! with pity
hear,
And shed Compassion's tribute o'er her
bier.

Philadelphian, Sept. 1792.

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

The IRRESOLUTE MAN.

BY vanity oft led astray,
 Yet hoping reason's path to gain,
 I tread misfortune's dreary way,
 And wisdom court, yet disobey.
 Henceforth, the foot-ball of despair,
 Victim of folly and confusion,
 In pleasure's path I persevere,
Resolve! to make—no resolution.
Philadelphia, Sept. 1792.

ADVICE to the LADIES,

NOT TO NEGLECT THE DENTIST.

SINCE time too soon the race of man
 impairs,
 And age comes on with all its pains and
 cares,
 Why then, by nature subject to decay,
 Ah! why invite what art might long de-
 lay?—
 Foes to the bloom of health, neglect and
 sloth
 Corrode the ivory of the loveliest tooth,
 And that coarse breath, where every sweet
 might dwell,
 Tempts the nice beau to flight his careless
 belle,
 And think no longer 'tis his heaven to sip
 Love's draft of pleasure from the damask
 lip.

The *Dentist's* care, bright maids, can
 shield from harms,
 And to your kisses lend a thousand charms;
 Safe from the ills of torture and decay,
 Love there would perch, and all his flames
 display—
 Low at *their* shrine more constant lovers
 fall,
 Who leave not *nature* to accomplish all—
 Revere that art which thus prevents your
 pain,
 Which ages past have fought, but fought
 in vain;
 So shall your lovers to their oaths be true,
 And, years elaps'd, each beauty still be
 new;
 While *she*, who proudly would all art de-
 spise,
 And trusts alone the conquests of her eyes,
 Too soon beholds her wonted influence
 lost,
 Neglected wit, and love congeal'd to frost.
 In vain her *rouge* the mask of health re-
 stores,
 No more the lover sighs, the slave adores;
 Insulting prudes no more a rival fear,
 But cruel whispers thus insult her ear;

In *Love's* bright circle, why should they be
 seen

Whose toothless charms encroach on gay six
 teen?

Philadelphia, Sept. 1792.

The DISH of TEA.

LET some in grog place their delight,
 O'er bottled porter waste the night,
 Or sip the rosy wine;

A dish of tea

More pleases me,

Yields softer joys,

Provokes less noise,

And breeds no base design.

From China's clime, this present brought,
 Enlivenes every power of thought,

Rigs many a ship for sea;

Old maids it warms,

Young widows charms,

And misses' men

Not one in ten

But courts them for their tea.

When throbbing pains assail my head

And dulness o'er my brain is spread,

The muse no longer kind;

A single sip

Dispels the hyp:

To chase the gloom

Fresh spirits come,

The flood-tide of the mind—

When worn with toil, or vex with care,

Let Susan but this draught prepare

And I forget my pain;

This magic bowl

Revives the soul,

With gentle sway

Bids care be gay,

Nor mount to cloud the brain.

If learned men the truth would speak

They prize it far beyond their Greek,

More fond attention pay:

No Hebrew root

So well can suit;

More quickly taught,

Less dearly bought,

And studied twice a day—

This leaf, from distant regions sprung,

Puts life into the female tongue,

And aids the cause of love.

Such power has *tea*

O'er bond and free,

Which priests admire,

Delights the squire,

And Galen's sons approve.

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

HISTORICAL SKETCH of the PROCEEDINGS of CONGRESS, in the session which commenced, at Philadelphia, on the 24th of October, 1791.

(Continued from page 137.)

FISHERY BILL.

ON the 12th of January, an act for the encouragement of the bank and other codfisheries, was sent from the senate, for the concurrence of the house of representatives. This act was founded on the report of the secretary of state, respecting the fisheries; which had been presented to congress in the preceding session, and for which our readers are referred to the Asylum for Oct. 1791, page 270.—In the debates on this bill, we again find the narrow principle of local interest evidently forming a bias in the minds both of its friends and opponents, though not openly avowed by either. By one party, the justice and policy of the proposed bounty were strenuously urged; while the unconstitutionality of the measure seemed to form the basis of the opposition.

The bill being taken up, in a committee of the whole, on the 3^d of February. Mr. *Giles* moved that the whole of the first section, which provided for the payment of the bounty, should be struck out. This he considered as the most effectual mean of collecting the sense of the committee, with respect to the principle of the bill, which he conceived to be a bounty on occupation, and therefore at variance with the constitution; for the constitution contained no such power, either direct or implied. It might, perhaps, be defended by a rule of construction already adopted by the house, viz.—that of *ways and ends*; but he wished ever to see some connexion between a specified power, and the means adopted for carrying it into effect.

There was, he contended, a great difference between giving encouragement and granting a direct bounty. Congress might pass laws for the regulation of commerce; and any advantage thence resulting to a particular occupation, connected with commerce, came within that authority. But the proposed bounty, to a particular employment, was stepping beyond the circle of commerce, and would affect the whole manufacturing and agricultural system. He declared his aversion to bounties, in almost every shape, and expatiated on the injustice of exclusive privileges, monopolies, &c. as derogations from the common right. Under a just and equal government, every man was entitled to protection in the enjoyment of the whole product of his labour, except such portion of it as might be necessary to enable government to protect the rest. In every bounty, exclusive right, or monopoly, government violated the rights of a part of the community, by transferring the product of one man's labour to the use and enjoyment of another.

The principle of the bill, as it respected political economy, he conceived to be equally unjustifiable. All occupations, said he, that stand in need of bounties, instead of increasing the real wealth of a country, tend to lessen it; for as the real wealth of every country consists in the product of useful labour employed in it, the impolicy of encouraging any occupation that would diminish the aggregate wealth of the community, must be manifest. If an occupation is really productive beyond the capital employed, and thus augments the general wealth, no bounties are necessary for its support;—when it falls short of this, any forced advantage that is given to it, by governmental bounties, only tends to decrease the wealth of the country.

It might perhaps be said, in favour of the bill, that it made provision for the defence of the united states, and that the only question to be decided was—whether the bounties were more than equivalent to the portion of defence to be expected from the fisheries. But any man, said he, who takes a view of this country, must be convinced that its real strength arises from the land, and not from the sea. The opposite mistake has arisen from a servile imitation of the conduct of Great-Britain. That country, surrounded by the sea, finds a navy necessary to support her commerce; while America, possessed of an immense territory, and having yet ample room to cultivate that territory, has no occasion to contend by sea with any foreign power. He next

September, 1792.

B h

proceeded to show, that that portion of the national defence which might be derived from the fisheries, would cost too much. He observed, that, although the apparent intention of the bill was to convert the existing drawbacks into the proposed bounty, yet they had no necessary relation to each other. The drawbacks were allowed only on the exportation of the fish, but the bounties would be granted on the tonnage of the vessels, so that there could be no comparative value between them. He read a calculation, tending to show that the proposed bounties would considerably exceed the existing drawbacks, and what expense each man employed in the fisheries would be to the united states. He did not think it wise to enter into a competition with Great-Britain and France, for supplying the different markets with fish. Those nations being able to hold out greater encouragement to their fishermen, than we could to ours, such a competition would only exhaust the treasury of the united states, to no purpose.

Mr. Murray observed, that, in order to demonstrate the propriety of the measure, in would be incumbent on the friends of the bill, first, to prove that the fishery trade was in a state of decay; that the stock employed in it did not yield the ordinary profits, so as to justify the merchants in embarking their capital in this branch of trade; that there was a system of defence in contemplation, which the circumstances of the country called for, and which this trade was calculated to furnish; that other branches of trade, which did not stand in need of encouragement, were not equally capable of furnishing seamen for the purpose; that this particular object so peculiarly claimed the attention and encouragement of the united states, as to leave far behind every consideration of the manufacturing interest, the agricultural, &c.—all this he thought necessary for gentlemen to prove, and to shew some very strong necessity for encouraging one particular class of men, in preference to all others.

Mr. Goodhue stated the advantages that would arise to the country, from encouraging a nursery of hardy seamen, who would, in case of emergency, contribute largely to the national defence, as they had done during the late war.

The drawback, allowed by the existing law, on the exportation of salt fish, was calculated to be only equal to the duty beforehand paid, on the quantity of salt used in curing the fish; but the fishermen complained, that, as the act stood, they were wholly excluded from any participation in the benefit, which centered entirely in the coffers of the merchants:—the object of the present bill, was only to repay the same money into the hands of those persons who were immediately concerned in catching the fish; and there could no reasonable objection be made to such a transfer of the drawback, as government would not lose a single dollar by the change.

The fishermen, he continued, are now under no control; and in consequence of this want of a proper restraint, they often take whims into their heads, and quit the vessels during the fishing season. To prevent the inconveniencies of this practice, the bill contemplates their exclusion from the bounty, unless they enter into such contracts and regulations, as may be found necessary for the proper and successful conducting of the business, which, from our advantageous situation, would be entirely in our hands, if we did not meet with such opposition and discouragement from foreign nations, whose bounties to their own fishermen, together with the duties laid upon our fish, would, to persons less advantageously situated than us, amount almost to a total prohibition.

In the report from the secretary of state, a drawback is contemplated of the duties on all foreign articles, used by the seamen employed in the fishing trade, such as coffee, rum, &c. &c.—but we ask it, on the salt alone; nor is it asked as a bounty, but merely as a transfer from the hand of the merchant to that of the fishermen.

Mr. Ames, after some introductory observations, adverted to the necessity of fixing some point in which both sides would agree. Disputes, he said, could not be terminated, or rather, they could not be managed at all, if some first principles were not conceded. The parties would want weapons for the controversy.

Law is in some countries the yoke of government, which bends or breaks the necks of the people—but, thank heaven, in this country it is a man's shield; his coat of mail, his castle of safety; 'tis more than his defence—'tis his weapon to punish those who invade his rights—'tis the instrument which assists—'tis the price that rewards, his industry.

If I say that fishermen have equal rights with other men, every gentleman feels in his own bosom a principle of assent; if I say that no man shall pay a tax on sending

his property out of the country, the constitution will affirm it; for the constitution says, *no duty shall be laid on exports*: If I say, that on exporting dried fish, the exporter is entitled to a drawback of the duty paid on the salt, I say no more than the law of the land has confirmed.

Plain and short as these principles are, they include the whole controversy; For I consider the law allowing the drawback as the right of the fishery; the defects of that law as the wrong suffered, and the bill before us as the remedy.

The defects of the law are many and grievous.

Suppose 340,000 quintals exported, the salt duty is	Dollars.
The drawback is only	42,744
	34,000

Loss to the fishery	8,744
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Whereas government pays, at 13½ cents including charges, which are 3½ cents on a quintal,	45,900
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Which is beyond what the fishery receives	11,900
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And a clear loss to government of	3,156
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So that, though the whole is intended for the benefit of the fishery, about one fourth of what is paid is not so applied; there is an heavy loss, both to government and the fishery.

Even what is paid on the export is nearly lost money; the bounty is not paid till the exportation—nor then till six months have elapsed: Whereas the duty on salt is paid before the fish is taken; it is paid to the exporter, not to the fisherman. The bounty is so indirect that the poor fisherman loses sight of it. It is paid to such persons, in such places, and at such periods, as to disappoint its good effects—passing through so many hands, and paying so many profits to each, it is almost absorbed. The encouragement too is greatest in successful years, when least needed—and is least in bad fishing seasons, when it is most needed.

It is a very perplexed, embarrassing regulation, to the officers of government, and to the exporter—hence the great charge; and, with all this charge and trouble, it is liable to many frauds. Four hundred miles of coast—little towns, no officer.

All these defects the bill remedies—and besides, gives the money on condition that certain regulations are submitted to, which are worth almost as much as the money.

The bill is defended on three grounds—1st, it will promote the national wealth—2d, the national safety—3d, justice requires it—the last is fully relied on.

To shew that the fishery will increase the wealth of the nation, it cannot be improper to mention its great value.

The export before the war, brought more than a million of dollars into this country; probably it is not less at present, and no small part in gold and silver: It is computed that 30,000 persons, including 4,000 seamen, subsist by it. Many say, very composedly, if it will not maintain itself, let it fall. But we should not only lose the annual million of dollars which it brings us; an immense capital would be lost. The fishing towns are built on the naked rocks or barren sands on the side of the sea. Those spots however, where trade would sicken and die, which husbandry scorns to till, and which nature seems to have devoted to eternal barrenness, are selected by industry to work miracles on: Houses, stores and wharves are erected, and a vast property created—all depending on this business—Before you think it a light thing to consign them to ruin, see if you can compute what they cost; if they outrun your figures, then confess that it would be bad economy, as well as bad policy, to suffer rival nations to ruin our fishery.

The regulations of foreign nations tend to bring this ruin about. France and England equally endeavour, in the language of the secretary of state, to mount their marine on the destruction of our fishery.

The fish of Newfoundland is allowed liberal bounties by the English government; and in the French West-Indies—we meet bounties on their fish, and duties on our own, and these amount to the price of the fish. From the English islands we are quite shut out—yet such is the force of our natural advantages that we have not yielded to these rivals. The secretary of state has stated these, page 5th and 6th of his report.

The more fish we catch, the cheaper; the English fish will need a greater bounty—whereas if we should yield, the English would probably need no bounty at all; they would have the monopoly. For example, suppose the English can fish at two dollars,

the quintal—we catch so much, that we sell at one dollar and two thirds; the loss to them is $\frac{1}{3}$ dol. each quintal. They must have that sum as a bounty.

Whereas, if we increase our fishery, a greater and a greater bounty is needed by foreign nations—the contest so painfully sustained by them must be yielded at last, and we shall enjoy alone an immense fund of wealth to the nation, which nature has made ours; and though foreigners disturb the possession, we shall finally enjoy it peaceably and exclusively. If the lands of Kentucky are invaded, you drive off the invader, and so you ought—why not protect this property as well.

These opinions are supported by no common authority.—The state of Massachusetts having represented the discouragements of the fishery, the subject has received the sanction of the secretary of state; he confirms the facts stated in the petition; he says it is too poor a business to pay any thing to government.

Yet instead of asking bounties, or a remission of the duties on the articles consumed, we ask nothing, but to give us our own money back, which you received under an engagement to pay it back, in case the article should be exported.

If nothing was in view therefore, but to promote national wealth, it seems plain that this branch ought to be protected and preserved; because, under all the discouragements it suffers, it increases, and every year more and more enriches the country, and promises to become an inexhaustible fund of wealth.

Another view has been taken of the subject, which is drawn from the naval protection afforded in time of war by a fishery.

Our coasting and foreign trade are increasing rapidly; but the richer our trade becomes, the better prize to the enemy: So far from protecting us, it would be the very thing that would tempt him to go to war with us. As the rice and the tobacco planter cheerfully pay for armies, and turn out in the militia, to protect their property on shore, they cannot be so much deceived as to wish to have it left unprotected when it is afloat; especially when it is known that this protection, though more effectual than the whole revenue expended on a navy could procure, will not cost a farthing; on the contrary, it will enrich while it protects the nation. The coasters and other seamen, in the event of a war, would be doubly in demand, and neither could protect themselves nor annoy the enemy, to any considerable degree; but the fishermen thrown out of business by a war, would be instantly in action.—They would, as they formerly did, embark in privateers—having nothing to lose, and every thing to hope, they would not dishonour their former fame. Their mode of life makes them expert, and hardy seamen. Nothing can be more adventurous. They cast anchor on the banks, 300 leagues from land, and with a great length of cable ride out the storms of winter: If the gale proves too strong, they often sink at their anchors, and are food for fish which they came to take; for ever wet, the sea almost becomes their element—cold and labour, in that region of frost, brace their bodies, and they become as hardy as the bears, on the islands of ice; their skill and spirit are not inferior—familiar with danger, they despise it. If I were to recite their exploits, the theme would find every American heart already glowing with the recollection of them; it would kindle more enthusiasm than the subject has need of: My view is only to appeal to facts, to evince the importance of this fishery as a means of naval protection. It is proper to pass over Bunker's-hill, though memorable by the valour of a regiment of fishermen; nor is it necessary to mention further, that five hundred fishermen fought at Trenton.

It is proved that the privateers manned by fishermen, in want of every thing, not excepting arms, which they depended on taking from their enemies—brought into port warlike stores of every kind, as well as every kind of merchandize, sufficient for the army and the country: the war could not be carried on without them. Among other exploits almost beyond belief, one instance is worth relating—these people, in a privateer of sixteen guns and one hundred and fifty men, in one cruise, took more than twenty ships, with upwards of two hundred guns, and nearly four hundred men.

The privateers from a single district in Massachusetts, where the fishery is chiefly seated, took more than two thousand vessels, being one third of the British merchant vessels, and brought in near 1200. An hundred sail of privateers, manned by fishermen, would scour every sea in case of a war.

Some gentlemen think of a navy: but what navy could do more? what nation would provoke a people so capable of injuring them? Could fifty ships of the line afford more security? and yet this resource of the fishery, always ready, always suffici-

eat, will cost nothing. The superior naval force of our foes should not discourage us; our privateers would issue, like so many sword-fish to attack the whale.

I leave these observations to their weight, and forbear to press them further—strong as I think them, I rest my support of the bill on another ground.

I will only ask whether you will suppress, if you will not encourage them? whether if you will not give them the money of the public, you will partially seize their own? This is all they ask—if your policy demands for them so much, will your justice deny them so little?

I have repeatedly asserted that the bill will not cost the public a farthing: you only take the money which the fishery brings into the treasury for the salt duty, and pay the same or a less sum back in bounties, instead of a drawback on the exportation of the fish; here I rest the argument. Before I adduce my proofs, I cannot forbear to lay open the state of my mind.

I rely on the truth of the facts I propose to offer; I rely on the proof of them, being as near demonstration as the nature of the case will admit: I make no doubt of the good sense and good intentions of the gentlemen whom I wish to convince; and yet, I am sorry to say, I am far from being sanguine in the hope of gaining a single vote for the bill. I will explain my meaning, and then I think no gentleman will take exceptions at it: this debate depends on calculation. In print or writing, or in private conversation, figures have the advantage of every other mode of investigation: the mind is fixed to a point, and made to perceive it clearly.---But in public debate it is otherwise---figures not only disgust attention, but, as the mind cannot carry them along, they confound it; they make a plain thing look mysterious, and bring it into suspicion. When I ask of the committee an hearing, and it is granted, I get nothing---I want a close attention, and I have to beg, and earnestly too, that gentlemen will not trust their first opinions, and vote against the bill, without condescending to receive and to weigh the facts and calculations of its advocates.

The first question is, how much does government receive by the duty on the salt used in curing the fish which is exported?

The quantity of fish must be known.

Several ways of information are to be explored.

The secretary of state supposes the fish of 1790, to be 354,276 quintals.

A treasury return of fish exported from Aug. 20th, 1789, to Sept. 30th, 1790, which which is 13 $\frac{2}{3}$ months, is 378,721 quintals.

For a year equal to 340,849.

See Secretary's report, page 16.

Foreign dried fish imported from 15th Aug. 1789, to Aug. 1790, 3701 quintals---5 per cent. drawback thereon is only 310 dollars, at 1 $\frac{2}{3}$ dollars per quintal.

Mr. Giles is mistaken, in supposing that foreign fish deducts 16,000 dollars from our estimate.

Return of fish in seven months, from May 30th, to December 1790. exported---all fish of the united states, 197,278 quintals;

Which for a year is 331,184 do.

The medium may be fairly taken for the time past at 340,000 quintals a year.

Six gentlemen of Marblehead certify, that 5043 hogheads, or 40,344 bushels of salt were used on 38,497 $\frac{1}{2}$ quintals; which for 340,000 quintals, gives 356,200 bushels.

The duty at 12 cents is 42,744 dollars, which government receives.

But the charge to the united states is, at 13 $\frac{1}{2}$ cents per quintal,

Whereof the fishery receives 10 cents on each quintal exported,

dols.

45,900

34,000

Charges as the law stands,

11,900

Further, this is but an estimate made up from what the last year proved. The next may be very different, and probably it will be. If more money should be demanded than 44,000 dollars, we must not be accused of misleading congress. But in that case an increase would be made by the law---for the more fish is exported, the more 13 $\frac{1}{2}$ cents to be paid; so that the bill creates no burden in that way. But the increase of the export of fish will probably operate in favour of government. For it is known that the economy, skill, and activity of the fishery are making progress. Its success has progressed. The more fish to a vessel, the cheaper the allowance on the tonnage

—therefore the tonnage of vessels will not increase in a ratio with the increase of the fish.

The very objections prove this. For they deem the encouragement too great. But any encouragement must have, the effect.

The difference of the agreements for distributing the fish according to the present practice, or by this bill, makes a great one in the quantity taken. The bill reforms the practice in this point. Marblehead vessels take less than those from Beverly. The former throw the fish into a common stock, which is afterwards divided upon a plan very unfriendly to exertion. A man works for the whole—perhaps twelve hours, and they take about 800 quintals to a vessel. But in Beverly, the exertion is as great as can be made—eighteen hours a day, because each man has what he catches, and they catch 1100 quintals.

Marblehead seamen, sailing from other towns, and dividing as last mentioned, which the bill establishes, seldom fail to catch two or three hundred quintals more than vessels or men from Marblehead on the first plan. Accordingly, I assert, on good authority, that the increase in Marblehead only may be computed at 15,000 quintals, merely in consequence of the reform by the bill. The best informed persons whom I have consulted, entertain no doubt that the export, in case the bill should pass, would not be less than 400,000 quintals, probably more—but at 400,000 quintals, it would add 7,200 dollars more to the salt duty: a sum more than equal to any estimate of the actual tonnage, or any probable increase of it, 42,744

7,200

43,944 Salt duty on 400,000 quintals.

Other facts confirm the theory, that skill and exertion are increasing in this business. In 1775, tons 25,000, seamen 4,405. Fish sold for 1,071,000 dollars,

In 1790, three fourths of the seamen, and three fourths of the tonnage, take as much fish. It is owing to this that our fishery stood the competition with foreign nations.

Finally, the average in future may be relied on not to be less than 350,000 quintals.

Salt duty on which 43,944 dollars.

Bounties 44,000

Wanted 56

The calculation first made will answer the purpose.

340,000 quintals pay salt duty 42,744 dollars.

Tonnage bounty 44,000

Wanted 1,256

This is the mighty defect. Observe, the authentic return of the export of fish may be, and we can almost prove it to be, below the future export—Whereas, to banish all doubt, we go to the top of the scale for the tonnage; we take what we know to be the utmost. This we might have presented more favourably, if we had chosen to conceal any thing. But even this will answer our purpose. For 200 tons are wanting in the estimate of the bounties, being 19,800, not 20,000, which will take off one third of the deficient sum. The tonnage over 68, which receives nothing, is not mentioned—which probably is not less than another third. The boats under five tons, though trifling, are to be noticed—they receive nothing.

But above all, the chances of non-compliance with the regulation are in favour of the remainder of the 1,256 dollars being stopped. Boats may not get twelve quintals to the ton, or vessels may have their voyages broke up, and not stay four months on the fishing ground; in either case, they would receive nothing. Take all these together, it is not to be doubted that 1,256 dollars will remain of the 44,000 in the treasury.

But these are trifles which I cannot believe gentlemen are anxious about. For the event cannot be reduced to certainty. What quantity of fish will be exported, no man can tell now. But as government may receive more than it will pay, the chance may turn the other way, and it may have to pay a few hundred dollars more than it will have received. We have seen that the chance is most in favour of government. But one chance must balance the other. This answer is sincerely relied on as a good one.

I barely mention that the wear of cordage, cables, sails, and anchors is very great. These articles, on being imported, pay duties. So that it is probable the extra duty paid by the fishery on their extra consumption, will over balance any little sums supposed to exceed in the bounty.

It has been asked, as if some cunning was detected, why, if the money received in the treasury to pay the drawbacks is equal to the proposed bounties, a further appropriation should be made? This cunning question admits of several very simple answers.

The bill being for seven years, the average product is the sum to be calculated. But the three first years may fall short of the bounties, say 2,000 dollars a year; which is

6,000

The four last may exceed 2,000 8,000

Shall a poor fisherman wait for the whole, or, if he takes his part according to the money in the treasury---for a twenty-fourth part of the bounty on his vessel, from 1792 to 1795?

2d. This delay would happen after a bad year, the very time when he would most need prompt pay.

3d. But fish taken this year will not be exported till December next. Therefore the money will not be stopped by the drawback, as the law stands, till six months after.

A substitute has been proposed for the clause, to appropriate the drawback only. This is absolutely improper. For the 10 cents allowed as drawback is but a part of the duty paid on salt---It is not easy to see any reason why a part stopped at the treasury should be equal to the whole paid there long before. The drawback falls near 9,000 dollars short of the salt duty received by the government. The expense of the drawback would be very heavy and useless. Nor may gentlemen apprehend that government, by paying next December, will advance money to the fishery. The salt duty will have been paid, and government will have the use of the money many months, before the fishermen will have a right to call for their bounties. It is left to the candour of the gentlemen who have urged this objection, whether a better or further answer is desired.

After having laboriously gone through the estimate of the probable export of fish, it will not be necessary to be equally minute, as to the quantity or kind of vessels which are to receive the bounty. The estimate we believe to be very high. That it is high enough, we suppose very probable, from the estimate of the secretary of state, which is only 19,185 tons.

This mode of paying the bounty on the tonnage is very simple and safe---the measurement is already made, and costs nothing; and as it was made to pay a duty on tonnage, we are very sure that government will not be cheated by an over measure. The mode of paying the drawback, as the law now stands, is expensive, perplexed, and embarrassing; liable to frauds and delays.

This intricate and disgusting detail of calculations was necessary, to satisfy the committee that each of the three grounds of defence on which the bill rests, is tenable. Instead of impoverishing the nation, by scattering the treasure of the whole to benefit a part, it appears that we are preserving a mine of treasure. In point of naval protection, we can scarcely estimate the fishery too highly. It is always ready, always equal to the object---it is almost the only sufficient source of security by sea. Our navigation is certainly a precious interest of the country. But no part of our navigation can vie with the fishery, in respect to the protection it affords. There is no point, which regards our national wealth or national safety, in respect to which it seems practicable to do so much with so little.

We rely on the evidence before you, that the public will not sustain the charge of a dollar. Those ought not to doubt the evidence, who cannot invalidate it. If then the fishermen ask you to restore only their own money, will you deny them? Will you return to every other person, exporting dutied goods, the money he has paid, and will you refuse the poor fishermen?---If there must be an instance of the kind, will you single out for this oppressive partiality, that branch which is described by the secretary of state as too poor even to bear its part of the common burden? That branch which nevertheless has borne the neglect of our nation, and the persecution of foreign prohibitions and duties:---A branch which, though we have received much, and expect more, both of money and services, urges no claims but such as common justice has sanctioned.

Mr. *Gerry*. The proposed allowance has been called a bounty on occupation, and is said to be very different from that encouragement, which is the incidental result of a general commercial system:—but in reality, it is no bounty:—a bounty is a grant, made without any consideration whatever, as an equivalent; and I have no idea of a bounty, which admits of receiving from the person, on whom it is conferred, the amount of what is granted. We have imposed a duty on salt, and thereby draw a certain sum of money from the fishermen:—the drawback is, in all instances, the amount of the money received:—this is all we ask; and we ask it for a set of men, who are as well entitled to the regard of government, as any other class of citizens.

It has been supposed, that the allowance, made to the fishermen, will amount to a greater sum than the drawback on the exportation of the fish: but I think it has been clearly shewn, that this will not be the case:—on the contrary, it is presumable, that the drawback on the fish would, on the whole, exceed the sum which is proposed to be allowed to the fishermen; sometimes it might be more, sometimes less.

The calculation is made on general principles; and it is impossible to calculate to a single cent: the quantity of salt, to be expended on the fish, cannot be minutely ascertained; but this was not heretofore considered as a sufficient reason, why congress should refuse to allow the drawback: they allow it, though in a different shape:—It is now proposed to make a further commutation: gentlemen call this a bounty on occupation:—but is there any proposition made for paying to the fishermen, or other persons concerned in the fishery, any sums, which we have not previously received from them?—if this were the case, it would indeed be a bounty:—but if we beforehand received from them, as much as the allowance amounts to, there is no bounty granted at all.

If however it really was a bounty on occupation, it would after all be only an indulgence similar to what has been granted to the landed and agricultural interests:—we have laid on hemp a duty of 45 cents per hundred weight; and on beer, ale, and porter, five cents per gallon:—now I ask gentlemen, whether the professed design of those duties was to raise a revenue, or to prevent the importation of those articles? they were laid for no other purpose, than to prevent foreigners from importing them, and thereby to encourage our own manufactures; and was not that encouragement a bounty to the persons concerned in producing such articles in this country?

I wish to know on what principle gentlemen can expect, that the citizens of Massachusetts should contribute 200,000 dollars, or perhaps a greater sum; for the protection of the western frontier against the Indians, when no contribution is made to support the commerce of Massachusetts, which, without this support, will be as effectually ruined, as if their vessels were captured by an enemy. The principle is carried farther, with respect to the protection of the frontier: we have voted large sums as presents to the savages, to keep them friends to the frontier settlers: there is, however, no clause in the constitution, that will authorize a measure of this kind: it is true; indeed, we have a power to regulate trade and commerce with the Indian tribes; but does that give us a power to render the united states tributary to the savages? and if we make them such grants every year, do we not in fact become tributary to them?

Here Mr. *Gerry* read a statement, to shew the diminution of the revenue in consequence of the failure of the fisheries:—and added,

To support the fishery, is to support the revenue: by that staple, the citizens of Massachusetts are enabled to pay the revenue that is expected from them; and, by an attempt to save 10,000 dollars, government would probably sacrifice an hundred thousand; and besides, lose the confidence of the citizens of that state.

Mr. *Williamson*. We have been told that congress may give bounties for useful purposes:—that is to say, they may give bounties for all imaginable purposes, because the same majority that votes the bounty, will not fail to call the purpose a good one. Establish the doctrine of bounties, and let us see what may follow. Uniform taxes are laid to raise money—and that money is distributed—not uniformly; the whole of it may be given to people in one end of the union: Could we say in such a case, that the tax had been uniform? I think not.

We are told that a nursery of seamen may be of great use to the nation, and the bounty proposed is a very small one. These, sir, are the reasons why I have marked this as a dangerous bill: the most dangerous innovations are made under these circumstances. To begin with a great bounty would be imprudent, and to give a small bounty for a doubtful purpose, might deserve a worse epithet. Half a million of dol-

lars per annum, would have been too much for a beginning, and perhaps a bounty on the use of sleighs, though they are convenient for travelling in winter; or a bounty on stone fences, though they are durable, would not at this time be prudent. The object of the bounty, and the amount of it, are equally to be disregarded in the present case: we are simply to consider whether bounties may safely be given under the present constitution; for myself, I would rather begin with a bounty of one million per annum, than one thousand: I wish that my constituents may know, whether they are to put any confidence in that paper, called the constitution.

You will suffer me to say, that the southern states have much to fear from the progress of this government, unless your strength is governed by prudence; the operation of the funding system, has translated at least two millions of dollars, from the southern states, that is to say, from Georgia, the Carolinas, and Virginia, to the northern states. The interest of that sum, when it shall be six per cent. will be 120,000 dollars; but the quota of those states, is at least one third of the whole; whence it follows, that they must pay forty thousand dollars every year, in the form of interest, to the northern states. This, it seems, is not sufficient, and other measures are to be adopted for draining the southern states. Bounties, to promote the general welfare, are already brought forward; we shall not hear of a bounty for raising rice, or preparing naval stores. If that was the question, the general welfare would not have such prominent features. Unless the southern states are protected by the constitution, their valuable staples, and their visionary wealth, must occasion their destruction.

Perhaps I have viewed this project in too serious a light; but if I am particularly solicitous, on the subject of finance, that we do not even seem to depart from the spirit of the constitution, it is because I wish the union may be perpetual. The several states are now pretty well relieved from their debts, and our fellow-citizens in the southern states, have very little interest in the national funds; press them a little with unequal taxes, and the remedy is plain.

While I would shun bounties, as leading to dangerous measures, I am not inattentive to every argument that has been advanced by the honourable member who first rose in defence of the bill. That gentleman tells us, that more than a bushel of salt is used in curing a quintal of fish. If this fact be established, the former act should be amended, by giving a greater drawback. He says, the drawback, as it is now paid to the merchant, does not operate so as to encourage the seamen, who have most need of such assistance. This is very probable, and the parties may be relieved by dividing the drawback in the very manner that is proposed by the bill. If it is true, that the proposed bounties will not exceed the average of the drawback that should be paid on salt, why do they contend about names, unless they are solicitous about the precedent. If our object is to encourage industry, and to increase our commerce, by sending fish to a foreign market, we must adhere to the drawback; for, according to the terms of the bill, the bounty is to be paid, though every fish that is caught should be consumed in the country; in which case we should be paying a visionary drawback, when nothing was exported; according to the terms of the bill, there is no proportion between the labour and the reward, so far as the bank fishery is concerned; the bounty in all cases being the same.

If the drawback on dried fish exported, is not equal to the duty on the salt used in curing such fish, let the drawback be increased to eleven cents, or twelve cents, as the case may be. Let us suppose that the drawback for the next year, will be equal to the drawback on the last year; and let that sum of money, being the expected drawback, be divided between the seamen and owners, according to the terms of the bill; the accounts must be made up annually. If the drawback exceeds the allowance that had been made, the difference will be considered as advanced to the fishery, and the allowance for the next year must be somewhat reduced, according to the actual amount of the drawback. If the fishermen are more fortunate or more active, and the exports are increased, the allowance for the next year must be raised. The rule being fixed by law, all that remains being pure calculation, may be done from year to year by the executive. Every important object of this bill, that has been presented to our view, may be obtained by safe and constitutional steps. Why should a man take a dangerous and a doubtful path, when a safe one presents itself? If nothing more is desired than to regulate and protect the fishery, the bill may be altered and accommodated to that purpose; if the theory of bounties is to be established, by which the southern states must suffer, while others gain, the bill informs us what we are to expect,

Mr. *Cadwall*. The gentleman, (Mr. Williamson) allows that we may commute the present drawbacks, and give them to the fisherman instead of the merchant: but it is impossible to do this with fishery, in any other mode than that pointed out in the bill—Shall we leave it to the fisherman, to be determined by his oath? This would not be advisable.

The plan proposed is a much less exceptionable one: it is founded on a calculation, that a certain quantity of tonnage is employed in taking a certain quantity of fish:—on this calculation the allowance is apportioned to the tonnage: if gentlemen think the allowance too high, let the sum be reduced; but let it not be stigmatised as a bounty: it is no such thing.—The word 'bounty' is an unfortunate expression; and I wish it were entirely out of the bill.

Mr. *Lawrance* said, from examining the section, he conceived it contemplated no more than what the merchant is entitled to by existing laws. The merchant is now entitled to the drawback: but it is found by experience, that the effect has not been to produce that encouragement to the fishermen which was expected; and he presumed the way was perfectly clear to give a new direction to the drawback—and this is all that is aimed at in the bill. He supposed that the clause had no necessary connection with the question which had been stated, respecting the right of the government to grant bounties—but, since the question has been brought forward, it may be proper to consider it: In discussing the question, he enquired, what has congress already done? Have we not laid extra duties on various articles, expressly for the purpose of encouraging various branches of our own manufactures—these duties are *bounties*, to all intents and purposes; and are founded on the idea only of their conducing to the *general interest*.—Similar objections to those now advanced, were not made to these duties—they were advocated (some of them), by gentlemen from the southward; he traced the effects of these duties, and shewed that they operated fully, as indirect bounties.

Mr. *Lawrance* then adverted particularly to the constitution—and observed that it contains *general* principles and powers only—these powers depend on *particular* laws for their operation; and on this idea he contended that the powers of the government must, in various circumstances, extend to the granting bounties; he instanced in case of a war with a foreign power, will any gentleman say that the general government has not a power to grant a bounty on arms, ammunition, &c. should the general welfare require it? The general welfare is inseparably connected with any object or pursuit, which in its effects adds to the riches of the country.

Mr. *Madison*. In the conflict I feel between my disposition, on one hand, to afford every constitutional encouragement to the fisheries, and my dislike, on the other, of the consequences apprehended from some clauses in the bill, I should have forbore to enter into this discussion, if I had not found that in discussing it, over and above such arguments as appear to be natural and pertinent to the subject, others have been introduced, which are, in my judgment, contrary to the true meaning, and even strike at the characteristic principles of the existing constitution. Let me premise, however, to the remarks which I shall briefly offer, on the doctrine maintained by these gentlemen, that I make a material distinction in the present case, between an allowance as a mere commutation and modification of a drawback, and an allowance in the nature of a real and positive bounty. I make a distinction also, as a subject of fair consideration at least, between a bounty granted under the particular terms in the constitution, "a power to regulate trade," and one granted under the indefinite terms, which have been cited as authority on this occasion. I think, however, that the term "bounty" is in every point of view improper, as it is here applied, not only because it may be offensive to some, and in the opinion of others, carries a dangerous implication; but also because it does not express the true intention of the bill, as avowed and advocated by its patrons themselves. For if in the allowance nothing more is proposed than a mere reimbursement of the sum advanced, it is only paying a debt; and when we pay a debt, we ought not to claim the merit of granting a bounty.

It is supposed by some gentlemen, that congress have authority not only to grant bounties, in the sense here used, merely as a commutation for drawbacks; but even to grant them under a power, by virtue of which they may do any thing which they may think conducive to the "general welfare." This, sir, in my mind, raises the important and fundamental question, whether the general terms which have been cited, are to be considered as a sort of capitation or general description of the specified

powers, and as having no further meaning, and giving no further power, than what is found in that specification, or as an abstract and definite delegation of power, extending to all cases whatever; to all such, at least, as will admit the application of money, which is giving as much latitude as any government could well desire.

I, sir, have always conceived,---I believe those who proposed the constitution conceived, and it is still more fully known, and more material to observe, that those who ratified the constitution conceived, that this is not an indefinite government, deriving its powers from the general terms prefixed to the specified powers, but a limited government, tied down to the specified powers, which explain and define the general terms.

The gentlemen who contend for a contrary doctrine, are surely not aware of the consequences which flow from it, and which they must either admit, or give up their doctrine.

It will follow, in the first place, that if the terms be taken in the broad sense they maintain, the particular powers afterwards, so carefully and distinctly enumerated, would be without meaning, and must go for nothing. It would be absurd to say first, that congress may do what they please, and then that they may do this or that particular thing; after giving congress power to raise money, and apply it to all purposes which they may pronounce necessary to the general welfare, it would be absurd, to superadd a power to raise armies, to provide fleets, &c. In fact, the meaning of the general terms in question, must either be sought in the subsequent enumeration, which limits and details them; or they convert the government from one limited, as hitherto supposed, to the enumerated powers, into a government without any limits at all.

It is to be recollected, that the terms "common defence and general welfare," as here used, are not novel terms, first introduced into this constitution. They are terms familiar in their construction, and well known to the people of America.

They are repeatedly found in the old articles of confederation, where, although they are susceptible of as great latitude as can be given them by the context here, it was never supposed or pretended that they contained any such power as is now assigned to them. On the contrary, it was always considered as clear and certain, that the old congress could not give away the monies of the states in bounties, to encourage agriculture, or for any other purpose they pleased. If such a power had been possessed by that body, it would have been much less impotent, or have borne a very different character from that universally ascribed to it.

The novel idea now annexed to these terms, and never before entertained by the friends or enemies of the government, will have a further consequence, which cannot have been taken into the view of the gentlemen. Their construction would not only give congress the complete legislative power, I have stated: it would do more; it would supercede all the restrictions understood at present to lie in their power, with respect to the judiciary. It would put it in the power of congress to establish courts throughout the united states, with cognizance of suits between citizen and citizen, and in all cases whatsoever. This, sir, seems to be demonstrable: for if the clause in question really authorises congress to do whatever they think fit, provided it be for the general welfare, of which they are to judge, and money can be applied to it, congress must have power to create and support a judiciary establishment, with a jurisdiction extending to all cases favourable in their opinion to the general welfare, in the same manner as they have power to pass laws and apply money, providing in any other way for the general welfare---I shall be reminded perhaps, that, according to the terms of the constitution, the judicial power is to extend to certain cases only, not to all cases. But this circumstance can have no effect in the argument, it being presupposed by the gentlemen, that the specification of certain objects does not limit the import of general terms. Taking these terms as an abstract and indefinite grant of power, they comprise all the objects of legislative regulation, as well such as fall under the judiciary article in the constitution, as those falling immediately under the legislative article; and if the partial enumeration of objects in the legislative article does not, as these gentlemen contend, limit the general power, neither will it be limited by the partial enumeration of objects in the judiciary article.

There are consequences, sir, still more extensive, which, as they follow clearly from the doctrine combated, must either be admitted, or the doctrine must be given up. If congress can apply money indefinitely to the general welfare, and are the sole and supreme judges of the general welfare, they may take the care of religion into their own

hands; they may establish teachers in every state, county, and parish, and pay them out of the public treasury; they may take into their own hands the education of children, establishing in like manner schools throughout the union; they may undertake the regulation of all roads, other than post roads: In short, every thing, from the highest object of state legislation, down to the most minute object of police, would be thrown under the power of congress; for every object I have mentioned would admit the application of money, and might be called, if congress pleased, provisions for the general welfare.

The language held in various discussions of this house, is a proof that the doctrine in question was never entertained in this body. Arguments, wherever the subject would permit, have constantly been drawn from the peculiar nature of this government, as limited to certain enumerated powers, instead of extending, like other governments, to all places not particularly excepted. In a very late instance, I mean the debate on the representation bill, it must be remembered, that an argument much urged, particularly by a gentleman from Massachusetts, against the ratio of one for 30,000, was that this government was unlike the state governments, which had an indefinite variety of objects within their power, that it had a small number of objects only to attend to, and therefore that a smaller number of representatives would be sufficient to administer it.

Several arguments have been advanced to shew that, because, in the regulation of trade, indirect and eventual encouragement is given to manufactures, therefore congress have power to give money in direct bounties, or to grant it in any other way that would answer the same purpose; but surely, sir, there is a great and obvious difference, which it cannot be necessary to enlarge upon. A duty laid on imported implements of husbandry, would, in its operation, be an indirect tax on exported produce; but will any one say, that, by virtue of a mere power to lay duties on imports, congress might go directly to the produce or implements of agriculture, or to the articles exported. It is true, duties on exports are expressly prohibited; but if there were no article forbidding them, a power directly to tax exports could never be deduced from a power to tax imports, although such a power might directly and incidentally affect exports.

In short, sir, without going further into the subject, which I should not have here touched on at all, but for the reasons already mentioned.—I venture to declare it as my opinion, that, were the power of congress to be established in the latitude contended for, it would subvert the very foundation, and transmute the very nature of the limited government established by the people of America:—and what inferences might be drawn, or what consequences ensue from such a step, it is incumbent on us all well to consider.

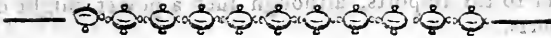
With respect to the question before the house, for striking out the clause, it is immaterial whether it be struck out, or so amended as to rest on the avowed principle of a commutation for the drawback; but as a clause has been drawn up by my colleague, in order to be substituted, I shall content in a vote for striking out, reserving to myself a freedom to be governed in my final vote, by the modification which may prevail.

Mr. Bowne (Mass.).—Mr. chairman, I think little can be added after so full a discussion of the subject before you. The object of the first section in this bill, is intended for the relief of the fishermen and their owners; they complain that the law now in force was meant for their benefit, by granting a drawback on the fish exported; this they find by experience is not the case—for they say that neither the fishermen who catch the fish, or the importer of the salt, receives the drawback; and that they suppose, sir, it is the case. The owners of the greater part of the fishing vessels are not merchants, neither do they import the salt they consume; but when the fish they take are cured for market, they are sold for the market price; and it frequently happens, that these persons who purchase the fish, are not the exporters of them, or the importers of the salt—but a third person, who purchases with a prospect of selling them at a profit, is the exporter; and when it so happens, neither the fisherman who catches the fish, or the importer of the salt, receives any benefit from the drawback, unless the purchaser (the third person) gives a greater price in compensation of the drawback, which I think is not to be supposed.

Is it worthy the attention of government that the codfishery should be preserved? It appears to me that it is. When we consider the labours and assiduity bestowed on this object by our ministers, at the settlement of peace between us and Great Britain,

and the care then taken to secure this privilege, as appears by the treaty, and consider the struggle made to deprive us of this inestimable branch of commerce, I cannot suppose that any one would at this day voluntarily relinquish it, and suffer Great-Britain to monopolize this branch, and supply the Mediterranean, French, and other markets. Great-Britain, at present, enjoys a sufficient portion of this commerce, while France is confined to the narrow limits of St. Peters and Miqulon. If we relinquish this branch of the codfishery, what is left us?—Our whale fishery is nearly at an end, and unless government speedily interposes by granting relief, we shall totally lose it.—Does not the British government wish to deprive us of this branch also? have not letters or agents been sent to the island of Nantucket, as well as New-Bedford, where this branch of business is principally prosecuted, inviting the whale fishermen to remove, and offering them permanent settlements at Milford-Haven, at the expense of their government?—This must be viewed as a great encouragement, in addition to their bounties on oil, to a class of poor men employed in that business. If the codfishery is relinquished, the fishermen have only to remove to the opposite shore of Nova-Scotia, where they will find encouragement fully adequate to their services—of all which they are not unapprised. By encouraging this class of men, your revenue will be increased; for in return for the fish exported, you will receive sugar, coffee, cocoa, indigo, molasses, pimento, cotton, dying woods, rum, wine, salt, fruit and other articles subject to duty, and consumed in the country.—And again, your treasury will receive an excess by the provision in this bill—-for I presume the greater proportion of vessels employed in this business, are from 20 to 40 tons—-the town of Marblehead, perhaps, has principally large ones. Suppose then a vessel of 30 tons obtains in a season 600 quintals of fish (a very moderate voyage indeed) her tonnage is 75 dollars, the drawback on exportation would be 78 dollars, so that your treasury retains three dollars gain by this bill, which would be a loss on the drawback.

(To be continued.)



POLITICAL REGISTER.

LETTER from M. DE LA FAYETTE to the NATIONAL ASSEMBLY of FRANCE,
dated Camp of Maubeuge, June 16, 1792.

At this moment, too long delayed perhaps, at which I am going to call your attention to great public interests, and point out among our dangers the conduct of a ministry which my correspondence has long since accused; I am informed that, unmasked by its divisions, it has sunk under its own intrigues; for, undoubtedly, it is not by sacrificing three colleagues, from their own insignificance the mere creatures of their power, that the least excusable, the most noted of these ministers, will have cemented in the king's council his equivocal and scandalous existence.

It is not enough, however, that this branch of the government should be delivered from a baneful influence. The public weal is in danger: the fate of France depends chiefly on her representatives; of them the nation expects her salvation. But, when she gave herself a constitution, she prescribed to them the only course by which they can save her.

Persuaded, gentlemen, that the Rights of Man are the law of every constituting assembly, a constitution once formed becomes the law of the legislators appointed under it: it is to yourselves that I am bound to denounce the too powerful efforts now making to carry you beyond the rule which you have promised to follow.

Nothing shall hinder me from exercising this right of a freeman; from fulfilling this duty of a citizen; neither their momentary errors of opinion; for what are opinions when they deviate from principles? nor my respect for the representatives of the people; for I respect still more the people themselves, of whom the constitution is the will supreme; nor the favour you have constantly shewn to me; for that I wish to preserve, as I obtained it, by an inflexible love of liberty.

Your circumstances are difficult. France is menaced from without, and agitated within—While foreign courts announce the intolerable project of attacking our national sovereignty, and thus declare themselves the enemies of France, internal foes, intoxicated with fanaticism and pride, entertain chimerical hopes, and fatigue us still more with their insolent malignity.

You ought, gentlemen, to suppress them, and you cannot have the power to do so, without being yourselves constitutional and just.

You desire to be so without doubt, but cast your eyes on what passes in your own body, and all around you.

Can you dissemble that a faction, and, to avoid vague denominations, that the Jacobine faction has occasioned all these disorders. It is that faction to which I loudly impute them. Organized like a separate empire in its metropolis and its affiliations, blindly directed by certain ambitious chiefs, this forms a distinct corporation in the midst of the French people, whose power it usurps, by subjugating their representatives and their mandatories.

It is there that, in public fittings, love of the laws is denominated aristocracy and their infraction patriotism. There the assassins of Desilles receive triumphs—the crimes of Jourdon find panegyrists—there also the recital of the assassination that stained the city of Metz excited internal acclamations of joy.

Can it be believed that they will escape reproaches by sheltering themselves under an Austrian manifesto, in which these sectaries are named? Are they become sacred because Leopold has pronounced their name? And because we have to fight with foreigners, who presume to meddle in our quarrels, are we released from the duty of delivering our country from domestic tyranny?

What import to this duty either the projects of foreigners, or their connivance with counter revolutionists, or their influence on the lukewarm friends of liberty? It is I who denounce this sect; I who, without speaking of my past life, can answer to those who feign suspicions of me; “Approach in this critical moment, in which every man’s character will soon be known, and let us see which of us, most inflexible in his principles, most firm in his resistance, will best brave the obstacles and the dangers which traitors wish to hide from their country, and which true citizens know how to calculate and encounter for her sake.”

And how should I longer delay to fulfil this duty, when every day weakens the constituted authorities, and substitutes the spirit of a party for the will of the people; when the audacity of agitators imposes silence on peaceable citizens and supplants useful men; when devotion to a sect is made the substitute of all public and private virtues, that in a free country ought to be the austere and only means of arriving at the first functions of government?

It is after having opposed to all obstacles and all fears the courageous and persevering patriotism of an army, sacrificed perhaps to combinations against its leader, that I can now oppose to this faction, the correspondence of a ministry, the worthy production of its club—a correspondence of which all the calculations are false, the promises vain, the information fraudulent or frivolous, the councils perfidious or contradictory, where, after having pressed me to advance without precaution, and to attack without the means, they began to tell me that resistance would soon be impossible, when my indignation repelled the dauntless assertion.

What remarkable conformity of language, gentlemen, between these factions, men who avow their aristocratic spirit, and those who usurp the name of patriots. Both wish to subvert our laws, rejoice in disorders, rise up against the authorities conferred by the people, desert the national guard, preach indiscipline to the army, and sow sometimes distrust, sometimes discouragement.

As for me, gentlemen, who espoused the American cause, at the very moment when its ambassadors declared to me it was lost; who thenceforward devoted myself to a persevering defence of liberty, and the sovereignty of the people; who, on the 11th of July, 1789, on presenting to my country a declaration of rights, dared to tell her—*For a nation to be free, it is sufficient that she wills it*; I come now, full of confidence in the justice of our cause, of contempt for the cowards who desert it, and of indignation against the traitors who would sell it; I come to declare that the French nation, if she is not the most vile in the universe, may and ought to resist the conspiracy of kings formed against her.

It is not, undoubtedly, in the midst of my brave army, that timid sentiments are permitted; patriotism, energy, discipline, patience, mutual confidence, all the civil and military virtues I have found in it. In it the principles of liberty and equality are cherished, the laws respected, property sacred; in it neither calumnies nor factions are known; and when I recollect that France has several millions capable of becoming such soldiers, I ask myself to what pitch of debasement would an immense people be reduced, still stronger in their natural resources than in the defence of art, opposing to a monstrous confederation the advantage of combinations directed to a single object, for the base idea of sacrificing their sovereignty, of covenanting for their liberty, of submitting their declaration of rights to negociation, to appear one of the possibilities of the issue that is rapidly advancing upon us.

But in order that we, soldiers of liberty, may fight with efficacy, or die with profit to our cause, it is necessary that the number of the defenders of our country be speedily proportioned to that of their adversaries; that stores of all sorts be multiplied, to facilitate all our motions: that the comfort of the troops, their equipage, their pay, the provisions for their health, be no longer exposed to fatal delays, or pretended savings, which always turn out the direct reverse of their object.

Above all, it is necessary that the citizens, rallied around the constitution, be assured that the rights which it guarantees will be respected with a religious fidelity, that shall drive its enemies, concealed, or public, to despair.

Reject not this wish: it is that of the sincere and faithful friends of your legitimate authority. Assured that no unjust consequence can flow from a pure principle, that no tyrannical measures can serve a cause which owes its force and its glory to the sacred basis of liberty and equality, make criminal justice resume its constitutional course; make civil equality and religious liberty enjoy the entire application of their true principles.

Let the royal power be untouched, for it is guaranteed by the constitution; let it be independent, for its independence is one of the springs of our liberty; let the king be revered, for he is invested with the national majesty; let him have the power of choosing a ministry that wears not the chains of a faction; and if there be conspirators, let them perish by the sword of the law.

In fine, let the reign of clubs, annihilated by you, give place to the reign of the law, their usurpations to the firm and independent exercise of the constitutional authorities, their disorganizing maxims to the true principles of liberty, their delirious fury to the calm and steady courage of a nation that understands its rights and defends them: in fine, their factious combinations to the true interests of our country, which, in this moment of danger, ought to unite all those to whom her subjugation and her ruin are not objects of atrocious joy, or infamous speculation.

Such, gentlemen, are the representations and the petitions submitted to the national assembly, as they are to the king, by a citizen, whose love of liberty will never be honestly questioned; whom the different factions would hate less, if he had not raised himself above them by his disinterestedness: whom silence would have better become, if, like so many others, he had been indifferent to the glory of the national assembly, and the consequence with which it is of importance that it should be surrounded; and who cannot better testify his own confidence, than by laying before it the truth without disguise.

Gentlemen, I have obeyed the dictates of my conscience, and the obligations of my oaths. I owed it to my country, to you, to the king, and above all, to myself, whom the chances of war do not allow to postpone observations that I think useful; and who wish to believe that the assembly will find in this address a new homage of my devotion to its constitutional authority, as well as of my personal gratitude, and of my respect.

(Signed)

FAYETTE.

LETTER from M. LA FAYETTE to the KING.

Entrenched camp of Mauterive, June 16, 1792, 4th year of liberty.

SIRE,

I HAVE the honour to send your majesty the copy of a letter to the national assembly, in which your majesty will find the expression of sentiments that have animated my whole life. The king knows with what ardeur, with what constancy,

I have been at all times devoted to the cause of liberty, to the sacred principles of humanity, equality, and justice. He knows that I was always the adversary of factions; the enemy of licentiousness, and that no power, which I thought unlawful, was ever acknowledged by me. He knows my devotion to his constitutional authority, and my attachment to his person. Such, sire, is the basis of my letter to the national assembly; such will be that of my conduct towards my country and your majesty, amid the storms which so many combinations, hostile or factious, strive to draw upon us.

It belongs not to me, sire, to give to my opinions or my measures a higher degree of importance than the unconnected acts of a simple citizen ought to possess; but the expression of my thoughts was always a right, and on this occasion becomes a duty; and although I might have fulfilled this duty sooner, if, instead of being to be heard from the midst of a camp, my voice had been to issue from the retreat from which I was drawn by the dangers of my country, I do not think that public function, or any personal consideration, releases me from exercising this duty of a citizen, this right of a freeman.

Persist, sire, strong in the authority which the national will has delegated to you, in the generous resolution of defending the principles of the constitution against all their enemies. Let this resolution, supported by all the acts of your private life, as by a firm and full exercise of the royal power, become the gage of harmony, which above all in the moments of crisis, cannot fail to be established between the representatives elected by the people, and their hereditary representative. It is in this resolution, sire, that for your country and for yourself are glory and safety.---There you will find the friends of liberty, all good Frenchmen, ranged around your throne, to defend it against the machinations of the rebellious, and the enterprises of the factious. And I, sire, who, in their honourable hatred, have found the recompence of my persevering opposition—I will always merit it, by my zeal to serve the cause to which my whole life is devoted, and by my fidelity to the oath which I have taken to the nation, the law and the king.

Such, sire, are my unalterable sentiments, to which I subjoin the duty of homage and that of my respect.

(Signed)

LA FAYETTE.



An ADDRESS to the FRENCH, on the DANGER of their COUNTRY, voted in the NATIONAL ASSEMBLY on the 11th of July, 1792.

CITIZENS,

YOUR constitution restores the principles of eternal justice. A league of kings is formed to destroy it. Their battalions are advancing: they are numerous, under rigorous discipline, and long practised in the art of war. Do you not feel a noble ardour inflame your courage? Will you suffer hordes of foreigners, like a destructive torrent, to overflow your fields? Will you suffer them to ravage your harvests; to waste your country by burning and cruelties: in a word, to load yourselves with chains dyed in the blood of all you hold most dear?

Our armies are not yet complete: an indiscreet security too soon restrained the ardour of patriotism. The levies of recruits ordained have not been so completely successful as your representatives had hoped. Internal troubles, added to the difficulty of our situation, cause our enemies to give themselves up to vain hopes, which to you are an insult.

Hasten citizens: save liberty, and vindicate your glory.

The national assembly declares, that our country is in danger.

Beware, however, of thinking, that this declaration is the effect of a terror unworthy of the assembly, or of you. You have taken the oath, *To live free or die*. The assembly knows that you will keep it, and swears to set you the example: but the question is not to brave death, we must conquer, and you can conquer: if you adjure your hatreds, if you forget your political dissensions, if you unite in the common cause, if you watch with indefatigable activity your internal enemies, if you prevent all the disorders and all the acts of violence to individuals which they excite; if, securing within the kingdom the empire of the laws, and answering by well-ordered move-

ments the call of your country, you fly to the frontiers, and to our camps, with the generous enthusiasm of liberty, and the profound sentiment of the duties of soldier citizens.

Frenchmen, four years engaged in a struggle against despotism, we advertise you of your dangers, in order to invite you to the efforts necessary to surmount them. We show you the precipice—what glory awaits you when you shall have overpassed it. The eyes of nations are fixed upon you; astonish them by the majestic display of your force, and of a grand character; union, respect for the laws, for the chiefs, for the constituted authorities; courage unshaken, and soon will victory crown with her palms the altar of liberty; soon will the nations who are now arming against your constitution covet to unite themselves with you by the ties of a sweet fraternity; soon consolidating, by a glorious peace, the basis of your government, you will reap all the fruits of the revolution; and in preparing your own happiness, you will have prepared the happiness of posterity.

An ADDRESS to the ARMY, voted on the same day.

BRAVE WARRIORS,

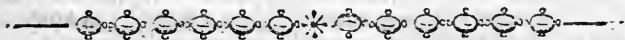
THE national assembly has just proclaimed the danger of our country: this is to proclaim the force of the empire; this is to announce, that French youth will soon flock round the standard of liberty. You will teach them to conquer, you will point them the road to glory.

On the signal of danger to your country, you will feel your ardour redoubled. Warriors, let discipline guide your motions; that alone is the guarantee of victory. Have that calm and cool courage with which the sense of your force ought to inspire you.

A true army is an immense body put in motion by a single head. It can do nothing without a passive subordination of rank to rank, from the soldier up to the general. Warriors, imitate the devotion of Daffias, and the courage of the brave Pie-Merit the honours which your country reserves for those who fight for her; they will be worthy of her and of you.

Forget not that it is your constitution that is attacked. The object is to make you descend from the glorious rank of freemen! Well, brave warriors! the constitution must triumph, or the French nation must be covered with indelible disgrace.

From all parts your fellow citizens are preparing to second you. Doubt not of it: there is not a Frenchman who hesitates; there is not one who, in these days of peril and of glory, risks dishonouring his life by a base and shameful inaction. How unhappy will be the man who cannot on some future day say to his children and fellow citizens—"I too fought when our liberty was attacked. I shared the glory of the day on which the French arms triumphed over our enemies. I defended the ramparts of the city, which they attacked in vain: and on such a day I bled for my country, for liberty and equality."



MANIFESTO, published at BRUSSELS the 28th July, 1792, by the DUKE of BRUNSWICK, commander in chief of the AUSTRIAN and PRUSSIAN armies.

THEIR majesties, the emperor and king of Prussia, having confided to me the command of the combined armies which they have caused to be assembled on the frontiers of France; I have resolved to announce to the inhabitants of that kingdom, the motives that have induced these two sovereigns to this step, and the principles by which they are governed therein.

After having arbitrarily suppressed the rights and pretensions of the German princes in Alsace and Lorrains, and overset all interior order and good government, exercised against the sacred person of the king and his august family innumerable inju-

September, 1792.

D d

ries and violences, continued from day to day, and constantly renewed, those who have usurped the reins of government have, at length, filled up the measure of their iniquities, in causing an unjust war to be declared against his Imperial majesty, and in attacking his provinces, situated in the Low Countries. Some of the possessions of the Germanick empire have been involved in this invasion, and others have escaped, only by submitting to the imperious menaces of the predominating faction, and of its emissaries.

His majesty the king of Prussia, united with his Imperial majesty, by the ties of a strict and defensive alliance, as well as in his quality of preponderating member of the Germanick body, has not been able to refuse marching to the succour of his ally, and co-estates; and it is in both these qualities, that he takes upon himself the defence of that monarch and of Germany.

To these two interests is united another equally important, and which the two sovereigns have much at heart—that of causing the anarchy existing in the interior of France to cease; to stay the assaults made upon the throne and the altar; to re-establish the legal authority; to restore to the king the liberty and safety of which he has been deprived, and to place him in a situation to exercise the legitimate authority that of right belongs to him.

Convinced that the solid part of the nation abhors the excesses of a faction that subdues it, and that the greater number of the inhabitants wait with impatience the moment of auxiliary aid openly to declare themselves against their odious oppressors, his majesty the emperor, and his majesty the king of Prussia, call upon and invite them to return without delay to the paths of reason, of justice, of order, and of peace. With these views the undersigned general and commander in chief of the two armies, declares as follows:

1st. That, led into this war by irresistible motives, the two courts propose to themselves no other object than the good of France, without intending to enrich themselves by means of their conquests.

2d. That they do not intend to intermeddle in the interior affairs of France, but mean only to deliver the king, the queen, and the royal family from their captivity, and to procure to his most christian majesty the necessary security, that the king may be enabled, without danger or obstacle, to call together such convocation or assembly as he may think proper, to assist in preserving that happiness to his subjects, which he has promised to them, and to which he will contribute all that may depend upon him.

3d. The combined armies will protect all cities, boroughs, villages, persons and possessions, that shall submit to the king, and they will instantaneously contribute to the restoring of order, and a good police throughout all France.

4th. The national guards are called upon provisionally, to watch over the tranquillity of the country, and the safety of the persons and effects of all French citizens, until the arrival of the troops of their Imperial and royal majesties, or until it shall be otherwise ordered, under pain of being held personally responsible. On the other hand, such of the national guards as shall have fought against the troops of the allied courts, and shall be taken arms in hand, shall be treated as enemies, and punished as rebels to their king and disturbers of the public peace.

5th. That the general officers, subalterns and soldiers of the troops of the French line are equally called upon to return to their ancient fealty, and instantly to submit to the king their lawful sovereign.

6th. That the members of the departments, the districts and municipalities are held equally responsible on their heads, and with all their goods and chattels, for all crimes, fires, murders or atrocious acts, that they may not have used all their endeavours to prevent within their jurisdiction: they are further held provisionally to continue their functions until his most christian majesty shall be placed at full liberty to provide ultimately, or at least until in his name other steps shall be taken in the interval.

7th. The inhabitants of all cities, boroughs and villages, that shall dare to defend themselves against the armies of their imperial and royal majesties, or to fire upon them, either in the open field, or from any windows, doors, or openings of their houses, shall be immediately punished according to the rigor of the martial law, and their houses shall be demolished or burned; on the contrary, all inhabitants of the said cities, boroughs or villages, who shall happen to submit to the king, by opening their doors to the troops of their majesties, shall be instantly placed under their protection, their

persons and effects shall remain under the safeguard of the laws, and care shall be taken to provide for the security of all and each one of them.

8th. The city of Paris and all its inhabitants without distinction, are held to submit immediately, and without delay, to the king; to set the king at full and entire liberty; and to assure to him, as well as to the royal family, that inviolability and respect which subjects owe to their sovereign by all the laws of nature and of nations. Their imperial and royal majesties render personally responsible of all events upon their heads, and to be tried in a summary military way, without the least hope of pardon, all members of the national assembly, the department, the district, the municipality, and the national guard of Paris, justices of the peace, and all others to whom it may belong. Their said majesties declaring, on the faith and word of an emperor and a king, that if the castle of the Thuilleries is either forced or insulted; that if the least violence—the least outrage be offered to his majesty, the queen, or the royal family—if immediate measures be not taken for their safety, their preservation and their liberty, that they will take an exemplary and ever memorable vengeance, by delivering over the city of Paris to military execution and a total subversion, while the guilty revolt-ers are receiving the punishment they will have merited.

Their imperial and royal majesties, on the contrary, promise to the inhabitants of the city of Paris, that they will use their good offices with his most christian majesty, to obtain pardon for all wrongs and errors that may have been heretofore done, and to take the most rigorous measures to ensure their persons and effects, if they immediately and exactly obey the present injunction.

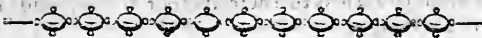
Finally, their majesties being unable to acknowledge any laws as existing in France, except such as shall emanate from the king, enjoying a perfect liberty, they protest beforehand against the authenticity of any declaration which may be made in the name of his most christian majesty, as long as his sacred person, that of the queen, and the royal family, shall not be really in safety; in consequence, their imperial and royal majesties invite and earnestly solicit his most christian majesty to name a city in his kingdom, the most near to the frontiers, into which he may be pleased to retire with his queen and family, under a strong and sufficient escort, which shall be sent for that purpose, in order that his most christian majesty may call together the ministers and councillors he may think proper, or collect such convocation or assembly as may appear best to him, to provide for the restoration of good order by the regular interior administration of his kingdom.

In a word, I do further declare and engage myself in my own name, and in my quality above mentioned, to occasion to be every where observed by the troops entrusted to my command, a good and exact discipline, promising to treat with mildness and moderation, all well intentioned subjects that may appear peaceable and submissive, and to apply force only against such as shall be guilty of resistance or ill will.

It is for these reasons that I require and exhort all the inhabitants of the kingdom, in the strongest and most earnest manner, not to oppose the march and operations of the troops that I command, but rather to allow them free passage, and all such good will and assistance as circumstances may require.

Given at my head-quarters, at Coblenz, the 25th July, 1792.

CHARLES WILLIAM FERDINAND, duke of Brunswick Lunenburgh.



NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, August 3.

LETTER from the KING, on the publication of the Declaration of the DUKE of BRUNSWICK.

Mr. PRESIDENT,

FOR several days a paper has been circulated, entitled, "The declaration of the reigning duke of Brunswick Lunenburgh, commander of the combined armies of their majesties the emperor, and the king of Prussia, addressed to the inhabitants of France."—This paper exhibits nothing that can be considered as a proof of its authenticity. It has not been transmitted by any of my ministers at the several courts of Germany near our frontiers. The publication of it, nevertheless, seems to me to require a new declaration of my sentiments and my principles.

France is menaced by a great combination of forces: Let us all recollect the necessity of union. Calumny will not easily believe the sorrow I feel in considering the dissensions that exist among us, and the evils gathering round us; but those who know of what value in my eyes are the blood and the fortune of the people, will give credit to my uneasiness and my grief.

I brought with me pacific sentiments to the throne, because peace, the first blessing of nations, is the first duty of kings. My former ministers know what efforts I have made to avoid war. I felt how necessary was peace; it alone could enlighten the nation on the new form of her government; it alone, by sparing the sufferings of the people, could make me support the character I undertook in this revolution. But I yielded to the unanimous opinion of my council, to the wish manifested by a great part of the nation, and several times expressed by the national assembly.

When war was declared, I neglected none of the means of assuring its success. My ministers received orders to concert measures with the committees of the national assembly, and with the generals. If the event has not yet answered the hopes of the nation, ought we not to lay the blame on our intestine divisions, the progress of the spirit of party, and above all, on the state of our armies, which wanted to be more practised in the use of arms before being led to combat. But the nation shall see my efforts increase with those of the hostile powers; I shall take, in concert with the national assembly, all means to turn the evils inseparable from war, to the advantage of her liberty and her glory.

I have accepted the constitution: the majority of the nation desired it; I saw that the nation considered it as the foundation of her happiness, and her happiness is the sole object of my life.

From that moment, I imposed it as a law upon myself, to be faithful to the constitution: and I gave orders to my ministers, to make it the rule of their conduct. I wished not to substitute my knowledge for experience, nor my opinion for my oath. It was my duty to labour for the good of the people; I have discharged that duty; and to have done so is enough to satisfy the conscience of an honest man. Never shall I be seen compounding the glory or the interests of the nation; receiving the law from foreigners or from a party; it is to the nation that I owe myself; I am one and the same with her; no interest shall separate me from her; she alone shall be listened to; I will maintain the national independence with my last breath. Personal dangers compared with public dangers, are nothing. Ah! what are personal dangers to a king from whom it is attempted to alienate the love of the people? There lies the real wound of my heart.—The people, perhaps, will one day know how dear to me is their happiness, how much it has always been my sole interest, my first wish. How many griefs might be effaced by the slightest mark of its return!

(Signed) LOUIS.

(Undersigned) BIGOT St. CROIX.

DECREES of the NATIONAL ASSEMBLY.

IN consequence of a report from the committee of general inspection, founded upon the conduct and threats of the enemy, in regard to the national guards, the assembly passed a decree, by which it is declared, "That if the laws of war are not strictly observed in regard to all Frenchmen taken with arms in their hands, all the officers belonging to the enemy, who may be made prisoners, shall experience a similar treatment, whatever may be their rank, titles, or distinctions; but that the soldiery shall, notwithstanding, continue to be treated as before."

The assembly rose, and voted this decree by an unanimous acclamation.

The following Decree, moved by M. Goudet, was unanimously passed.

I. Every officer or soldier of the enemies armies, who, desiring to range themselves under the banners of liberty, shall appear at a military post, or before one of the constituted authorities, or a French citizen, shall be received with fraternal affection; shall be presented, as a sign of his adoption, with a cockade of three colours; shall enjoy a pension for life of one hundred livres, of which one quarter shall be always in

advance, and shall be admitted to take the civic oath. The pension, upon their decease, shall be continued to their widows.

2. Those who would not contract a military engagement, shall not be forced to it; those who chuse it, shall be admitted to what army they please, and shall receive the ordinary fee upon enlisting.

3. Lists shall be formed of foreigners in the service of France, and the pensions of those who die shall be continued to the survivors, till the latter shall have annuities of 500 livres each.

4. The widows of such military persons shall receive the annual pension of 100 livres, but will not share the benefits of the tontine.

5. Those who do not take a military engagement, shall retire into the interior of the kingdom; those who shall serve, will have the same reward for brilliant actions as French citizens.

6. If France shall ever be drawn into a war with a free nation, exercising its own sovereignty, military persons of that nation are not to have the advantages of the present decree.



The CHRONICLE.

PHILADELPHIA, September 1.

THE president and fellows of the medical society of the state of Delaware have announced the following questions as the subject of a prize dissertation: What is the origin and nature of the noxious power which prevails, especially in moist and hot climates, during summer and autumn, and produces intermittent and remittent fevers, and certain other diseases? By what means may this insalubrity of climate be corrected; and the diseases thence arising most successfully prevented and treated? The dissertation must be written either in the English, French, German, or Latin language. The premium for the best dissertation on this subject is three hundred dollars: fifty pounds of which were generously contributed by Mr. Dickinson—Should none of the dissertations offered be adjudged worthy of the prize, the money is to be appropriated to some other useful purpose.

On Saturday morning last a female infant was found laid in a cellar window, corner of second-street and Elfrith's alley. It was immediately taken into the protection of a humane family in the neighbourhood.

A splendid embassy is preparing from the court of Great-Britain to the emperor of China. The ambassador, (Lord Macartney) was to sail from Portsmouth some time in August, in a ship superbly fitted and accommodated; the troops and seamen alone were to be seven hundred, with artists, assistants, &c. of almost every description.

Additional intelligence is daily arriving of the destructive effects of the hurricane in the more easterly parts of the West-Indies, the beginning of August. It is an ancient rule in those islands, the result of long experience, for those bound to sea at the approach of the hurricane months, not to remain beyond the 25th of July, from which date to the 25th of October is reckoned the duration of the hurricane season.

A loan at 4 per cent. interest has been lately effected in Europe, for account of the united states. The sum is equal to the amount of the former loan, about twelve hundred thousand dollars.

The libel bill in England, has at length been determined on in their parliament. The right of deciding in all cases of libels is now taken from the judges, and is left to the juries; so that Peter Pindar, Mr. Paine, and others in their situation, will probably come off better than has generally been expected.

September 5th. At Concord in New-Hampshire, there has been a very severe tornado, which in its course tore to pieces many dwelling-houses, barns, woods, &c. A man was caught up by the wind and carried eight or ten rods. It is remarkable that the force of the wind was not more than twenty rods in width.

On the 11th ult. a very extraordinary storm, attended by the largest hail-stones ever remembered, happened in the same state, of which a gentleman gives the following account:

"The lumps of hail, that I examined, were of various sizes, but the largest were generally composed of as many as eight or nine lesser stones, congealed firmly together, in one lump; these lesser parts were of different forms, some of the least were circular, no more than a third of an inch diameter; yet these were of the spheroid kind, happening so by their exposed parts sustaining in their descent dissolution, or of the shape described; some had the appearance of an ellipsis with its conjugate and transverse diameters, delineated by the fingers of nature; others of the prismatic, some cylindrical, and some conic, and in the components of each lump, all the forms resulting from the conic sections, were clearly discernible! I weighed some of these, which were over two ounces and an half."

The patent conductor from fire, is now offered to the public by the inventor, *Samuel Green*, No. 59. Gold-street, New-York—or by *Mr. William Zanies*, Philadelphia, Prices from 10 to 15 dollars. These machines are so easily made use of, says the patentee, that a boy of twelve years old, who never saw one before, can fix them instantly, and deliver twenty persons, and furniture in proportion, every minute, from the greatest height. Their utility must therefore be very apparent.

Sept. 15th. The christian Indian congregation who were settled near the Susquehannah, and afterwards at Muskingum, after suffering much uneasiness of mind from the jealousies and suspicions of the various nations of wild Indians in the vicinity of, and at enmity with, the united states, agreed in April last to remove to Retrench River, which empties itself above Detroit into lake St. Clair. By accounts from this religious congregation (who, in respect to war are quakers in principle) their troubles have been chiefly owing to a demand made upon them by the wild Indians to become a party in the general league against the united states, in which they have declared they will not join, or have any thing to do.

The two grand canals which are to connect the Delaware, Schuylkill, and Susquehannah together, will be begun this fall. These canals will furnish employment for several years to many hundred labourers. They will, probably, double the value of all the lands on those rivers in Pennsylvania. They will increase the commerce and wealth of the city of Philadelphia; and lastly, they will increase the population of this state, by giving to the support of human beings the immense quantity of provisions which are now consumed in feeding waggon-horses.

The small-pox, by some unknown means, having been introduced into Boston, and its progress found impossible to be arrested, the inhabitants have agreed upon a general inoculation: in consequence of this determination upwards of eight thousand persons were inoculated the latter end of August and beginning of September.

The celebrated *Paul Jones* died in Paris about the middle of July, in the utmost poverty. A colonel Blackden, it is said, was obliged to raise a small sum of money by way of subscription, in order to bury him.

By the last accounts from Sierra Leona, in Africa, the negro colony that have been transported from Great-Britain and America to that place, amounted in number to upwards of fifteen hundred. They were in tolerable good health, considering the insalubrity of the climate, and busily employed in clearing land and building houses. The cultivation of the sugar cane is said to be one of their first objects in view: in which, if they succeed, it is not improbable that Africa may in time furnish sugar to the world in abundance, instead of miserable slaves to cultivate it in that hell of the negroes, the West-india islands.

About 100 Indians lately made an attack on Gallipolis, a French settlement on the Ohio, opposite the mouth of the Great Kanahwa, which continued for some time. The Indians, after destroying the standing corn, killing four or five persons, and doing other mischief, retreated—About the same time, two young women named Morris, of Kanahwa county, were killed.

We learn that an attempt is now making to render the north branch of the river Potowmac navigable for boats, from Fort Cumberland to Old-town. That the work is carried on under the inspection of capt. Thomas Beall, who has sixty hands constantly employed, and when completed, boats with produce can pass from Fort-Cumberland to George-town.

The army of the united states, now at Pittsburgh, consists of one thousand infantry, four hundred riflemen, and two hundred light-horse, under the command of general Wayne. They were expected to go down the river about the middle of September, if not delayed by the lowness of the waters.

Letters from Georgia represent the peace between the united states and the Creek Indians to be upon a precarious footing. It is apprehended the Spaniards have been too successful in sowing prejudices to the disadvantage of the united states, and it is even said that general M^cGillivray has been incessantly assailed from that, and perhaps another quarter, to break with us. Should the strength of the Creeks be joined to the general Indian league that seems to be forming against us, from an apprehension that their country is in danger, the consequences may prove seriously distressing to the whole frontier; and it may be found, perhaps too late, that regular armies are by no means calculated to repress Indian aggressions.

The Amsterdam Gazette represents the partition of Poland as a matter fixed on—That notwithstanding the efforts of the nation, the unhappy fate of that country seems to be at length decided—Thus a people which had set an example to the civilized world, by establishing a government which has raised the human species, long depressed and humiliated by the iron hand of feudal despotism, to the rank assigned them in the original constitution of nature, are again to be the sport of ambition, the miserable slaves of arbitrary power and lordly domination.

September 22d. The anniversary of the French revolution has been celebrated with great eclat in Ireland and Scotland.

The fourth anniversary of French freedom was celebrated at Paris with great solemnity and magnificence, and without any unfortunate accident happening throughout the day.

A subscription is opened in England for the succour of the people of Poland.

Late accounts from France, are by no means so favourable as might be wished, by the friends of liberty, on this side of the Atlantic. Menaced by a powerful combination of kings; disunited among themselves; destitute of an energetic executive that might call forth and concentrate, as it were, the force of the nation; and harrassed by the continual tumults and excesses of mobs, which even disturb the deliberations of the national assembly, the people of France do not seem well prepared to avert the dangers with which they are threatened, from the interference of foreign despots. It is to be hoped, however, that a sense of common danger will unite all parties in defence of their liberties.

On the 20th of June, a mob, supposed to consist of nearly one hundred thousand persons, invested the palace of the Thuilleries, broke into the king's apartment, and committed great excesses. Their object was to demand that the king should give his sanction to two decrees of the national assembly; one for banishing the refractory clergy, and the other for forming a camp of twenty thousand men in the environs of Paris, to which decrees he had before refused to give his concurrence. He discovered great address and presence of mind, and evaded a compliance with their demands.—This transaction occasioned no small ferment in the armies on the frontiers, particularly in that of M. la Fayette, who, in order to appease the soldiery, repaired to Paris, and denounced the clubs of the Jacobins, who were much exasperated by this conduct of M. la Fayette, and moved that he should be sent to Orleans as a prisoner. This proposal was rejected; but the assembly decreed that military officers, &c. should not petition the legislature on any subject, except those immediately relating to the army.—So frequent have been the changes in the French cabinet, that there were three sets of ministers in one week.—On the 4th of August, the envoys of the commonality of Paris, with M. Petion at their head, appeared at the bar of the national assembly, and demanded, in the name of the forty-eight sections, that the king should be deposed, and the public affairs be managed by responsible ministers, till a new king should be elected, in a national convention. This excited a violent agitation in the assembly, and throughout the nation. The assembly refused to comply with the demand, though urged, it is said, by the petition of 50,000 inhabitants of Paris.—The French have been successful in some skirmishes with the enemy. Great desertions are said to prevail on both sides.

METEOROLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS, made in PHILADELPHIA, in the Month of AUGUST, 1792.

Days.	Baromet.		Thermometer of Fahrenheit.		Thermometer of Reaumur.		Anemo- meter Prevail.	Wind.	Rain.	Thunder.	W E A T H E R.	Days.	Baromet.		Thermometer of Fahrenheit.		Thermometer of Reaumur.		Anemo- meter Prevail.	Wind.	Rain.	Thunder.	W E A T H E R.	
	In.	Fr.	D.	T.	O.	D.							F.	In.	Fr.	D.	T.	O.						D.
1	29	9	465	7	15	0	WSW	I	I	Rain, thunder, overc	18	30	0	803	5	6	26	5	0	0	SW	I	I	Foggy, fair
2	29	9	481	5	22	0	WSW	I	I	Overcast, flowers,	19	29	10	1159	6	6	26	5	0	0	SSW	I	I	Fair
3	29	10	1167	0	15	5	NE	I	I	Idem	20	29	10	1159	6	6	27	5	0	0	W	I	I	Idem
4	29	11	1277	0	20	0	NE	I	I	Cloudy	20	29	9	1169	6	6	27	5	0	0	WSW	I	I	Idem
5	30	1	461	2	13	0	NE	I	I	Idem	20	29	10	1171	4	4	17	5	0	0	NW	I	I	Cloudy
6	30	1	471	4	17	5	NE	I	I	Fair	21	29	10	1162	7	7	17	5	0	0	variabl	I	I	Idem
7	30	0	59	0	12	0	NE	I	I	Idem	21	30	1	1161	2	2	13	0	0	0	NE	I	I	Overcast
8	30	0	977	0	20	6	E	I	I	Idem	21	30	1	1177	2	2	13	0	0	0	NE	I	I	Idem
9	30	0	1563	5	14	0	SE	I	I	Overcast	22	30	0	1151	2	2	13	0	0	0	NE	I	I	Idem
10	30	0	876	0	19	6	SE	I	I	Idem	22	30	0	1177	2	2	13	0	0	0	NE	I	I	Idem
11	29	11	874	5	14	0	ENE	I	I	Idem, some rain	23	30	0	1158	2	2	11	0	0	0	NE	I	I	Cloudy
12	29	10	874	7	19	0	N	I	I	Idem	23	30	0	1158	2	2	11	0	0	0	SE	I	I	Fair
13	30	0	165	7	15	0	SW	I	I	Foggy, fair	24	29	10	1165	7	6	15	0	0	0	S	I	I	Overcast, rainy
14	30	0	187	0	24	5	SSW	I	I	Fair	24	29	8	1173	6	6	18	0	0	0	S	I	I	Idem, rain, thunder,
15	30	0	187	0	24	5	SSW	I	I	Overcast	24	29	9	1163	5	5	14	0	0	0	NW	I	I	Fair
16	30	0	689	5	18	0	SSW	I	I	Cloudy	25	29	7	1163	5	5	14	0	0	0	NW	I	I	Cloudy
17	30	0	689	5	25	6	SSW	I	I	Idem	26	30	9	1178	0	0	20	0	0	0	NW	I	I	Fair
18	30	0	689	5	25	6	SSW	I	I	Idem	26	30	9	1178	0	0	20	0	0	0	NW	I	I	Cloudy
19	30	0	689	5	16	0	WSW	I	I	Fair	26	30	0	1158	0	0	11	0	0	0	NW	I	I	Idem
20	29	11	1491	6	26	5	WSW	I	I	Idem, overcast, rain	27	30	2	1155	6	6	10	0	0	0	NW	I	I	Cloudy
21	29	11	471	4	17	5	WSW	I	I	Overcast	27	30	1	1185	5	5	23	0	0	0	S	I	I	Fair
22	29	10	882	4	25	5	WSW	I	I	Cloudy	28	29	10	1185	5	5	23	0	0	0	SSW	I	I	Rainy
23	29	10	372	5	18	0	WSW	I	I	Idem	28	29	11	1183	7	7	23	0	0	0	WSW	I	I	Cloudy
24	29	8	1595	3	28	0	SW	I	I	Fair	29	29	10	1183	7	7	23	0	0	0	WSW	I	I	Fair
25	29	8	874	3	18	8	SW	I	I	Overcast,	29	29	11	1159	6	6	12	0	0	0	WSW	I	I	Idem
26	29	9	94	0	27	5	SW	I	I	Fair	29	29	9	1188	2	2	25	0	0	0	W	I	I	Idem
27	29	8	94	0	27	5	SW	I	I	Idem	30	29	9	1164	2	2	13	0	0	0	W	I	I	Idem
28	29	11	659	0	16	5	NW	I	I	Idem	30	29	9	1164	2	2	13	0	0	0	W	I	I	Idem
29	29	11	288	2	25	0	NW	I	I	Overcast	31	29	8	1185	5	5	23	0	0	0	W	I	I	Cloudy
30	29	10	269	3	16	6	SE	I	I	Idem	31	29	11	1152	2	2	9	0	0	0	NW	I	I	Cloudy
31	29	9	470	2	17	0	SSW	I	I	Rainy	31	29	11	1152	2	2	9	0	0	0	NW	I	I	Fair
1	29	9	1160	0	12	5	NW	I	I	Fair,	1	29	11	1152	2	2	9	0	0	0	NW	I	I	Idem
2	29	10	474	7	19	0	NW	I	I	Idem	2	29	11	1152	2	2	9	0	0	0	NW	I	I	Idem
3	30	1	054	5	10	0	NW	I	I	Idem	3	30	1	1152	2	2	9	0	0	0	NW	I	I	Idem
4	30	0	178	8	10	0	NW	I	I	Idem	4	30	0	1152	2	2	9	0	0	0	NW	I	I	Idem
5	30	0	178	8	10	0	NW	I	I	Idem	5	30	0	1152	2	2	9	0	0	0	NW	I	I	Idem
6	30	0	178	8	10	0	NW	I	I	Idem	6	30	0	1152	2	2	9	0	0	0	NW	I	I	Idem
7	30	0	178	8	10	0	NW	I	I	Idem	7	30	0	1152	2	2	9	0	0	0	NW	I	I	Idem
8	30	0	178	8	10	0	NW	I	I	Idem	8	30	0	1152	2	2	9	0	0	0	NW	I	I	Idem
9	30	0	178	8	10	0	NW	I	I	Idem	9	30	0	1152	2	2	9	0	0	0	NW	I	I	Idem
10	30	0	178	8	10	0	NW	I	I	Idem	10	30	0	1152	2	2	9	0	0	0	NW	I	I	Idem
11	30	0	178	8	10	0	NW	I	I	Idem	11	30	0	1152	2	2	9	0	0	0	NW	I	I	Idem
12	30	0	178	8	10	0	NW	I	I	Idem	12	30	0	1152	2	2	9	0	0	0	NW	I	I	Idem
13	30	0	178	8	10	0	NW	I	I	Idem	13	30	0	1152	2	2	9	0	0	0	NW	I	I	Idem
14	30	0	178	8	10	0	NW	I	I	Idem	14	30	0	1152	2	2	9	0	0	0	NW	I	I	Idem
15	30	0	178	8	10	0	NW	I	I	Idem	15	30	0	1152	2	2	9	0	0	0	NW	I	I	Idem
16	30	0	178	8	10	0	NW	I	I	Idem	16	30	0	1152	2	2	9	0	0	0	NW	I	I	Idem
17	30	0	178	8	10	0	NW	I	I	Idem	17	30	0	1152	2	2	9	0	0	0	NW	I	I	Idem
18	30	0	178	8	10	0	NW	I	I	Idem	18	30	0	1152	2	2	9	0	0	0	NW	I	I	Idem
19	30	0	178	8	10	0	NW	I	I	Idem	19	30	0	1152	2	2	9	0	0	0	NW	I	I	Idem
20	30	0	178	8	10	0	NW	I	I	Idem	20	30	0	1152	2	2	9	0	0	0	NW	I	I	Idem
21	30	0	178	8	10	0	NW	I	I	Idem	21	30	0	1152	2	2	9	0	0	0	NW	I	I	Idem
22	30	0	178	8	10	0	NW	I	I	Idem	22	30	0	1152	2	2	9	0	0	0	NW	I	I	Idem
23	30	0	178	8	10	0	NW	I	I	Idem	23	30	0	1152	2	2	9	0	0	0	NW	I	I	Idem
24	30	0	178	8	10	0	NW	I	I	Idem	24	30	0	1152	2	2	9	0	0	0	NW	I	I	Idem
25	30	0	178	8	10	0	NW	I	I	Idem	25	30	0	1152	2	2	9	0	0	0	NW	I	I	Idem
26	30	0	178	8	10	0	NW	I	I	Idem	26	30	0	1152	2	2	9	0	0	0	NW	I	I	Idem
27	30	0	178	8	10	0	NW	I	I	Idem	27	30	0	1152	2	2	9	0	0	0	NW	I	I	Idem
28	30	0	178	8	10	0	NW	I	I	Idem	28	30	0	1152	2	2	9	0	0	0	NW	I	I	Idem
29	30	0	178	8	10	0	NW	I	I	Idem	29	30	0	1152	2	2	9	0	0	0	NW	I	I	Idem
30	30	0	178	8	10	0	NW	I	I	Idem	30	30	0	1152	2	2	9	0	0	0	NW	I	I	Idem
31	30	0	178	8	10	0	NW	I	I	Idem	31	30	0	1152	2	2	9	0	0	0	NW	I	I	Idem

T H E
UNIVERSAL ASYLUM,
A N D

Columbian Magazine,

FOR OCTOBER, 1792.

BY A SOCIETY OF GENTLEMEN.

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P H I L A D E L P H I A.

PRINTED FOR THE PROPRIETORS, BY WILLIAM YOUNG,
BOOKSELLER, No. 52, SECOND-STREET, THE CORNER OF CHESTNUT-STREET.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

LORENZO's "Biographical Memoirs," by descending to minute and, we conceive, uninteresting particulars, are spun out to a very inconvenient length, for our miscellany. Perhaps the author may be disposed to publish them in a pamphlet. The manuscript will be returned, if called for.

Quid pro quo seems to consider *revenge* as a virtue. This principle might be very suitable for savages; but is utterly inconsistent with civilization and sound morality.

Hints, by a Jersey subscriber, show the author to be both candid and judicious. Friendly hints, suggesting improvements either in the plan or execution of this work, will, at all times, be thankfully received, and duly attended to.

A. B. must be accustomed to view human nature on its darkest side. Charity will not permit us to suppose, that he has looked into his own mind, for the original of the gloomy picture he has drawn; but this we will not hesitate to assert—that the mind which is much engaged in brooding over the vices of mankind, is seldom capable of enjoying happiness itself, or of communicating it to others. We do not think *A. B.*'s essay calculated either to enlighten the understanding, or to amend the heart.

A poetical address from Horatio to the secret object of his affections, being written in the doggerel or burlesque manner, with respect to metre, is not admissible. The *sonnet*, transmitted by the same correspondent, is possessed of much merit. We would advise the author to cultivate his poetical talent.

ERRATUM.

IN the *Allyum* for last month, page 160, line 4, for "not a month" read—"but a few months."

PHILADELPHIA, October 31, 1792.

CURRENT PRICES OF PUBLIC SECURITIES.

Six per cents, per £.	-	-	21/5.	Bank U. S. whole shares per cent advance	
Deferred six per cents,	-	-	13/4.	Bank of N. America	do. 31
Three per cents,	-	-	12/9.		

COURSE OF EXCHANGE.

Bills of Exchange on London, 90 days,	71.	Amsterdam, 60 days, per guinea,	
Ditto, 60 days,	72½.	Ditto, do. do.	
Ditto, 30 days,	73½.		

THE
UNIVERSAL ASYLUM,

A N D

Columbian Magazine,

FOR OCTOBER, 1792.

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

OBSERVATIONS *on the* MANUFACTURE of GLAUBER'S-
SALT and SAL-AMMONIAC.

[By JAMES WOODHOUSE, M. D.]

OF all the subjects which have engaged the attention of the chemist, as an object of manufacture, no one is of more importance than the making of sal-ammoniac. The use of this article in the arts is too well known to need any particular detail.

The sal-ammoniac used in Europe was, for a long time, imported from Egypt, where it was made from the soot of the burnt dung of quadrupeds, according to the descriptions of the process given by Haffelquist, Pococke, Neibuhr, and Savary. As the knowledge of chemistry increased, it was discovered to exist in every species of soot, from which it may be obtained by solution or sublimation, and also from the mother water of common salt, by the addition of old urine.

The importance of a manufactory of this article was soon perceived, by a society instituted in London, for the encouragement of arts and manufactures. Hence, in 1759, a premium of thirty pounds was offered to the person who should produce a certain definite quantity, mentioned by the society; in 1760, the premium was augmented to fifty pounds; in 1763, it was increased to 100 pounds, and was continued on the books until the year 1767.

In consequence of the persevering industry of chemists, the increased knowledge of the elective attractions, and the various improvements in the different branches of chemistry, an easy method has been discovered of making sal-ammoniac in large quantities; and manufactories of it have been established in England, Scotland, France, and America.

The present method of making this article is conjectured to be, by combining the vitriolic acid with the volatile alkali, obtained by the distillation of bones, or soot, and producing a double decomposition by the addition of sea-salt; or by adding the marine acid, procured from common salt by means of the vitriolic acid, to the volatile alkali.

In the last edition of the Encyclopedia Britannica, we have an account of a sal-ammoniac work established at Edinburgh; but as no person is admitted inside of the laboratory, the method of conducting the process is unknown. The author of the account adds, there can be no other difficulty, than what arises from the volatility of the vapours of the alkali and the marine acid; for, in the common way of distilling these substances, a great part of both is lost, and if it is at-

tempted to make sal-ammoniac, by combining these two, when distilled by the common apparatus, the produce will not pay the cost.

The mode of conducting the process in Philadelphia, is likewise kept a secret.

The following is the method which I propose—Gypsum, or plaster of Paris, is a substance composed of the vitriolic acid and calcareous earth. Different specimens contain different quantities of the acid—100 parts of some specimens, examined by Bergman, contained 46 of the acid; Kirwan obtained 29 parts, Wenzel 48, and Chaptal 30. The volatile alkali, distilled from bones or foot, contains a large quantity of the ærial acid. The plaster of Paris is to be reduced to a powder, to which the volatile alkali must be added, and remain upon it for two or three days, in close vessels, during which time a double elective attraction will take place: the vitriolic acid will leave the gypsum and unite with the volatile alkali, forming vitriolic ammoniac; while the ærial acid unites with the calcareous earth.—Hot water is then to be poured into the vessel in which the decomposition was made, in order to dissolve the vitriolic ammoniac; and the washing must be continued, until the ærated calcareous earth is perfectly tasteless.

To this solution of the vitriolic ammoniac, common salt is to be added, which produces another double elective attraction; the vitriolic acid of the ammoniac unites with the fossil alkali of the sea-salt, and forms Glauber's-salt, while the marine acid of the sea-salt unites with the volatile alkali, and forms sal-ammoniac, which is obtained in a concrete state by evaporation and sublimation. I have repeated these experiments, in the small way, with the mild hartshorn of the shops, and always with success.

The only objection against the process is, that the phlogistic matter, contained in the volatile alkali distilled from bones or foot, will be obtained in the chrysalization of the Glauber's-salt, and render it impure; an objection which equally militates against the present supposed method of obtaining Glauber's-salt.

In this process, a great saving is made of the vitriolic acid, as it is contained in sufficient quantity in the gypsum; and no difficulty arises from the volatility of the vapours of the alkali, or from the disengagement of fixed air.

Future experiments, in the large way, must determine, whether a manufactory would succeed, when conducted after the manner I have laid down. From theory, it appears to be a cheaper and easier method than any hitherto known. Let an experiment be made; if it succeeds, it is well; if it fails—*“Laus erit; in magnis voluisse sat est.”*

Philadelphia, October 18th, 1792.

DESCRIPTION of a SPANISH INN.

[From the Chevalier de Bourgoanne's late travels into Spain.]

A POSADA, or Spanish inn, merits a particular description. The first room in the house is often a great stable, full of asses and mules, through which you must make your way, if you wish to ask for,

and obtain a lodging. It is with considerable difficulty that you get to the kitchen, which is a round or square room; the ceiling of which terminates in a point, and is open at the top to leave a free passage for the smoke. Round this great chimney is a broad stone-bench, which, at night, serves the family for a bed; but, in the day-time, offers a commodious seat to travellers, coachmen, and muleteers; who, seated, without distinction, with the host and hostess, deprive the air of a part of the smoke, by swallowing it. The fire, which is in the centre of this wretched hovel, is often made with cow-dung mixed with straw; and serves to cook, for each person in turn, such provisions as he may have taken care to bring with him. The whole inventory of the kitchen-utensils consists in several great frying-pans; and every thing you eat is fried in rancid oil. This indeed is not spared, and abundance is joined to badness of quality, to take away the appetite. The corner of the fire-place is generally occupied by some news-monger, wrapped up to his eyes in the cape of his cloak; or some blind musician, singing through his nose, and strumming his guitar, and the children of his hostess, both boys and girls, whose only clothing is a short shirt or shift, though of an age to be more modestly and decently covered. When you have refreshed and warmed yourself, and wish to retire, you are conducted to a damp corner, called a chamber; and furnished with two chairs, usually very high, if the table be low, and very low, if the table be high; because every thing here is contrary to all reason or proportion. A mattress, a foot shorter than it ought to be, is thrown upon the ground: the sheets are not much larger than napkins; and the counterpane, if by chance you find one, hardly covers the sides of the wretched pallet. On this bed of voluptuousness is the traveller to repose, after the fatigues of the road, to wait agreeable dreams, or form new projects of peregrination. The worst inns are those which are kept by the *Gitanos*, or gipsies; you would be as if in a wood; your eye must be kept upon every thing, and, notwithstanding all the precaution you can take, you seldom leave them without all your baggage. All the inns belong to the lords of the soil, who erect them into farms, and will not suffer too many of them; so that the farmer is under the necessity of fleecing passengers, to make up the enormous rent he is obliged to pay. Besides, by a law, for which no reason can be now given, every inn-keeper is prohibited from keeping and selling eatables. If bread, meat, oil, or wine, be wanted, the traveller and the inn-keeper are obliged to have recourse to the person who has the exclusive privilege of selling them. It must indeed be acknowledged, that without this law, odious as it seems, several villages, in the inland parts of the country, would have wanted necessities. The law, is at present, however, almost unnecessary, and might be advantageously modified. At *Lambreras*, I found the spacious chimney surrounded with muleteers, and, on the fire, an enormous frying-pan; in which rice, saffron, long-pepper, and stock-fish, were boiling up together. I was conducted to a chamber, open to every wind that blows, in which, as the weather was cold, some lighted coals were thrown, without ceremony, upon the floor; and by the side of these a kind of mattress, without sheets or covering. My gipsie host, after wishing me a good night, asked me for something to drink.

LETTER from the famous self-taught ASTRONOMER, BENJAMIN BANNEKER, a black man, to THOMAS JEFFERSON, Esq. secretary of state.

Maryland, Baltimore county, near Ellicott's Lower Mills, Aug. 19, 1791.

S I R,

I AM fully convinced of the greatness of that freedom which I take with you, on the present occasion: a liberty which seemed to me scarcely allowable, when I reflected on that distinguished and dignified station in which you stand; and the almost general prejudice and prepossession which is so prevalent in the world against those of my complexion.

I suppose it is a truth, too well attested to you to need a proof here, that we are a race of beings who have long laboured under the abuse and censure of the world; that we have long been looked upon with an eye of contempt, considered rather as brutish than human, and scarcely capable of mental endowments.

I hope I may safely admit, in consequence of that report which hath reached me, that you are a man far less inflexible in sentiments of this nature, than many others; that you are measurably friendly and well disposed towards us; and that you are willing and ready to lend your aid and assistance to our relief, from those many distresses and numerous calamities to which we are reduced.

Now, sir, if this be founded in truth, I apprehend you will readily embrace every opportunity, to eradicate that train of absurd and false ideas and opinions which so generally prevail in respect to us; and that your sentiments are concurrent with mine, which are, that one universal father gave being to us all; and that he hath not only made us of one flesh, but that he hath also, without partiality, afforded us all the same sensations, and endued us all with the same faculties, and that, however variable we may be, in society or religion, however diversified in situation or colour, we are all of the same family, and stand in the same relation to him.

If these are sentiments of which you are fully persuaded, I hope you cannot but acknowledge, that it is the indispensable duty of those who maintain for themselves the rights of human nature, and who profess the obligations of christianity, to extend their power and influence to the relief of every part of the human race, from whatever burthen or oppression they may unjustly labour under; and this, I apprehend, a full conviction of the truth and obligation of these principles should lead us all to.

Sir, I have long been convinced, that if your love for yourselves, and those inestimable laws which preserve to you the rights of human nature, was founded on sincerity, you could not but be solicitous, that every individual, of whatever rank or distinction, might with you equally enjoy the blessings thereof; neither could you rest satisfied, short of the most active diffusion of your exertions, in order to their prevention from any state of degradation, to which the unjustifiable cruelty and barbarity of men may have reduced them.

I freely and cheerfully acknowledge, that I am of the African race, and in that colour which is natural to them of the deepest dye; and it is under a sense of the most profound gratitude to the Supreme Ruler of the universe, that I now confess to you, that I am not under that state of tyrannical thralldom, and inhuman captivity, to which too many of my brethren are doomed, but that I have abundantly tasted of the fruition of those blessings, which proceed from that free and unequalled liberty with which you are favoured, and which I hope you will willingly allow you have received from the immediate hand of that Being, from whom proceedeth every good and perfect gift.

Suffer me to recal to your mind that time, in which the arms and tyranny of the British crown were exerted, with every powerful effort, in order to reduce you to a state of servitude; look back, I intreat you, on the variety of dangers to which you were exposed; reflect on the time in which every human aid appeared unavailable, and in which even hope and fortitude wore the aspect of inability to the conflict, and you cannot but be led to a serious and grateful sense of your miraculous and providential preservation; you cannot but acknowledge, that the present freedom and tranquility which you enjoy, you have mercifully received, and that it is the peculiar blessing of heaven.

This, sir, was a time when you clearly saw into the injustice of a state of slavery, and in which you had just apprehensions of the horrors of its condition;—it was now that your abhorrence thereof was so excited, that you publicly held forth this true and invaluable doctrine, which is worthy to be recorded and remembered in all succeeding ages. “We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their creator with certain unalienable rights, and that among these are—life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.”

Here was a time in which your tender feelings for yourselves had engaged you thus to declare; you were then impressed with proper ideas of the great violation of liberty, and the free possession of those blessings to which you were entitled by nature; but, sir, how pitiable is it to reflect, that, although you were so fully convinced of the benevolence of the Father of mankind, and of his equal and impartial distribution of those rights and privileges which he had conferred upon them, that you should, at the same time, counteract his mercies, in detaining, by fraud and violence, so numerous a part of my brethren, under groaning captivity and cruel oppression; that you should, at the same time, be found guilty of that most criminal act, which you professedly detested in others, with respect to yourselves.

I suppose that your knowledge of the situation of my brethren is too extensive to need a recital here; neither shall I presume to prescribe methods by which they may be relieved, otherwise than by recommending to you and all others, to wean yourselves from those narrow prejudices which you have imbibed with respect to them, and, as Job proposed to his friends, “put your soul in their souls stead,” thus shall your hearts be enlarged with kindness and benevolence towards them, and thus shall you need neither the direction of myself or others, in what manner to proceed herein.

And now, sir, although my sympathy and affection for my brethren hath caused my enlargement thus far, I ardently hope that your candour and generosity will plead with you in my behalf, when I make known to you, that it was not originally my design; but having taken up my pen, in order to direct you, as a present, a copy of an almanack which I have calculated for the succeeding year, I was unexpectedly and unavoidably led thereto.

This calculation is the production of my arduous study in this my advanced stage of life (59); for having long had unbounded desires to become acquainted with the secrets of nature, I have had to gratify my curiosity therein, through my own assiduous application to Astronomical study, in which I need not recount to you the many difficulties and disadvantages which I have had to encounter.

And although I had almost declined to make my calculation for the ensuing year, in consequence of that time which I had allotted therefor being taken up at the federal territory, by the request of Mr. Andrew Ellicott; yet finding myself under several engagements to printers of this state, to whom I had communicated my design, on my return to my place of residence, I industriously applied myself thereto, which I hope I have accomplished with correctness and accuracy; a copy of which I have taken the liberty to direct to you, and which I humbly request you will favourably receive; and, although you may have the opportunity of perusing it after its publication, yet I chose to send it to you in manuscript, previous thereto, that thereby you might not only have an earlier inspection, but that you might also view it in my own hand-writing.

And now, sir, I shall conclude, and subscribe myself, with the most profound respect, your most obedient humble servant,

BENJAMIN BANNEKER.

Mr. JEFFERSON'S answer to the preceding letter.

To Mr. Benjamin Banneker.

Philadelphia, August 30, 1791.

SIR,

I THANK you, sincerely, for your letter of the 19th instant, and for the almanack it contained. Nobody wishes more than I do, to see such proofs as you exhibit, that nature has given to our black brethren, talents equal to those of the other colours of men; and that the appearance of a want of them is owing merely to the degraded condition of their existence, both in Africa and America. I can add, with truth, that nobody wishes more ardently to see a good system commenced for raising the condition both of their body and mind to what it ought to be, as fast as the imbecility of their present existence, and other circumstances which cannot be neglected, will admit.

I have taken the liberty of sending your almanack to monsieur Condorcet, secretary of the Academy of Sciences at Paris, and member of the Philanthropic Society, because I considered it as a document to which your whole colour had a right, for their justification against the sentiments which have been entertained of them.

I am, with great esteem, sir, your most obedient humble servant,

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

CHARACTER *and* EFFECTS of MODERN NOVELS.

WHEN one reflects how easy a matter it is to give a wrong bias to the minds of youth, it is impossible to help being astonished at the remissness of those parents and guardians, who suffer their daughters and wards to read, indiscriminately, the multiplicity of novels which are daily published.

It is as incumbent a duty to attend to the books a young lady reads, as to the company she keeps; for if it is allowed, that the frequent hearing of loose conversation naturally prepares the mind for the admittance of vicious ideas, it cannot be denied but books, in which love is the only theme, and intrigues the sole business of the actors, are more dangerous than even bad company; since the recital of lascivious scenes might shock an ear not yet hardened in vice, when the warm representation painted in a novel, and read in the privacy of retirement, cannot fail in exciting desires, and leaving impure traces on the memory.

Novels not only pollute the imaginations of young women, but also give them false ideas of life, which too often make them act improperly, owing to the romantic turn of thinking they imbibe from their favourite studies. They read of characters which never existed, and never can exist; and when all the wit and invention of a luxuriant fancy are stretched, to paint a young man all perfection in body and mind, it is hardly possible for a girl to avoid falling in love with the phantom, and being out of humour with the piece of plain mortality which she afterwards marries, and finds, to her great disappointment and mortification, does not act like the image her fondness had dressed up to her view.

These authors of novels take great pleasure in making their characters act beyond nature. A young man loves the heroine to distraction: she cannot return his passion: she knows a lady who dies for him, though that lady is certain his heart is devoted to another. The heroine is not satisfied with making the man unhappy, by finding his pursuit hopeless, but she uses her power over him, to make him marry the person he cannot love, and with whom he is afterwards miserable. He submits to his hard lot, pleased in having obeyed the commands of the sole arbitress of his fate. In novels, parents are described as cruel and obdurate, thwarting the inclinations of their children; and those children are made to invent numberless ways of deceiving the watchful eyes of their real friends, in order to run to ruin. By reading these books, therefore, young people are taught arts which they never could have dreamed of, and their minds being thus led into a wrong train of thinking, it is no wonder that their maturer age is bent on the pursuit of trifles, if not on vicious indulgencies.

I have heard it said, in favour of novels, that there are many good sentiments dispersed in them. I maintain, that good sentiments being found scattered in loose novels, render them the more dangerous, since, when they are mixed with seducing arguments, it requires more discernment than is to be found in youth to separate the evil from the good, they are so nicely blended; and when a young lady finds prin-

principles of religion and virtue inculcated in a book, she is naturally thrown off her guard, by taking it for granted; that such a work can contain no harm; and of course the evil steals imperceptibly into her heart, while she thinks she is reading sterling morality.

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On the STUDY of HISTORY.

YOUNG people generally burthen their memories with a great number of dates, names, and events; and, provided they can but repeat what they have heard or said, they are generally esteemed for their knowledge. A young man, who finds himself applauded on such occasions, is not a little proud of his abilities. As it cannot be expected, that young people should judge of things, like those whom age and experience have taught wisdom, it is not at all surprising if they should conceive a great opinion of themselves, when they see that nothing more is expected from them, and that those, on whom they depend, praise them on every occasion, for the facility with which they speak, and the readiness with which they repeat those things they have been obliged to remember.

The true purpose of history, however, consists not in the remembrance of a number of events and actions, without making proper reflections thereon. This kind of knowledge, which has memory only for its support, merits not the least spark of applause; for knowledge consists in tracing actions to their source. To read history properly, is to enquire into the characters of those we there meet with, and to judge of them wisely and cautiously; to study history, is to study the designs, the prejudices, and the passions of mankind; to discover all the secret springs of their actions, their arts and fallacies, and all the illusions they put in practice to deceive and ensnare the unguarded heart.

Young people should be early, and as it were insensibly, taught to reflect naturally, and without art, upon every thing which they meet with remarkable in the histories they read. Thus they will become men, not parrots, by which last name we may justly call those, who read only for subjects to exercise their memories.

It is an idle argument, that young people are incapable of reflection; they cannot too soon be treated like men; for they are capable of reasoning almost as soon as they are capable of speaking. This opinion of the incapacity of young people for reasoning, is a kind of excuse formed rather for ignorant tutors than their pupils; because these teachers know not how to set about the arduous task of teaching their scholars to reason upon things, they are interested in saying it is impossible: they know not how to teach them to search into themselves, and discover the treasures of light and wisdom, which Nature has there concealed: they turn this wonderful art into mockery and ridicule, though Plato has convinced us it may be reduced to practice.

It too frequently happens, that, though the tutor may be equal to the trust reposed in him, the false glory of parents totally perverts all hopes of success; for reflection enriches not the memory, though it

forms the judgment; it tends rather to make them think wisely than speak much; but parents are always desirous of being themselves judges of the progress of their children; and many of them, being incapable of distinguishing the good qualities of judgment, are perfectly well satisfied with the bare repetition of historical facts.

The principal desire of such parents is, that their children should, in the early part of their youth, be furnished with materials for conversation, and be able to repeat those things, of which the generality of the world may be ignorant, and which are agreeable in themselves, as most historical passages are: whereas the principal end of studying history is to accustom young people to speak little, and reflect much; but never to repeat a fragment of history, merely to shew that they have read it: they should be taught to consider such passages as authorities on which they are to found their reason, or as subjects to exercise it.

This kind of study, I mean that of reflection, consists of natural and familiar considerations, such as every person, when he hears them, fancies himself to have made long before, though perhaps they had never once entered his thoughts; thus they excite not any admiration; and it is therefore no wonder, that the generality of parents, who do not always think properly, should be so anxious to see their children become the objects of applause to those who are as ignorant as themselves. Such parents should be reminded, that this kind of applause is mean and contemptible, and that nothing is more dangerous than to accustom young people to the love of such false glory.

It has been observed, by many judicious and experienced writers, and among them in particular the inimitable Mr. Locke, that the most sensible men have not always the best memories; and this probably arises from their accustoming themselves to reflect properly on what they read; by which means they increase their wisdom and knowledge, rather than improve their memories: they think it of little moment to remember long accounts of sieges and battles, and all those horrible tales, with which weak minds are so much delighted. They meditate on what they read, and thereby discover their own imperfections, become acquainted with the nature of the human soul, and the manner of its acting.

The esteem and veneration, in which succeeding ages have held the fabulous writings of the ancients, have arisen only from the love of virtue, the probity of manners, and the integrity of heart, with which they inspired their readers. The reputation of this species of writing, perhaps, first gave rise to novels and romances, in which, though they neither make stones speak, nor statues walk, they frequently represent characters as widely different from nature as light is from darkness.---The study of history requires some thought and attention, whereas the perusal of novels and romances claims not the least of either; the end of one is to improve the understanding, and correct the various passions of the human soul; that of the other, only to amuse; and happy would it be, if it centered only in amusement.---The more extravagant, absurd, and ridiculous a novel is, the greater is the probability of its success.---As love is the foundation, so is it the superstructure of most novels. But what is that species of love, which is

there generally taught?—Not that tender sympathy of two mutual hearts, whose love is founded on reason, prudence and virtue; but a blind, violent, and impetuous passion, which hurries its unhappy victim into endless woes; teaches children disobedience to their parents, inspires them with self-sufficiency, and encourages them to commence knight errants, at an age in which the rod ought to be applied to bring them to their senses.

It is not, however, at all wonderful, that the youth of either sex, who have not been taught better, should prefer a ridiculous romance to the most important piece of history, since the former tends to encourage them in their extravagant follies, and the latter to correct them.—Were this class of readers to stumble on the history of the Gracchi, or on the lives of some other remarkable Romans, they would throw them aside, as dull, heavy, and insignificant subjects, and would not give themselves a moment's leisure to reflect on the many useful lessons they might there find: while the more enlightened youth will peruse with advantage the direful effects of unbounded ambition, avarice, and revenge; he will therefore see how vain is the parade of human grandeur, when founded on the basis of tyranny, injustice, and oppression: and if he is not too young to make moral reflections, he will perhaps conclude, that the longest life of real affluence, and peace, and happiness *only* in appearance, is not worth purchasing at the price of infamy.

From reflecting properly on the most singular and instructive parts of history, true morality will be derived, and the heart improved; but when young people read such passages only to retain and to repeat them, nothing more will be learned from them, than a vain conceit of their own exalted abilities. Reason tells the laborious peasant, whom Fortune has never permitted to tread the flowery paths of science, how little literary merit he has to boast of: much more unfortunate is the youth, who, having had the advantages of books and tutors, while he flatters himself with his accomplishments, is so ignorant, as not to know even his own ignorance!

To conclude: the perusal of history not only affords agreeable entertainment, but, when accompanied with reflexion, it also improves the understanding, beyond any other mode in which instruction can possibly be conveyed. In the labours of the faithful historian the intricate mazes of the human heart are exposed to our observation, and we are taught to trace the various actions of mankind to their original sources in the soul.

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ON LUXURY.—By VOLTAIRE.

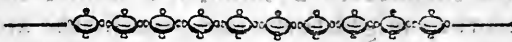
IN a country where the people should go bare-footed, ought the first person that procured a pair of shoes to be blamed for luxury? Would it rather not be a proof of his good sense and industry? May not the same be said of him who first wore a shirt? As to the man who first contrived to have his shirt washed, and wore it a second

and a third time, and so on, I look upon him to have been a prodigious genius, and dare say that he was capable of governing a state.

Nevertheless, it is probable that he was considered by those who did not wear clean linen as an effeminate person, who was likely to corrupt the manners of the people.

It is not long since that a Norwegian reproached a Dutchman with luxury. What is become, said he, of those happy times, when a merchant, on going from Amsterdam to the Indies, left a quarter of dried beef in his kitchen, and found it at his return? Where are your wooden spoons and your iron forks? Is it not a shame, for a sober Dutchman to lie in a damask bed?

Go to Batavia, answered the man of Amsterdam, get ten tons of gold, as I have done, and see whether you will not want to be a little better clothed, fed, and lodged.



ON EXCLUSIVE PRIVILEGES.

THE more we consider this subject, the more we shall find, that institutions of this kind have originated in a miserable necessity on the part of the government, on the one side, and in the cupidity and avarice of a small part of its subjects, on the other. The government, instead of supporting itself on the broad basis of the people's affections, and of a right and peaceable administration of its affairs, endeavours to strengthen itself by abuses, and to carry on wars, or other needless extravagancies, at the expense of its tranquility and happiness. When measures of this kind are resolved on, application is made to a few wealthy citizens for support; and the people are told forever to fill up the gap of a momentary pressure.

The ostensible cause of establishing most monopolies hath ever been, the facility they afford government, to borrow—in other words, their convenience in any operation tending to increase the public burdens by the interest afterwards accruing on the debt. Thus the chief use made in England of the East India company, was to borrow of it; and its charter has been commonly renewed, as often as the directors came down with considerable sums for the treasury upon loan. The bank of England, whatever may have been its uses, as to circulation, considered with respect to the government, served only the same purpose, to anticipate taxes that should never have been anticipated, and to increase burdens which ought never to have been imposed; for loans and anticipations, while they afforded a present convenience, evidently did it at the expense of future strength and security, and were, therefore, among the most ruinous expedients of the state. The South-sea company, once such a bubble, ended also in like manner, by lending twenty-six millions to the government, whose voracious appetite was capable of borrowing all the capitals of all the monopolists; many of whose proprietors are now, in course, saddled on the nation for the interest of the stock. Besides these, they have, in England, an African company—a Turkish company—a Russia company; to which last two, a merchant is obliged to pay a contribution

for liberty to trade to those countries. The Hudson's-bay company continues to monopolize the fur trade of our continent; and, perhaps, we may be indirectly indebted to this obliging monopoly for our Indian war, with all its variegated train of evils, expences, and misfortunes.

In short, amongst the greatest sufferings endured by the good people of Britain, may be reckoned their numerous incorporations for exclusive and partial privileges of trade; these obstruct the trade's being so productive, or supporting so many hands as it otherwise would do; and occasion an increase of poverty and thieving among the lower classes of the people; to which, in part, may be fairly imputed the frequent executions and transportations we hear of among them, which are often so many efforts of a cruel and relentless mother to destroy her own offspring, after having first rendered their means of subsistence difficult and precarious: for what more wicked can be conceived of in a country, than granting to any few the whole emoluments of a trade, capable of supporting thousands?—This is indeed building aristocracy on the ruin of the poor.

In a word, government has no business either to trade itself, or to grant partial advantages of trade to any of its subjects. It is instituted for the good of the whole—it is paid for by all—all have, therefore, a right to share equally its favour and protection.

The sage Montesquieu very properly condemns the sovereign's either trading himself, or granting exclusive privileges for the purpose. I cannot better conclude this essay than by two quotations from his admirable treatise on the spirit of laws.

“Theophilus seeing a vessel in which merchandise had been embarked for account of his wife Theodora, ordered it to be burned. I am emperor, (said he) and you make me the patron of a galley. How would our poor people gain a livelihood, if we took their callings from them?” He might have added, “Who shall call us to account, if we monopolize? who shall compel us to fulfil our contracts? the commerce we carry on, our courtiers must share, and they will be still more grasping and unjust than ourselves. The people confide in our justice; but can they in our ability, when the very imposts, which occasion their poverty, are the certain signs of ours.”

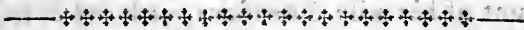
“When the Portuguese and Spaniards swayed in India, the trade of it had some branches so lucrative, that their monarchs were sure to seize upon them: but from that moment their establishments declined in that country. The viceroy of Goa granted exclusive privileges, but no confidence is placed in such companies; their trade is interrupted by the perpetual changes of those who manage it—nobody cares about it, or is anxious in how ruinous a state he leaves it to his successor—the profits centre in the hands of a few—they are not enough extended.”

R U S S E L L.

Philadelphia, Sept. 1792.

SINGULAR CONTEST *between two FRENCH LADIES.*

THE lady of the auditor of accounts, and that of the treasurer of France, meeting in their coaches in a narrow street in Paris, with a design to go through it, and there not being room to pass each other, there was a necessity for one to put back, to give the other way, which neither would be persuaded to do; so they remained firm in the same place from six o'clock in the morning till noon, when they sent their servants for hay and corn for their horses, and ordered their dinners to be brought into their coaches. The novelty drew a number of gazers, every one being curious to see what would be the issue of such punctilios: at length a cart load of wine coming to a merchant, who lived in that street, and he finding it could not, for their obstruction, get to his house, either one way or other, about four o'clock in the afternoon, went to the commissary of the quarter, (like our justice of the peace) to desire him to remedy the disorder. The commissary, observing the ladies obstinately resolved neither of them to give way, and not being willing to affront them, out of respect to their husbands, found out an expedient to settle the affair without disobliging either, which was, to make both coaches put back at the same time, so that neither of them should drive into the same street again. This accommodation was accepted, and performed to the extremity of niceness: the ladies, being weary of the trouble they had run themselves into by standing on their punctilios, quietly retired, each with the satisfaction that she had preserved her honour.



OBSERVATIONS *upon the ART of making STEEL.* By the
Reverend DANIEL LITTLE, F. A. A.

[From the 'Memoirs of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.']

AS steel is an article of commerce, and of great use both in the arts, manufactures and husbandry of every nation; and as we have the best iron already manufactured in America, it is thought that the manufacturing of steel of a good quality, deserves the attention and encouragement of those who wish the welfare of the united states. What time I could redeem from other necessary business for several years past, has been employed in such disquisitions and experiments, as might tend to facilitate the art of making steel, and others near allied to it.

Those writers upon the subject which I have met with tell us, that the principal difference between iron and steel consists in this, That the latter is combined with a greater quantity of phlogiston than the former. Phlogiston exists in all inflammable substances, and in some that are not inflammable. Charcoal, and the coals of bones, horns and hoofs of animals, have been used as fit substances for communicating phlogiston to iron in making steel.

Steel is sometimes made by fusion of ore or pig-iron. The method is similar to that of reducing pig-iron to malleable iron, with this difference, that as steel requires more phlogiston than is necessary to iron, all the means must be made use of that are capable of introducing into the iron a great deal of phlogiston; that is, by keeping it, while in fusion, encompassed with an abundance of charcoal, &c.

The other method of making steel is by cementation, as it is called; that is, to convert bar-iron into steel; which is done by a cement made of those substances which contain the greatest quantity of phlogiston. Put the bar-iron with this cement into a vessel that will bear a strong fire; lute on a close cover, so as to prevent the cement taking flame and consuming; put the vessel in a furnace where the bars may be kept red-hot till they are converted into steel, which will be in a longer or shorter time, according to the bigness of the bars, and the quantity of cement.

This latter method has chiefly engaged my attention, which method is pretty well known in some parts of America, and for many years past, steel has been made by it in several parts of the united states. Yet, so far as I have been informed, it has generally been of an inferior quality, and very little used for edge tools, which I supposed could not arise from the quality of the iron, for we have the greatest variety, and the best sort, in many parts of the country. I then conjectured there might be found some other inflammable substance for a cement, which, if properly applied, would impregnate the iron with phlogiston more advantageously.—And, after many experiments, I found a particular marine plant that requires no other preparation but drying and pulverizing, and is commonly known by the name of rock-weed, or rock-ware, and is in the greatest plenty on our rocky shores, coves, creeks and harbours of the sea. In making some experiments upon this plant for a flux powder, a small bit of iron was put into a crucible, and filled with the said cement; and, very unexpectedly, after it had been in a little more than a cherry heat for five or six hours, it was converted into steel, which gave me the first hint of its use in making steel; since which I have had repeated experience of its excellency for the same purpose.

It needs no other preparation than to be cut off from the rocks with a scythe or sickle, spread on the dry sand till the rains have washed off the greater part of the sea-salt, then dried and pulverized, then used as other cements are in making steel; or, instead of washing off the sea-salt, it is better for some particular kinds of iron, to neutralize it by adding a fixed alkali.

To two parts of the plant well dried and pulverized, add one part of good wood-ashes; mix together and moisten the whole with water, or rather urine, to the consistence of a very thick paste.

It is well known that in every new art, and in perfecting old ones, many unforeseen difficulties arise, and sometimes considerable fortunes have been spent before the manufacturer or the public have been much benefited. And since honest, but too credulous minds are often deceived by uncertain proof, and being willing to satisfy myself and others, by a better testimony than my own, I engaged a * gentleman

* Col. Eliot, of Connecticut.

of ability in the steel way for many years, whose furnace was complete and large, to make experiments upon my new discovered substance for a cement, who has written me, that "this steel is preferable to any he had ever made before." After all, I suppose different modes of preparation, and further experiments, will more fully ascertain its utility.

The matter of the furnace must be of such substances as will endure a strong fire without fusion. Asbestos has been used to advantage, but a sufficiency of it is not found in many places. Pipe-clay, with one third part of pond-sand, or, which is better, white stones free from grit, well burnt, and pulverized, instead of sand, some species of slate and tale, may be used with pipe-clay for furnaces and crucibles.

The chest, or interior part of the furnace, for depositing the cement and bars of iron, must be covered so close that the inflammable substance within may not be consumed, but changed like wood in a coal-kiln. The iron to be chosen of the best quality; its toughness and malleability are marks of choice.

Of the ore of iron.—This is often discovered by the magnet, but a great part of the best ore is that which the magnet will not attract, as *Linnaeus* and *Macquer* justly observe. When in that state, it often resembles the rust or calx of iron; many tons of which are brought to the iron-works in this neighbourhood, from which the best of iron is made. In its natural state the best magnetic bar will not attract the smallest particle; but when roasted with charcoal it becomes magnetic. This method of knowing whether any earth or stones contain the true ore of iron, may be of use to discover new bodies or beds of ore. The reduction of metals, or restoring them to their metallic state from their calces, by combining them with the inflammable principle in the application of charcoal, may sufficiently show the efficacy of the above method for the discovery of the earth of iron, in those substances on which the magnet has no effect.



On ENTHUSIASM of CHARACTER.

THE shades of human character are so numerous, and the advantages resulting from an extensive acquaintance with them, of so much importance, that few subjects, perhaps, are more worthy of attention or speculation; and it would be a task of the highest advantage to society, could we trace the source and causes of the diversities, and point out the particular advantages resulting from each. By the former of these, we should, in some degree, be enabled to train the mind to the fashion most amiable and really advantageous; by the latter, we should have the opportunity of directing to their proper objects of pursuit, the passions and dispositions, as they are displayed before us.

A task like this might afford a noble and fascinating amusement for the sage, to whose eye time and assiduity had unfolded the broad volume of nature, and who was possessed of leisure and opportunity to enter

deeply into the subject; but the humble and nameless essayist, who plans his labours for periodical circulation, is forbidden to enter into so elaborate an enquiry. Now and then, indeed, he may slightly glance upon the subject, and select a prominent feature or two for the amusement of his readers; but he must seldom venture to advance beyond a sketch, or a fragment.

Among the traits of character which, amid the infinite variety I have alluded to, present themselves as proper objects of this cursory mode of animadversion, appears to me, as particularly prominent, that of enthusiasm: a character which the insipid children of fashionable refinement (incapable of feeling its fires) and the plodding sons of laborious diligence (too heavy to pursue its flights) are, at all times, so ready to condemn, but which, in my humble opinion, is certainly entitled to the palm of honour and utility in public life. It is from the energy imparted by this principle that we are to expect the formation and execution of great and noble designs, which soar beyond the ordinary occurrences and virtue of mankind, and leave something to be remembered, and to be admired by posterity.

A man indeed of cool passions, and with a mediocrity of sensibility, (or perhaps without any at all) may, it is true, be a very good philosopher, an almost blameless moralist, and a strict observer of what we generally understand by the rules of right and wrong. But such a character will only shine on trifling occasions, and in ordinary actions and situations. Where justice, (so far as it has been defined, by the laws of civil policy, or the demonstrations of ethical reasoning)—is alone required, he may never, perhaps, be found deficient; he may be generous, wherever any positive precept of religion, or maxim of philosophy can be produced, that may inform him he ought to be so. But he will never extend his views to any considerable exertions of friendship or benevolence; nor is it much to be expected that he should ever be sensible of that noble delicacy—that refined philanthropy, which extends the assistance of generous benefaction, without wounding the feelings of the person benefited, by a mode of conferring the obligation, which must remind him of adventitious inferiority. As far as precept and example can direct, he may be entitled to the praise and gratitude of mankind, and his virtues may keep pace with the general sentiments and ideas of his age and country. But it would be idle to expect from him original speculations in the regions of moral duty, bold attempts to combat the riveted prejudices of the times, correct the hereditary severity of mistaken justice, revolt at the idea of abuses which custom and universal assent had sanctioned, and boldly stand forth, in defiance of the imputations of singularity and frenzy, to brave the malice of venal inhumanity, and plead the cause of an oppressed and unpiried people. For the truth of this I might refer to the elder and the younger Cato, and, in short, to the whole body of the stoic philosophers of antiquity, did not the biography and living examples of modern times furnish more ready, and equally pertinent illustrations.

In short, these cold-blooded reasoners are, in the moral world, what some blindly idolized individuals in the political world, when brought

to the touch-stone of trying circumstances, are found to be, mere men of mechanism and detail.

The enthusiast, on the other hand, the man of strong affections and exuberance of mental sensation, never appears to advantage in the common progress of events. But he will shine with superior resplendence, whenever his energetic feelings are roused into action, and he is placed in the situations which call for exertion—

Beyond the fix'd and stated rules

Of vice and virtue, in the schools—

Beyond the letter of the law?

In situations of this kind, the heart is wiser than the academy, and warm passions and quick sensibility are better than volumes of ethics, and catalogues of religious maxims: not that we mean to treat with disrespect the lights of revelation, or the helps of philosophy, without the assistance of which the generality of mankind would be left grovelling for ever in the darkness of sensuality, or constantly stumbling, feeble, and relaxed, even in the plain and level path of social life. All I mean to say is, that there are situations in which we may sometimes be placed, nay, to which we ought sometimes to aspire, in which the soul is called upon to soar above the dogmas of the one, and be actuated rather by a feeling consciousness of the genuine spirit, than by a tame obedience of the mere letter of the other.

That I may not be misunderstood, I will illustrate this by an example, which will speak home to the feelings of the present era of humanity. It is certain that the mere letter neither of religion nor philosophy, would dictate any exertion in behalf of that godlike and extensive sympathy, by which many amiable characters are now endeavouring to procure the abolition of a traffic which fattens, if I may so express myself, on human gore, and swells its sails with the sighs and groans of wretchedness and oppression; though, at the same time, the whole spirit of christianity, to those who have sensibility enough to feel its benignant force, calls loudly against the horrors and iniquity of this trade. The mere man, therefore, of ethical detail, who coldly regulates his conduct by verbal precept, could never have thought of becoming the first mover of a measure embracing such noble and extensive principles. No; the man whose humanity, colossus-like, first strode across the wide Atlantic, and from the shores of Africa to those of the western Ind, endeavoured to shed the soothing balm of atonement and peace, must have felt the godlike glow I am describing, and been stamped with characters of enthusiastic virtue, far different from the mechanical honesty of a counting-house, or the half-way justice, that dreads the pending, or the future penalty of a written law. It must not, however, be concealed, that, as this character has its peculiar excellencies, so also it has its particular defects; which if we did not notice, the moral of my theme would be wanting.

The same energy of mind which urges to the noblest heights of benevolence, and assits towards the sublimest attainments of genius, may also, if not properly directed, hurry us on to the wildest extravagances of passion, and betray into impetuosity and folly. And though I am

ready to declare, that the opinion of Longinus, respecting the works of genius, is equally applicable to human nature, at least to the masculine character; though (since the uniformity of the one cannot be united with the sublime virtues of the other) I scruple not to pronounce, that the ennobled spirit and generous sensibility of the energetic character has, notwithstanding its concomitant faults of exuberant passions, imprudence, and follies, the most decided preference over the mechanical innocence of the colder disposition; yet must the opportunity never be neglected, of reminding characters of this description of the superior necessity under which they labour, of fortifying themselves, with two-fold assiduity, with the precepts of philosophy and the restraints of prudence; since, otherwise, those irregularities, which may be pardoned as the alloys, become the principal traits of their dispositions; and generosity be lost in heedless extravagance, and sensibility in voluptuous irritation.

But it has been questioned whether this disposition, however advantageous to society, is even to be coveted by the individual, as a source of happiness equal to the anxiety and infelicity to which it is subject. The sordid children of dulness and insensibility not only delight in exposing the failings and inconsistencies of a character, whose nobler qualities they can never emulate, but they have also rendered it the ill-chosen object of their pointless ridicule, as a frenzy of nature, wounding itself with unnecessary pangs, and appropriating sorrows which happier indifference might with ease avoid; and the irritable nurslings of morbid affectation, to whom, in fact, nothing of sympathy is familiar, but the name, while they sought, by corresponding complaints of the pangs of sensibility, to exalt the reputation of their own feelings, have given apparent support to the unfounded insinuation.

Those, however, who are acquainted with the emotions I have attempted to describe, must often have felt, and they to whom my reasoning has been conspicuous, will be convinced, that such a disposition, though it may be liable to some pangs which mere *animal vegetation*, if I may venture the term, can never be conscious of, has an ample compensation in the pleasures and enjoyments to which none but itself can aspire.

It has often been said, that virtue is its own reward; and this, true as it is of all virtues, is even more particularly so of benevolence. Indeed, as self-love is the grand source of individual security, in that solitary condition which some philosophical visionaries have chosen to denominate the state of nature, so is benevolence the chief fountain of all that more permanent safety, and those more exalted pleasures, of which the social compact has rendered us susceptible; and those who prefer the sordid, to the nobler feelings, had better, for consistency's sake, either return to their savage woods, or acknowledge that, if without the feelings of benevolence, they experience its advantages, there must be an exquisite satisfaction in its full possession, which those who are destitute of it can never know.

Self-love, it is true, administers to the senses, but does not benevolence, still more extensively, to mental gratification, and whose enjoyments are of the longest duration.

The senses, like the dull clay in the hands of the workman, are capable of no pleasures; but those immediately impressed upon them; while the mental affections, like ornamented mirrors of exquisite workmanship, are not only adorned with their own impressions; but catch, by reflection, all the pleasure of surrounding objects; and perhaps, in many instances, where sensibility has given its finest polish, reflect the image with a beauty and expression even superior to the original.

But this is then; while the benevolent enthusiast is diffusing happiness, he is, in fact, multiplying his own enjoyments; his highest enjoyments—those, which being implanted in the mind, will bloom (to borrow an oriental metaphor) like the unfading amaranths of paradise, through the eternity of mental existence; while the pleasures of sense, like the sickly blossoms of this sublunary sphere, smile but for a moment, expire, and are forgotten.

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On M O D E S T Y.

WE scruple not to pronounce this bashful virtue, for so we call it, the legitimate offspring of a tender sensibility, or the tender effect of that delicate moral feeling, which seems to make a part of our constitution, and which nothing but the tyrant custom, or a long course of oppression and violence, can eradicate or suppress.

Wherever modesty makes her appearance in her native dress, she is sure to create respect and reverence; for in this lovely form, she is always an attendant on merit. Where there is little discernment and less sensibility, where there is a want of real worth, or where native innocence has suffered; modesty has nothing to do; she flies the unfriendly abode, and blushes for those who perhaps never had, or have now lost, the power of blushing for themselves.

The tender offspring of moral sense may be cherished by a consciousness of native dignity, by a love of order and decorum, by that respect which we owe to ourselves and others; but, above all, by the proper culture of that meek and quiet spirit which is, in the sight of God, of great price indeed! We should take care to preserve our native stock, and improve it as much as possible.

“*Modesty*,” says lord Chesterfield, or rather the appearance of modesty, (for his lordship has been thought to deal too much in appearances only) “is a polite accomplishment. It is engaging to the highest degree, and wins the hearts of all our acquaintance.”

Though we cannot exactly agree with his lordship in the principle, yet we readily allow it is highly engaging indeed, and ought to make its untutored appearance in the whole of our behaviour.

Nothing arrogant or assuming; nothing impertinent or offensive; nothing indecent or contrary to the rules of decorum, should ever be advanced in conversation. Take care you do not make yourself the heroine of your own story; never talk of yourself at all if you can possibly help it, nor engross a larger share of the conversation than

belongs to you. Give every one leave to speak who may choose it, and be attentive to what is said; interrupt no one while speaking, nor take any advantage of that person whose organs of speech may be less sonorous, or whose lungs may be weaker than your own.

Some will colour their arrogance with, "It may seem strange indeed, that I talk in this manner of myself; it is what I by no means like, and should never do, if I had not been cruelly and unjustly accused; but when my character is attacked, it is a justice I owe to myself to defend it." Others will modestly boast of all their principal virtues; by calling them infirmities, and saying they are so unfortunate as to fall into those weaknesses. "I cannot see persons suffer," says one of this cast, "without relieving them. I cannot avoid speaking truth, though it may be sometimes very imprudent to do so."

"Follow," says Chesterfield, "rather than lead the company; that is, join in discourse on their subjects rather than start one of your own; if you have parts you will have opportunities enough of shewing them on every topic of conversation; and if you have none, it will be better to expose yourself upon a subject of other people's than on one of your own. Whatever perfections you may have, be assured people will find them out; but whether they do or not, nobody will take them upon your own word. The less you say of yourself, the more the world will give you credit for; and the more you say, the less they will believe you."

"There is no one living," says the Spectator, "would deny Cinna, the applause of an agreeable and facetious wit; or could possibly pretend that there is not something inimitably unforced and diverting in his manner of delivering all his sentiments, in conversation, if he were able to conceal the strong desire of applause which he betrays in every syllable he utters. But they who converse with him see, that all the civilities they could do to him, or the kind things they could say to him, would fall short of what he expects; and therefore, instead of shewing him the esteem they have for his merit, their reflections turn only upon that which they observe he has of it himself."

"If you go among the ladies, and behold Gloriana trip into the room, with that theatrical ostentation of her charms; Myrtilia, with that soft regularity in her motion; Chloe, with such an indifferent familiarity; Corinna, with such a fond approach; and Roxana, with such a demand of respect, in the great gravity of her entrance; you find all the sex, who understand themselves, and act naturally, wait only for their absence, to tell you that all these ladies would impose themselves upon you; and each of them carry in their behaviour a consciousness of so much more than they should pretend to, that they lose what otherwise would be given them."

Let modesty appear in all your expenses, your equipage, dress, and diversions, as well as in conversation and manners. Never affect any kind of show or distinction that does not properly belong to you. A fondness for show of any kind has been generally considered as a certain indication of a weak mind; but whether this be admitted or not, we may venture to affirm, it always betrays a want of that virtue we are now recommending. Modesty never courts the public eye, never seeks her own praise, nor once thinks of that respect and reverence

which she silently inspires. She can hardly appear in public but in that sort of elegant distress which is a sure indication of a truly great and ingenious mind. Cicero tells us, that he never liked an orator who did not appear in some little confusion in the beginning of his speech, and confesses that he himself never entered on an oration without trembling and concern.

A just and reasonable modesty not only recommends eloquence, but sets off every great talent which a man can be possessed of. It heightens all the virtues which it accompanies; like the shades in painting, it raises and rounds every figure, and makes the colours more beautiful, though not so glaring, as they would be without it.

Female modesty is the guard as well as ornament of female virtue. When a woman loses her native modesty, no matter how great, or what becomes of her beauty, she loses all her charms, she loses all her virtue, and is undone for ever. We can therefore never too warily recommend the preservation and culture of this refined and amiable principle. The ladies would do well to consider, that as often as they set off their persons with a profusion of ornaments, dress to the utmost height of the mode, frequent public places, and expose their charms in their full blaze to the eye of every beholder, they put this delicate companion and guardian of their virtue to the severest trials; and who knows, but by and by she may be quite stared out of countenance, take her leave, and forsake them for ever?

Simplicity of dress is the most natural, and consequently the most striking and amiable. To instance in the art of painting. What honour and reputation have been acquired by those of this profession, who have approached nearest to the noble simplicity of ancient workmanship! Its business, you know, is most particularly with beauty, in all her finer forms. This, we presume, was never more successfully studied, or more strikingly exemplified, than in the works of the celebrated Raphael. Who can avoid being struck with the chaste, sober, and unaffected graces of his females! What remarkable plainness! What delightful modesty, even where the colours and the stuffs are intended to be the richest! How different from the painters in the Gothic style, who, not distinguishing between ornament and finery, which is its excess; between beauty and shew, which is the affectation of it, load their females with jewels, trappings, and other embellishments, magnificent indeed, but tawdry.

“The neat appearance,” says doctor Fordyce, “of many females belonging to a sect well known, has been frequently remarked, and greatly admired. It would be much more agreeable, could it be disjoined from the stiffness that accompanies it; a defect utterly inconsistent with the rules of true taste. They plead religious principle for the form of their attire. We should believe them, but for the richness of the materials, and the fineness of the texture. Many of that sect are very intelligent: can they persuade themselves, that, through all their affectation of plainness, the world does not perceive the utmost pride of expense?”

“On this article your judgment will be seen; in joining frugality and simplicity together; in carefully distinguishing between what is glaring and what is genteel; in preferring elegance, with the plainest

habit, in wearing costly array but seldom, and always with ease: a point that may be attained by her who has learned not to think more highly of herself for the richest raiment she can put on."

"If, in some of the most expensive parts of female decoration, fewer hands were employed, a much greater number, on the other side, would find exercise in cultivating an elegant propriety, and a beautiful diversity through all the rest. The public taste would be improved in a thousand articles. And is there not reason to hope, that the appearance, the manners, and the minds of the fair would gain by the change?"

"But when shall women in general understand thoroughly the effect of a comely habit, that, independent of pomp, and despising extravagance, is worn as the sober, yet transparent veil of a more lovely mind! Be assured, my young friends, it is thus you will captivate most, and please longest. By pursuing this plan, you will preserve an equality in that great and indispensable article of neatness. You will be clean, and you will be easy; nor will you be in danger of appearing butterflies one day, and flatters the next. You will be always ready to receive your friends, without seeming to be caught, or being at all disconcerted on account of your dress. How seldom is this the case among the flutterers of the age! I wish we could say amongst them only."



A N E C D O T E.

IT is a fact, perhaps not generally known, that the late John Paul Jones, at the time that he was attempting to fit out a little squadron, during the late war, in one of the ports of France, to cruise on the coast of England, was much delayed by neglects and disappointments from the court, that had nearly frustrated his plans. Chance one day threw into his hands an old almanac, containing *Poor Richard's maxims*, by Dr. Franklin. In that curious assemblage of useful instruction a man is advised "if he wishes to have any business faithfully and expeditiously performed, to go on it himself; otherwise to send."—Jones was immediately struck, upon reading this maxim, with the impropriety of his past conduct, in only *sending* letters and messages to court, when he ought to have gone in person. He instantly set out, and, by dint of personal representations, procured the immediate equipment of the squadron, which afterwards spread terror along the eastern coast of England, and with which he so gloriously captured the *Serapis* and other British ships of war, returning from the Baltic. In gratitude to Dr. Franklin's maxim, he named the principal ship of his squadron after the name of the pretended almanac-maker, *Le Bon Homme Richard*, Father Richard.

REMARKS on the CONSTITUTION of the UNITED STATES,
extracted from a SERIES of LETTERS, written by Mr. JEFFERSON.

Some strictures on the political character and conduct of the secretary of state, which lately appeared in one of the Philadelphia newspapers, occasioned the publication of these extracts, together with an introduction, of which the following is a part :

“IT will be remembered, that at the time the constitution was formed, and whilst under discussion in the state conventions, Mr. Jefferson was in France, the minister of America. That of the train of events which brought about the important crisis of a general convention, as of those which followed it, he was an interested, but a distant spectator. The nature of the trust reposed in him by the public, confined him to the spot. The only part he could bear in the cares of that momentous period was, to unite with his fellow-citizens in the most fervent wishes, that their labours might be successful, and redound to the advantage of their common country.”

“What his sentiments were upon the subject of the constitution, and that of government generally, as connected with it, will be seen by the following extracts, taken from his letters addressed to a particular friend, at the time of their respective dates, and in the course of a very interesting and confidential correspondence. As he could not have foreseen that, in any possible event, they would be laid before the public, they must be considered as the free and spontaneous effusions of his heart. From that friend I have received them, and will, if any doubt should be suggested of their authenticity, immediately make them accessible to others. To Mr. Jefferson, whose approbation to this measure has neither been asked nor obtained, some apology for the freedom is due: to the confidence, however, which his own conduct has inspired, that it was never his wish, his sentiments, upon this or any other subject of a public nature, should be withheld from his countrymen, it is to be attributed.”

No. I.

Paris, December 29, 1787.

“THE season admitting only of operations in the cabinet, and these being in a great measure secret, I have little to fill a letter. I will therefore make up the deficiency, by adding a few words on the constitution proposed by our convention.

I like much the general idea of framing a government, which should go on of itself peaceably, without needing continual reference to the state legislatures. I like the organization of the government into legislative, judiciary, and executive. I like the power given to the legislative to levy taxes. I am captivated by the compromise of the opposite claims of the great and little states, of the latter to equal and the former to proportional influence. I am much pleased too with the substitution of the method of voting by persons, instead of that of voting by states: and I like the negative given to the execu-

October, 1792.

H h

rive with a third of either house, though I should have liked it better, had the judiciary been appointed for that purpose, or invested with a similar and separate power. There are other good things, of less moment.

I will now add what I do not like. *First.* The omission of a bill of rights, providing clearly, and without the aid of sophisms, for freedom of religion, freedom of the press, protection against standing armies, restrictions against monopolies, the eternal and unremitting force of the habeas corpus laws, and trials by jury in all matters of fact triable by the laws of the land, and not by the law of nations. To say that a bill of rights was not necessary, because all is reserved in the case of the general government which is not given, while in the particular ones all is given which is not reserved, is surely a gratis dictum, opposed by strong inferences from the body of the instrument, as well as from the omission of the clause of our present confederation, which had declared that in express terms. It was a hard conclusion, to say, because there has been no uniformity among the states, as to the cases triable by jury, because some have been so incautious as to abandon this mode of trial, therefore the more prudent states shall be reduced to the same level of calamity. It would have been much more just and wise to have concluded the other way, that as most of the states had judiciously preserved this palladium, those who had wandered should be brought back to it, and to have established general right instead of general wrong. Let me add, that a bill of rights is what the people are entitled to against every government on earth, general or particular, and that no just government should refuse, or rest on inference.

The *second* feature I dislike, and greatly dislike, is the abandonment, in every instance, of the necessity of rotation in office, and most particularly in the case of the president. Experience concurs with reason, in concluding that the first magistrate will always be re-elected if the constitution permits it. He is then an officer for life. This once observed, it becomes of so much consequence to certain nations, to have a friend or a foe at the head of our affairs, that they will interfere, with money and with arms. A Galloman or an Angloman, will be supported by the nation he befriends; if once elected, and at a second or third election out-voted by one or two votes, he will pretend false votes, foul play, hold possession of the reins of government, be supported by the states voting for him, especially if they are the central ones, lying in a compact body themselves, and separating their opponents; and they will be aided by one nation of Europe, while the majority are aided by another. The election of a president of America, some years hence, will be much more interesting to certain nations of Europe, than ever the election of a king of Poland was. Reflect on all the instances in history, ancient and modern, of elective monarchies, and say if they do not give foundation for my fears. The Roman emperors, the popes, while they were of any importance, the German emperors, till they became hereditary in practice, the kings of Poland, the deys of the Ottoman dependencies. It may be said, that if elections are to be attended with these disorders, the seldomer they are renewed the better. But experience shews that the only

way to prevent disorder is, to render them uninteresting by frequent changes. An incapacity to be elected a second time would have been the only effectual preventative. The power of removing him every fourth year, by the vote of the people, is a power which will not be exercised. The king of Poland is removable every day by the diet, yet he is never removed.

Smaller objections are, the appeal in fact as well as in law, and the binding all persons, legislative, executive, and judiciary, by oath, to maintain that constitution. I do not pretend to decide, what would be the best method of procuring the establishment of the manifold good things in this constitution, and of getting rid of the bad. Whether by adopting it, in hopes of future amendment, or, after it has been duly weighed and canvassed by the people, after seeing the parts they generally dislike, and those they generally approve, to say to them, "We see now what you wish. Send together your deputies again; let them frame a constitution for you, omitting what you have condemned, and establishing the powers you approve." Even these will be a great addition to the energy of your government; at all events, I hope you will not be discouraged from other trials, if the present one should fail of its full effect. The late rebellion in Massachusetts has given more alarm than I think it should have done. Calculate that one rebellion in thirteen states in the course of eleven years, is but one for each state in a century and a half; nor will any degree of power in the hands of government prevent insurrections. France, with all its despotism and two or three hundred thousand men always in arms, has had three insurrections in the three years I have been here, in every one of which greater numbers were engaged than in Massachusetts, and a great deal more blood was spilt. In Turkey, which Montesquieu supposes more despotic, insurrections are the events of every day. In England, where the hand of power is lighter than here, but heavier than with us, they happen every half dozen years. Compare again the ferocious depredations of their insurgents with the order, the moderation, and the almost self-extinguishment of ours. After all, it is my principle, that the will of the majority should always prevail. If they approve the proposed convention, in all its parts, I shall concur in it cheerfully, in hopes that they will amend it whenever they shall find it work wrong. I think our governments will remain virtuous for many centuries; as long as they are chiefly agricultural, and this will be as long as there shall be vacant lands in any part of America. When they get piled upon one another in large cities, as in Europe, they will become corrupt, as in Europe. *Above all things, I hope the education of the common people will be attended to; convinced that on their good sense we may rely, with the most security, for the preservation of a due degree of liberty.*"

Paris, July 31, 1788.
I SINCERELY rejoice at the acceptance of our new constitution, by nine states. It is a good canvas, on which some strokes only want retouching. What these are, I think are sufficiently manifested by the general voice, from north to south, which calls for a bill

of rights. It seems pretty generally understood, that this should go to juries, habeas corpus, standing armies, printing, religion, and monopolies. I conceive there may be difficulty, in finding general modifications of these, suited to the habits of all the states. But if such cannot be found, then it is better to establish trials by jury, the right of habeas corpus, freedom of the press, and freedom of religion, in all cases, and to abolish standing armies in time of peace, and monopolies in all cases, than not to do it in any. The few cases wherein these things may do evil cannot be weighed against the multitude wherein the want of them will do evil.

In disputes between a foreigner and a native, a trial by jury may be improper; but if this exception cannot be agreed to, the remedy will be, to model the jury, by giving the *medietas linguæ* in civil, as well as in criminal cases.

Why suspend the habeas corpus in insurrections and rebellions! The parties who may be arrested, may be charged instantly with a well defined crime; of course, the judge will remand them: if the public safety requires that the government should have a man imprisoned on less probable testimony, in those than in other emergencies, let him be taken and tried, retaken and retried, while the necessity continues, only giving him redress against the government for damages. Examine the history of England, see how few cases of the suspension of the habeas corpus law have been worthy of that suspension. They have been either real treasons, wherein the parties might as well have been charged at once, or sham-plots, where it was shameful they should ever have been suspected. Yet for the few cases, wherein the suspension of the habeas corpus has done real good, that operation is now become habitual, and the minds of the nation almost prepared to live under its constant suspension.

A declaration that the federal government will never restrain the presses from printing anything they please, will not take away the liability of the printers for false facts printed. The declaration that religious faith shall be unpunished, does not give impunity to criminal acts dictated by religious error. The saying there shall be no monopolies, lessens the incitements to ingenuity, which is spurred on by the hope of a monopoly for a limited time, as of fourteen years: but the benefit, even of limited monopolies, is too doubtful to be opposed to that of their general suspension. If no check can be found to keep the number of standing troops within safe bounds, while they are tolerated as far as necessary, abandon them altogether; discipline well the militia, and guard the magazines with them. More than magazine guards will be useless if few, and dangerous if many. No European nation can ever send against us such a regular army as we need fear, and it is hard if our militia are not equal to those of Canada and Florida.

My idea then is, that though proper exceptions to these general rules are desirable, and probably practicable, yet if the exceptions cannot be agreed on, the establishment of the rules in all cases will do ill in very few. I hope therefore a bill of rights will be formed, to guard the people against the federal government, as they are already guarded against their state governments in most instances.

The abandoning the principle of necessary rotation in the senate has, I see, been disapproved by many; in the case of the president by none. I readily therefore suppose my opinion wrong, when opposed by the majority, as in the former instance, and the totality in the latter. In this, however, I should have done it with more complete satisfaction, had we all judged from the same position."

No. III.

Paris, Nov. 18, 1788.

"AS to the bill of rights, however, I still think it should be added, and I am glad to see that three states have at length considered the perpetual re-eligibility of the president, as an article which should be amended. I should deprecate with you indeed the meeting of a new convention. I hope they will adopt the mode of amendment by congress and the assemblies: in which case I should not fear any dangerous innovation in the plan. But the minorities are too respectable not to be entitled to some sacrifices of opinion in the majority, especially when a great proportion of them would be contented with a bill of rights."

No. IV.

Paris, March 15, 1789.

"I CANNOT refrain from making short answers to the objections which your letter states to have been raised.

1. That the rights in question are reserved by the manner in which the federal powers are granted. *Answer:* A constitutive act may certainly be so formed as to need no declaration of rights. The act itself has the force of a declaration as far as it goes; and if it goes to all material points, nothing more is wanting. In the draught of a constitution which I had once a thought of proposing in Virginia, and printed afterwards, I endeavoured to reach all the great objects of public liberty, and did not mean to add a declaration of rights. Probably the object was imperfectly executed; but the deficiencies would have been supplied by others in the course of discussion. But in a constitutive act, which leaves some precious articles unnoticed, and raises implications against others, a declaration of rights becomes necessary, by way of supplement. This is the case of our new federal constitution. This instrument forms us into one state, as to certain objects, and gives us a legislative and executive body for these objects: it should therefore guard us against their abuses of power, within the field submitted to them.

2. A positive declaration of some essential rights could not be obtained in the requisite latitude. *Answer:* If we cannot secure all our rights, let us secure what we can.

3. The limited powers of the federal government, and jealousy of the subordinate governments, afford a security which exists in no other instance. *Answer:* The first member of this seems resolvable into the first objection before stated. The jealousy of the subordinate governments is a precious reliance; but observe that those governments are only agents: They must have principles furnished them whereon to found their opposition. The declaration of rights will

be the text whereby they will try all the acts of the federal government; in this view it will be necessary to the federal government also: as by the same text, they may try the opposition of the subordinate governments.

4. Experience proves the inefficacy of a bill of rights. True; but though it is not absolutely efficacious under all circumstances, it is of great potency always, and rarely inefficacious. A brace the more will often keep up the building, which would have fallen with that brace the less. There is a remarkable difference between the characters of the inconveniencies which attend a declaration of rights, and those which attend the want of it. The inconveniencies of the declaration are, that it may cramp government in its useful exertions; but the evil of this is short-lived, moderate, and reparable. The inconveniencies of the want of a declaration, are permanent, afflicting, and irreparable; they are in a constant progression from bad to worse. I know there are some among us who would now establish a monarchy, but they are inconsiderable in number and weight of character. The rising race are all republicans. We were educated in royalism: no wonder if some of us retain that idolatry still. Our young people are educated in republicanism: an apostacy from that to royalism is unprecedented and impossible. I am much pleased with the prospect that a declaration of rights will be added; and hope it will be done in that way which will not endanger the whole frame of the government, or any essential part of it."



The LIFE and singular PROJECTS of the celebrated JOHN LAW, COMPTROLLER-GENERAL of the FINANCES in FRANCE.

JOHNSON *Law*, one of the most singular and extraordinary characters of modern times, was born at Edinburgh, in April 1671, and, on the death of his father, who was a goldsmith, or, more properly speaking, a banker in that city, inherited a respectable landed estate, called Lauriston. It is said, that he made some progress in polite literature, but his inclinations prompting him in a particular manner to those studies, known at present under the name of finance, he became profoundly skilled in every thing relating to banks, taxes, &c. &c. and by means of a branch of knowledge, but little cultivated at that time, he laid the foundation of his future celebrity.

Notwithstanding the seeming dryness of the pursuits in which he had engaged, and which had engrossed great part of his time, such was his care in adorning a person uncommonly handsome by nature, that he was distinguished by the appellation of *beau Law*.

Having visited London in 1694, his wit and accomplishments readily procured him admission into the first circles, in which he attracted the attention of the ladies, among whom he is reported to have been uncommonly successful. Unhappily, however, on this very account, he was involved in a quarrel with a Mr. Wilson, about the

sister of the first earl of Villiers, afterwards countess of Orkney, and a duel having taken place, Mr. Law left his antagonist dead on the field of battle. Being apprehended and committed to Newgate, some circumstances rendered it unadvisable for him to await the issue of a trial: he therefore attempted, and was lucky enough to effect his escape; on this occasion he is supposed to have retired to the continent.

In 1700 he seems to have returned to Edinburgh, as he appears in that year to have written his "Proposals and reasons for constituting a council of trade."

In this work he submits to the public a plan for reviving, encouraging, and promoting the trade and manufactures of the kingdom, then, in consequence of various untoward circumstances, particularly the miscarriage of the Darien expedition, reduced to a very low ebb, by constituting, by act of parliament, a council of trade, in whom should be vested the whole of the king's revenues, the bishops lands and rents, all charitable benefactions and appropriations, one-tenth of all grain and malt raised and made in the kingdom, one-twentieth of all sums sued for at law, one-fortieth of all successions, legacies, and sales, and some other articles too long to be enumerated.

This great income he proposed to employ (after deducting a stated annual sum for his majesty's use, and for the salaries of the members of the council) in promoting, by all manner of ways, the trade, fisheries, and manufactures of Scotland, building workhouses, and purchasing all means and materials for employing, relieving, and maintaining the poor, buying up and keeping at a regular rate the several products and manufactures of the kingdom, making and maintaining highways, bridges, and harbours, and in other beneficial pursuits. He also proposes that the council should be empowered to dispense with prejudicial monopolies, regulate the weights and measures, punish fraudulent bankrupts, liberate honest debtors who had made a fair surrender of their effects, and take up all beggars and vagabonds; and it is further submitted, that all duties upon exports, and upon such imports as are proper to be meliorated or manufactured in the kingdom, should be taken off, one per cent. only excepted; but that the duties on all other imports be doubled.

From the exertions of a council vested with such powers, and possessing revenues so ample, Mr. Law seems to have entertained the most sanguine hopes, that the trade and manufactures of Scotland would speedily have been recovered from the calamitous situation in which at that time they were; but the project did not appear in the same light to, and consequently met with no encouragement from, the supreme judicature of the kingdom.

This publication, however, occasioned Mr. Law to be introduced to the first duke of Argyle, the marquis of Lorn, lord Archibald Campbell, the marquis of Tweedale, and other noblemen of Scotland:

Under such a powerful patronage, he was induced, in 1705, to present a plan to parliament for removing the difficulties the kingdom was then exposed to by the great scarcity of money, and the insolvency of the bank, preparatory to, and explanatory of which he publish-

ed another work, entitled "Money and trade considered, with a proposal for supplying the nation with money."

The object of this plan was to issue notes, which were to be lent on landed property, upon the principle, that being so secured, they would be equal in value to gold and silver money of the same denomination, and even preferred to those metals, as not being liable to fall in value like them.

This plausible scheme was, however, looked upon by parliament as an improper expedient, but the real reason for its rejection is said to have been an apprehension, that all the estates in the kingdom would in a short time have been dependent upon government.

Perceiving all his plans to be treated with neglect, Mr. Law now abandoned his native country, and repaired to Holland, with a view to improve himself in that great school of banking and finance. He afterwards resided at Brussels, where his profound skill in calculation is said to have contributed to his extraordinary success at play.

At Paris, his mind was occupied with higher objects, for soon after his arrival there he presented a plan to M. Desmaretz, comptroller-general of the finances under Louis XIV. which, being approved of by that minister, was laid before the king. "His majesty, instead of enquiring into the merits of the project, asked if Law was a catholic?" and being answered in the negative, said, "that he would have nothing to do with a heretic." This is an instance of the wisdom of his majesty!

Mr. Law left the capital of France in 1714, and in the course of his travels won considerable sums at play, a pursuit to which he seems to have been particularly addicted. To Victor Amadeus, king of Sardinia, to whom he was introduced, he communicated a scheme for aggrandizing the territories of that prince; but his majesty declined carrying it into execution, under pretence that his dominions were too small for the execution of so great a design.

On the demise of Louis XIV. Mr. Law returned to Paris, and gained the confidence of the regent, to such a degree, that he not only admitted him to his convivial parties, but nominated him one of the counsellors of state.

The long and expensive wars of Louis XIV. had superinduced an enormous weight of debt upon the nation, which groaned under an intolerable weight of taxes, imposed for the payment of the interest. All industry was thus checked; trade in a manner annihilated; manufactures, commerce, and navigation had almost ceased; the merchant and the trader were reduced to beggary, and the artificer was compelled, for want of employment, to leave the kingdom. In short, such was the state of affairs, that it was debated in council, and proposed to the regent, to expunge at once the debts of the state, by a national bankruptcy. This proposal he nobly rejected, preferring the more equitable method of establishing a commission called a *Vila*, to enquire into the claims of the state creditors. By this commission the national debt was at length put into a kind of order, and its amount reduced to two thousand millions of livres, which, at twenty-eight livres the mark of standing silver,

(two pounds sterling) the then denomination of the specie in France, made above one hundred and forty-two millions sterling.

Mr. Law proposed to remedy the evils necessarily attendant on such an immense debt, by establishing a bank for issuing notes, secured on landed property, and on all the royal revenues, unalienably engaged for that purpose.

This scheme was approved of, but the conjuncture being thought unfavourable, he could only obtain letters patent, dated May 20, 1716, for establishing a private bank at Paris, along with his brother and some other associates. Their stock consisted of one thousand, two hundred shares, of five thousand livres, which, at forty livres the marc, amounted to two hundred and fifty pounds each, and the whole to three hundred thousand sterling.

The general bank of Law and company seems to have commenced business under the most flattering auspices; for it was not only favoured with the avowed protection of the regent, but acquired the public confidence, by providing against the arbitrary practice then common in France, of varying the denominations of the coin at the will of the monarch. The effects of such an unjustifiable measure were anticipated by the new company, who engaged to pay to the bearer, "— livres in coin, of the same weight and fineness with the coin of the day of the date of each note." Such, in a short time, was the reputation of Law's notes, that they rose one per cent. above the value of the current coin, and are said to have produced the most beneficial effects on the industry and trade of the nation.

On the 14th of December 1718, the bank was dissolved by an arbitrary arret, issued by the regent, who, observing the great advantages arising from it, and perceiving also that the people were growing fond of paper money, resolved to take it into the hands of government.

Such had been the credit of this company, that, at this period, the emission of their notes amounted to no less than fifty-nine millions of livres.

(To be concluded in our next.)



FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

HISTORY of the AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

(Continued from our last—page 165.)

1780. **A**FTER the surrender of Charleston, the British posted garrisons in different parts of the country, for the purpose of awing the inhabitants into a general submission. Nor was this difficult to be effected, among a people whose spirits were broken by a series of misfortunes, who were without an army to which the militia might repair, and who could not flee, without leaving their families and effects in the hands of the enemy. In every part of South-Carolina, except the extremities bordering on North-Carolina, schemes of

October, 1792.

further resistance were abandoned; a few fled, and the rest generally laid down their arms.

In the mean time, the British marched towards North-Carolina, with upwards of two thousand men. This movement obliged several parties, who had collected in the northern extremity of the state, with the expectation of relieving Charleston, to retreat. One party, however, consisting of about three hundred continentals, commanded by colonel Buford, was overtaken by lieutenant-colonel Tarleton, at Waxhaws, and totally defeated. Tarleton's party was about seven hundred in number, and was composed of cavalry and a corps of infantry, mounted on horseback, for the sake of expedition. Tarleton demanded the surrender of Buford and his corps, on terms similar to those granted to the garrison of Charleston, with which they refused to comply. While the flags were passing and repassing, the British had nearly surrounded their adversaries; and no sooner was the negotiation at an end, than a furious attack was commenced. The continental party made but a feeble resistance, and soon cried out for quarter; but, although the main body laid down their arms, a few straggling soldiers continued to fire. This furnished a pretext to the British for rushing on with redoubled fury, and putting the unarmed, unresisting Americans to the sword. The carnage was horrible. Five sixths of the whole were either killed, or so badly wounded, that they were obliged to be left on the field. The remainder were chiefly made prisoners.

Shortly after the surrender of Charleston, a hand-bill was circulated among the inhabitants, and, although it was not signed by any person, there was every reason to believe, that it was published by the authority of sir Henry Clinton. It stated that the success of the British was no longer doubtful, and that no danger could arise to any who should now espouse the royal cause. Those who had families were informed, that they would be permitted to remain at home, and form a militia, for the maintenance of peace and good order in their respective districts; but it was expected that those who had no families would cheerfully assist the British troops "to drive their oppressors, and all the miseries of war, from their borders;" when on service, they were to be allowed pay, &c. in the same manner as the king's troops. About the same time, a proclamation was issued, by sir Henry Clinton, in which he warned all persons not to oppose the establishment of royal government, under pain of being treated with the utmost severity in their persons, and of having their estates confiscated. In a few days after, he and admiral Arbuthnot, in the character of commissioners for restoring peace, offered to the inhabitants, with a few exceptions, pardon for past offences, and a reinstatement in the possession of all the rights and immunities they had previously enjoyed, under a free British government—exempt from taxation, except by their own legislatures.

The hope of protection and security, without being exposed to the calamities of war, induced many to assume the character of British subjects, while others, from the same motives, became prisoners on parole. A party had always been attached to royal government, though they were obliged to submit to the laws of the state. Their

now exulted in the success of the British arms, and were zealous, in the present favourable situation of affairs, to promote a cause which they had so much at heart. Their number, however, was very inconsiderable, when compared with the multitude who were obliged by necessity, or induced by convenience, to accept of British protection. Sir Henry Clinton, not discriminating between royalists from principle, and those who assumed that character with a view to temporary convenience, was led to believe that the state was completely subdued; and that the submission of the inhabitants was to be attributed, generally, to their attachment to the royal cause. Under this impression he wrote a letter to the minister, in which he informed him, that there were few men in the province who were not either prisoners to, or in arms with the British forces; and that vast numbers of the inhabitants came in daily, from every quarter, to testify their allegiance, and to offer their services in support of his majesty's government.

It was not unusual for the British ministry to hear that a large majority of the Americans were firmly attached to the cause of royalty. With information of this kind they had been amused, for several years previous to the commencement of the war, by the governors of the several colonies, and other court favourites, who represented the almost unanimous voice of the people, to be the clamour of a very inconsiderable part of the community, both with respect to numbers and character. This may, perhaps, account, in some measure, for the disrespect with which the petitions and remonstrances of the Americans were treated; and for the folly of ministers, in precipitating the nation into measures, the very reverse of those which justice and policy equally required them to adopt.—Throughout the war, they laboured under the same delusion, with respect to the real sentiments of the Americans. Those royalists who attached themselves to the British armies, or took shelter with them, almost uniformly asserted, that the bulk of the Americans, in most parts of the country, were friendly to the views of the ministry and parliament of Great Britain; and only waited for a convenient opportunity openly to avow their political sentiments, and, if necessary, to take up arms in support of the royal cause. The experience of the British generals, however, did not often establish the veracity of this information. They found that those who changed sides were always willing to be the messengers of good tidings to their new friends; and that they usually described the state of affairs in a manner that better accorded with their own wishes than with truth. It is not, however, improbable, that some believed the erroneous statement they gave to be a just one; for it frequently happens, that men mistake the principles which they find to be prevalent in their own narrow circles of friends and associates, for those of the community at large; and as men are apt to associate most intimately with those whose principles and practice are similar to their own, it was very natural for the American Tories to suppose the friends of ministerial measures to be much more numerous, in the united states, than they really were.

But, from whatever cause it might arise, certain it is, that the enemies of America were greatly misinformed respecting the general sen-

timents of the people. They were of opinion that the refractory might easily be subdued, and held in awe, by the assistance of the royalists; and general Howe, in particular, was severely censured for not having availed himself of that assistance, to the extent which it was supposed he might have done.

This system, of subduing one part of the Americans by the other, and of establishing such an internal force in each subjugated colony, as would be nearly, if not entirely, equal to its preservation and defence afterwards, had been so often held out as exceedingly practicable; and, indeed, as requiring only adoption to insure its success, that sir Henry Clinton resolved to have recourse to means which were represented as so obvious, and for the supposed negligence of which his predecessors had suffered so much obloquy and reproach. Nor had a more favourable opportunity occurred, since the beginning of the war, for trying the experiment. The inhabitants of South-Carolina, in general, were, at this crisis, without a gleam of hope, that they should ever be able to make an effectual resistance against the arms of Great-Britain. There was no regular army within four hundred miles, to aid the friends of independence, while the British were posted in force all over the country. The armies in the southern states were either captured, or totally defeated and dispersed; insomuch that there was scarcely any regular force, to the southward of Pennsylvania, not even sufficient to awe the friends of royal government. Those who should attempt to oppose the re-establishment of the British government, were threatened with confiscation and death; while every encouragement was held forth to induce the people to take up arms, and enrol themselves under the royal banners.—Such was the gloomy state of American affairs, in the southern part of the union, when the inhabitants were required to take up arms in support of the British government.

Specious promises of protection and security having already induced the greater part of the inhabitants to submit as subjects, or take their paroles as prisoners of war, sir Henry Clinton, on the 3d of June, issued a proclamation, setting forth, that it was “proper for all persons to take an active part in settling and securing his majesty’s government”—and declaring, that “all the inhabitants of the province, who were prisoners on parole, (those who were taken in fort Moultrie and Charleston excepted) should, from and after the 20th of June, be freed from their paroles, and restored to all the rights and duties belonging to citizens and inhabitants.” And it was further declared, that all persons, of the description abovementioned, who should neglect to return to their allegiance, and to support his majesty’s government, should be considered as enemies and rebels, and be treated accordingly.—Those who had submitted as prisoners on parole, justly complained of this arbitrary change of their condition, from prisoners to citizens. They found themselves brought into a dilemma, which involved them in the necessity either of fleeing out of the country, or of becoming a British militia.—The greater part of those who had submitted as subjects, in hopes of obtaining a respite from the calamities of war, were equally astonished and confounded, to find themselves called upon to take up arms in support of royal

government. Though they had submitted from motives of fear or convenience, a large majority retained their wonted affection for their American brethren, and shuddered at the thought of bearing arms against them. "If we must fight," said they, "let it be on the side of liberty, our friends, and our country." Many, looking on this proclamation as a discharge from their paroles, and reflecting on the vengeance denounced against such as did not return to their allegiance, as British subjects, took up arms, for the purpose of self-defence. But a much greater number, who were too much in the power of the British, to allow them to consult their own inclination, exchanged their paroles for the protection of British subjects; but most of them, with a secret determination to break the compulsory engagement, as soon as a convenient opportunity should present itself. With this coercive measure, therefore, commenced the decline of British authority, in South-Carolina; an effect directly the contrary of what was expected by sir Henry Clinton, who had embarked for New-York, a few days after the date of the proclamation, with the main army, leaving about four thousand men, under the command of lord Cornwallis, for the southern service.

While lord Cornwallis remained at Charleston, devoting his attention to the government and affairs of South-Carolina, and forming the inhabitants into a British militia, the part of the army destined to active service, was advanced towards the frontier of North-Carolina, under the immediate command of lord Rawdon, who, after some time, fixed his head-quarters at Camden. This place, on account of its easy communication with various and remote parts of the country, induced lord Cornwallis to make it a general repository of provisions, arms, ammunition, &c. for the use of the army in its intended operations.—He extended his views to the reduction of North-Carolina, whither he had been pressing invited, by a considerable number of loyalists, who resided in the back parts of that state. But finding the season of the year unfavourable for active exertions in that climate, and being informed that the country could not furnish an adequate supply of provisions, he requested the loyalists in North-Carolina to attend to the harvest, prepare provisions, and remain quiet till the close of August, or beginning of September, when, he assured them, he would march an army into their country.—But the loyalists, hurried by their impatience, and prompted, as they said, by the severe treatment they experienced, rose tumultuously, and without the previous formation of any plan of acting; the consequence of which was, that they were quickly suppressed, and compelled to consult their safety, by making the best of their way to the British quarters. Col. Bryan, at the head of about 800 loyalists, assembled from the neighbourhood of the river Yadkin, effected a junction with the 71st regiment, stationed in the Cheraws; but a number of the inhabitants of Tryon county, who took up arms, under the direction of col. Moore, were attacked and defeated by a party of the whig militia, commanded by general Rutherford. Several other parties were equally unsuccessful.

While the victorious British were busily employed in securing their late acquisition of territory, and in planning future and more exten-

five conquests, the Americans were endeavouring to collect an army to oppose them. General Lincoln had early represented to congress, the necessity of taking effectual measures, for checking the progress of the British arms, in the southern states; and, during the siege of Charleston, he prevailed on governor Rutledge to go out of town, and use his exertions and influence for the same purpose. That gentleman accordingly interested himself in obtaining assistance from congress, and from the governments of Virginia and North-Carolina, both of which were impelled, as well by principle as a sense of their own danger, to make the most vigorous exertions in behalf of their sister state.

The troops of the Delaware and Maryland lines, amounting to about 1400 effective men, had been ordered to march from general Washington's head-quarters, at Morristown, near the end of March, to the relief of Charleston; but, owing to a want of the necessary supplies, the quarter-master-general was unable to put this detachment in motion as soon as had been expected. The manufacturers, employed in furnishing different articles for the army, refused either to go on with their business, or to deliver what they had completed; declaring they had suffered so much from the depreciation of the circulating medium, that they would not part with their property, unless they received immediate payment. By means of great exertions, however, the troops were enabled to set out on their march by the middle of April. Proceeding by land to the Head-of-Elk, they there embarked for Petersburg, whence they again proceeded through the country, towards South-Carolina. This force was at first commanded by major-general baron de Kalb; but in the month of June, general Gates was appointed to the command of the southern army. In Virginia, great exertions were made to facilitate the expeditious march of the troops; but in North-Carolina, little or no preparations were made, either for the sustenance of the troops, or the transportation of their baggage. The baron was therefore under the necessity of halting on Deep-river, the 6th of July, and of continuing in that situation till the arrival of general Gates, on the 25th. — During this time, he found great difficulty in procuring daily provisions for the army; much less was it in his power to obtain such supplies, as would justify his proceeding through the dreary and barren waste which lay before him. The commissaries and quarter-masters complained, that the want of cash and of credit were insuperable obstacles to the discharge of their duty. He was in daily expectation, however, of being joined by a considerable body of North-Carolina militia, which had taken the field under general Caswell; and of receiving, at the same time, a supply of provisions. But he was disappointed in both. Caswell was engaged, in keeping the disaffected inhabitants in awe; and no part of the promised supply was ever received. Under these circumstances, a council of war recommended to baron de Kalb, instead of attempting to proceed by the direct road to Camden, which lay through a country of fine barrens, sand-hills, and swamps, to file off towards the well cultivated settlements in the vicinity of the Waxhaws, where abundant supplies for the army might be obtained. But general Gates, on taking the command, preferred the direct road to

Camden, to this circuitous route. He conceived it to be most for the interest of the united States, that the army should arrive in the vicinity of the British encampments as soon as possible. The troops accordingly passed Deep-river, on the 27th of July; and proceeded immediately towards Camden.

In the mean time, that tranquility which the British had enjoyed, in South-Carolina, for some time after the reduction of Charleston, met with considerable interruption. As their troops advanced towards the upper part of the State, many of the determined friends of independence, rather than submit as British subjects, or as prisoners on parole, deserted their homes, and took refuge in North-Carolina. Among these was col. Sumpter, a brave and enterprising officer, and an enthusiastic whig. Soon after he quitted his home, a party of the British turned his wife and family out of doors, and burned his house, with all the effects it contained. The ill-judged severity of the British was a leading cause of the opposition which they afterwards experienced. Instead of attempting to conciliate the affections of those, from whom fear had extorted a temporary submission, they exasperated them, by the devastation and plunder of their property; inasmuch, that vast numbers were disposed to gratify their resentment, as soon as a convenient opportunity should occur. The South-Carolina exiles having chosen col. Sumpter for their leader, returned to their own State, and boldly took the field against a powerful and victorious enemy, at a time when the inhabitants had apparently relinquished all thoughts of further resistance. This little band of patriot soldiers took the field under great disadvantages. Many of them were unprovided with arms; and their supply of ammunition was exceedingly scanty. They were under the necessity of getting rude weapons of war made, by blacksmiths, from the iron of farming utensils; and the only way in which they could furnish themselves with bullets, was, by melting pewter furniture, which was given to them for the purpose, by private house-keepers.

This first appearance of opposition roused all the indignant passions of the British leaders, against the inhabitants. Without taking any share of the blame to themselves, for constraining men to submit to an authority, which neither their reason nor affections acknowledged, they charged them with studied duplicity and treachery; and, laying aside lenient measures, for those that were dictated by revenge, confined several of the inhabitants, on suspicion of their being accessory to the recommencement of hostilities. This, added to their insolence and rapine, not only prevented an increase of the real friends of royal government, but disgusted those who had been its firmest adherents.

The first effort of renewed warfare, on the part of the Americans, was made by 133 of Sumpter's corps, on the 12th of July, who attacked and routed a detachment of British regulars and militia, which were posted in a lane, at Williamson's plantation, in the upper part of South-Carolina. This was the first advantage gained over the British, since the beginning of the year. Captain Huck, who commanded the British party, was killed in the engagement. He had discovered a most illiberal inveteracy against the presbyterians, in the

neighbourhood where he was stationed. He burned the library and dwelling house of their clergyman, and all the bibles he could find, containing the Scotch translation of the psalms. Inspired with a detestation of this impious and barbarous conduct, the numerous devout inhabitants of the district, who were also staunch whigs, felt themselves called upon to defend not only their civil liberties, but their holy religion. They accordingly joined Sumpter's party, and opposed the enemy, with a degree of ardour bordering on enthusiasm. Such was the alacrity with which they turned out, at a time when no effort to oppose the British was made in any other part of the state, that, in a few days after the defeat of Huck's party, col. Sumpter found himself at the head of 600 men, who, like their gallant leader, were unanimously determined, to stand or fall with the liberties of their country. Sumpter's little army being thus augmented, he made a spirited attack on a British party stationed at Rocky-mount; but as they were secured by works of considerable strength, on which he could make no impression without artillery, he was obliged to retreat. He soon after attacked and defeated a royal detachment, consisting of the Prince of Wales's regiment and a large body of tories, posted at Hanging-rock. The regular regiment was almost totally cut in pieces. From two hundred and seventy-eight, it was reduced to nine. The tories, defeated on this occasion, were a part of those North-Carolinians, commanded by colonel Bryan, who had lately joined the royal army. At the commencement of the action, the Americans were so short of ammunition, that not a man of them had more than ten bullets; but in the latter part of it, they acquired a supply, both of arms and ammunition, by stripping such of the enemy as fell in the beginning.

While Sumpter inspired the people, as it were, with new life, by a succession of gallant enterprises, it became generally known, that an army was approaching from the northward, to check the progress of the British arms in the southern states. This encouraged the whig militia, in the extreme parts of South-Carolina, to turn out, in small parties, under leaders of their own choice, and attack sometimes detachments from the royal army, but more frequently parties of their own countrymen, who, as a royal militia, were acting in concert with the British troops. But as the several American parties took up arms from the impulse of their own minds, without a knowledge of each other's motions, or any preconcerted plan of acting in conjunction, no very important advantages were gained over the enemy. A spirit of enterprise, however, daily gained ground among the people, and many, who had been under the necessity of becoming a British militia, availed themselves of the opportunity which now presented itself, to throw off the mask, and avow their attachment to the cause of liberty and their country.

(To be continued.)

I M P A R T I A L R E V I E W

OF AMERICAN PUBLICATIONS.

SKETCHES on ROTATIONS of CROPS.—

Philadelphia.—1792.—*Price one eighth of a dollar.*

THE author of these "Sketches" has not given his name to the public; but, what is of much more importance, he has furnished the agricultural part of the community with an excellent treatise, on an important subject, that of a judicious rotation of crops. To design such a system of farming, as may not only preserve, but improve the richness of the soil; as may at once increase the farmer's income, and admit of a steady succession of employment, without the disagreeable extremes of excessive hurry at certain seasons, and a total cessation of business at others, are the desirable objects of this, and of every other publication on rotations of crops.—It rests with farmers to second the laudable endeavours of judicious writers, on this and on other agricultural subjects, by listening to reason, and not rejecting theories as absurd, until experience shall have determined with respect to their merits. The author of this pamphlet, however, is not a farmer in theory only; he appears to be well acquainted with the practice, as well as the principles of agriculture. He first gives a description and comparative view of the old and new systems of crops in England. The advantages of the latter are thus briefly stated.

The better course of husbandry, now well experienced and approved of in England, is founded on these principles: To *fallow**, and to have growing on the fallow a *sodding* and ameliorating crop; never to sow any sort of corn immediately after corn of any kind; to sow *clover* with or on every field of grain; and by a course of well-chosen crops and the shaded fallows, prevent the soil from resting, hardening or running into weeds and common grasses. Thus entire farms are continued in a constant rotation, under 5 to 6 or 8 divisions; so as with the clean, mellow state of the whole arable, to give a pleasing system of business, which improves the soil, and procures a considerably larger income.

Clover only *one* year on the ground, is the most recent course. When it is continued two or more years, it lets in weeds and some binding of the ground, to a degree which occasioned the saying, that the ground becomes "clover sick." But *yearly* renewing the clover, in the rotation of crops, neither admits of weeds, or a binding of the ground. The clover in this case, being sufficiently thick and well-sowed, effectually shades and mellows the soil, without having time allowed it to decline.

The following detached extracts will doubtless be acceptable to such of our agricultural readers, as may not have an opportunity of perusing the whole treatise. Those who wish to see a more full and connected view of the subject, are referred to the work itself.

* To fallow, is to plough up the ground repeatedly; which shifts its surfaces and lightens and cleans it from wild grass and weeds. One or two fields being so fallowed in each year, as in the new rotations, the whole is broken up and cleaned once in every five or six years.

Of the AMERICAN OLD SYSTEM of CROPS

WHEN in America a farm is divided into three fields, the common course is maiz, wheat (or rye,) and rubbish pasture. When in four fields, it is maiz, naked fallow, wheat, and the like mean pasture: or maiz, wheat, lay, or poor pasture during two years. And whilst in some parts of America, the fields are 4 or 5, in other parts the divisions are as low as 2. Altho' 5 are better than 4; and 4 better than 3; yet the best of these admit not of a proper course or rotation of crops, especially when maiz is one of them. So mean are the productions of the 3 and 4 field divisions, when maiz has been continued a crop, that they will not allow of being rated by the acre, near so high as the present statements allow to either mode of the English husbandry, or, as we may believe, to the American husbandry, when practised according to the improved principles of cropping, with or without maiz. Two exhausting corn crops, perpetually taken from 3 or 4 fields, after some years, will scarcely admit of 8 bushels of wheat an acre on common land, one year with another; but, suppose

No. III.

100 a. maiz, at 12 bushels, 1200
 100 - wheat - 800
 100 - lay or mean pasture, 800
 —————
 300 a. in 3 fields, 2800 bs.

No. IV.

75 a. maiz, 900
 75 - wheat, 600
 75 - lay, 750
 75 - lay, 750
 —————
 300 a. in 4 fields.

If clover seed had been sowed with or on the wheat of No. IV. the lay fields would have given better pasture than when the lay is left to run into rubbish grass and weeds: but either is far inferior to the new courses. No. III. & IV. give light crops, mostly of a cheap corn, very poor pasture, and but little hay (if any) for the enlivenment of the farmer, the comfort of a stock of hidebound beasts, and the preservation of a soil, which is in an obvious consumption. Under such severe treatment, land is continually losing strength; and it may be, greater productions are here allowed than the old settled maiz farms yield, and than new ones can long continue to yield under the old habits of a less rational mode of farming, if it may be called farming.

We almost universally cultivate one field in maiz, whatever may be in the other fields. The maiz being frequently ploughed (horsehoed,) the ground is thereby kept clean, and gives a fallow with a crop: but it is an ill-chosen crop for a fallow, because of its giving only a trifle of shade to the fresh exposed soil, and because it is corn, to be succeeded by another crop of corn; both terrible exhausters. Some farmers sow wheat on this maiz-field, before the maiz is ripe, on a clean and light soil. Others delay sowing it till the ensuing summer, when the soil being somewhat settled and in weeds, they plough, harrow, and sow it with wheat. Of the two evils, farmers differ in their choice. I have known some of them, who had practised both methods, return to the former, because the latter was, as they judged, more injurious to the soil than the former method.

AMERICAN NEW FALLOW-CROP METHOD; WITH AND WITHOUT MAIZ.

MAIZ, taken into a rotation under the new system of crops, according to the new principles of husbandry, occasions some difficulties, which seem best overcome by

* Maiz, or Indian corn.

† A few years since, it was a general belief that six bushels of wheat was the medium crop of a large extent of the country, but it is now evident that, from greater attentions, husbandry has in general advanced so as to give considerably more by the acres in that district.

creasing the number of fields. Our husbandmen are so used to this kind of corn, that scarcely any appear disposed to give up the culture of it, for productions which are much milder, in their effects on land.

A Maiz-Courfe.

No. V.

50 a. maiz	-	15 bushels	750
50 - wheat (or spring barley)	-		750
50 - clover	-		
50 - rye (or winter barley)	-		900
50 - clover	-		
50 - clover	-		
<hr/>			
300 a. in 6 fields.			2400

The great fault in this system is in wheat succeeding maiz, that is corn on corn. Rye or barley might have been in the place of wheat; but these also are corns, which exhaust the soil. Clover after maiz is not likely to futceed; especially when sowed without a sheltering crop; and this sheltering crop being from grain, would introduce the mischief incident to corn on corn. But even this faulty system is far preferable to any of our old courfes. Had there been only five fields it would have been worse for the soil; because a courfe of only two fields in clover to three in corn, must in time render the ground weak, and comparatively unproductive.

Better Maiz-Courfes.

No. VI.

50 a. maiz	-		750 Bushels.
50 - beans	-		500
50 - barley	-		1000
50 - clover	-		
50 - wheat	-		750
50 - clover	-		
<hr/>			
300 a. in 6 fields.			3000

No. VII.

43 a. maiz	-	15 Bs.	645
43 - beans	-	10	430
43 - barley	-	20	860
43 - clover	-		
43 - wheat	-	15	645
43 - clover	-		
43 - clover	-		
<hr/>			
300 a. in 7 fields.			2580

Here the corn crops* are interposed by clover and beans; a pulse which is ameliorating to the soil; especially when growing in rows so near as to *shade* the well ploughed and cleaned intervals: and these crops give three or four ameliorators to three exhausters."

"The greatest quantity of grain produced in a rotation is not alone a proof of its being the best system. A large quantity of good meadow will yield much hay. It is a sin against good husbandry to sell off the hay of a farm. Numbers of cattle well fed and well littered, give the manure requisite for invigorating the soil: but numbers of cattle cannot be kept in good condition, *through the year*, unless clover or grass, as well as hay abound."

*Corn crops. Wheat, barley, rye, maiz, oats, and generally all sorts of grain of which bread is made, are corns.

sol saw, gnidguoly bnoo! on CLOVER-SEED. nroeg ois to rnoq a. hnd 2300.

This is an important article in the improved system of crops: but its bearing some price, or costing some labour to obtain it, renders it a bug-bear to common husbandmen, whose habits have diverted them from the large use of it. It is indeed absolutely necessary, that it should be a common crop in rotation with other articles of crop. And it is hoped, there are farmers spirited and determined enough to defeat the objections; and who will consider the cost not chargeable merely to the crop of clover, but to the whole round of crops; the clover being so essential thereto, that without it, the soil, the cattle, and the corn crops would greatly suffer; and the farmer's income, his reputation, and his independency would be lessened. If 4lbs. of clean clover-feed, when sown with such a box as is described below, clothe the ground as well with plants as 10 or 12lbs. sown in the common broad-cast way, of which I have had a little experience, then a bushel of seed will sow 15 acres; which is a cost of only 5 shillings an acre. Thirty loads of dung per acre (*unbought*) would cost the farmer four times as much for loading, carrying, and dispersing them on the field; and, if bought, many times more. He can manure or ameliorate 100 acres with clover more certainly than he can 20 from his dungheap; and moreover in the time that his clover is sheltering the soil, perspiring its excrementitious effluvia on the ground, dropping its putrid leaves, and mellowing the ground with its tap roots, it gives full food to the stock of cattle, keeps them in heart, and increases the dunghill. Nor is the amelioration by clover very inferior to that by dung, as this is commonly managed. In some respects it is preferable. With dung, innumerable seeds of weeds are carried out, and sown in the fields: not so of clover-feed, when it is well cleaned. Clover is the best preparative for a crop of wheat. Dung inclines wheat to run more into straw than full grain. Wheat on clover has the best grain and the fullest crop.

SOWING WHEAT ON CLOVER.

The language of farmers on this head is, that wheat on clover is to be sown on "one earth" — "one ploughing." To conform to this idea, I conducted the business, on 15 acres, in this manner:

1. The clover, having been cut once and then pastured, was turned in deep, by a plough.
2. The wheat was sowed, broadcast.
3. The harrow followed twice, in the same direction in which the clover was ploughed in.
4. The sown wheat was then rolled.

The crop stood well and yielded satisfactorily. It grew near two miles from my other field-wheat, on a soil not quite similar, so that a just comparison could not be made between them. The operations immediately followed each other, without any pause between them. The plough, the harrow, the seed, &c. were all ready on the spot, before the plough proceeded.

Mr. Young was requested, in Ireland, to instruct the farmers of that country in proper courses of crops: and when he comes to direct them how to sow wheat on clover, he only says — "The clover is to be well ploughed in, with an even, regular furrow; and the wheat sown and harrowed well." Which is precisely the method I used; only that, in addition, my ground was then rolled*.

One of my neighbours, intending to sow wheat on clover, ploughed up the clover a week or two before seeding-time, and then gave it a second ploughing, a-cross, and sowed wheat on it; but whether this was ploughed in or harrowed in, I know not. Vast numbers of roots of the clover were left standing erect above ground, all over the field, and had a disagreeable appearance. Here was some unnecessary labour, a useless and even an injurious ploughing, whereby the manure from those substantial

* The operations may vary, according to circumstances in the state of the ground and the nature of the soil. On a clean mellow earth, I have experienced, in a comparative view, that harrowing in wheat is equal to ploughing it in, on the same soil, and equally clean and mellow; both being adjacent, and the work being performed on the same day — not so of foul or indifferently tilled ground. In some cases the rolling may be dispensed with, and would be better omitted; as on heavy ground in a moist state of it. It is, in some places, recommended to plough in the clover shallow (3 inches); and that another plough follow close and cover the first furrow with 4 inches depth of earth: so that the ground is turned up 7 inches in all.

roots and a part of the green herbage, so turned out by the second ploughing, was lost to the crop.

Another neighbour sowed wheat on clover with an intention not only to experience that method of cropping, but also to discover the difference between the produce of wheat sown on clover *pastured*, and on clover *mowed*. In both he obtained great satisfaction. His operations were less confined than mine, which were meant to be few and as simple as might be.

He 1. Ploughed in the clover, deep.

2. Harrowed.

3. Rolled.

4. Sowed wheat.

5. Ploughed it in, *shallow*.

6. Harrowed it, in the same direction.

Half of the wheat so sowed, was on the clover ground which had been twice *mowed* and the clover made into hay; the other half, on what had been *pastured* through the summer. The operations of seeding were at the same time, and in the same manner. The produce from that twice mowed was half as much more in quantity by the acre, to that pastured.—So injurious is the tread of beasts in pasturing, more than any good derived to the soil from scattered dung, here and there dropt and exposed to utter exhaustion by the sun and wind.

Submitting these facts to the consideration of farmers, I have only to recommend, that they endeavour to have their clover grow sufficiently thick on the ground, and that it be suffered to remain only one summer, exclusive of the year when the preceding crop of grain was reaped, and upon which grain-field the clover-seed was sown.

OF STOCK.

It is advantageous to a farm, and of some immediate income, to have on it as numerous a stock of cattle as can be kept *well*, and no more than can be *so* kept: It is better to have too few than too many: Yet, in parts of America, farmers exceedingly disproportionate their cattle to their provender—they will have numbers of hidebound creatures, of which more die from the mere want of food and shelter, than are sold or eaten: So that less meat and less manure are derived from a great number so poorly kept, than other farmers have from a due proportion in a smaller number well kept. Besides, does not the man feel shame in the cruelty of *harving* and keeping in a state of want and misery, a fellow-creature committed to his care? Is it not a trust to the creature man, from the Father of all creatures?

The live stock is to be as many as can be kept *sheltered* from cold rains and with *abundant winter and summer food*. Of all the kinds, the horse is the most costly and the most injurious to the farm: He bites close, is almost continually treading and poaching the ground, and eats more than the ox as 5 to 3; yet is not, himself, eatable: When he dies, he is lost for ever. The ox is meat: After having given us his labour, he becomes a part of ourselves; we have the value of him for ever in us. Steers are unprofitable: They cost 6 or 7 years keeping, without yielding labour; and are then sold for less than the cost of keeping and fattening them.* Sheep are profitable: but are not here in the design, because they are totally discarded by the farmers of this neighbourhood; and there are circumstances which more particularly affect this than any other parts of the country, respecting them. Sows and pigs, if not also hogs, ought to be kept where there is a dairy, as they make a considerable part of its profit, from the offal milk. Hogs are profitably kept on green clover, and fattened on potatoes and corn.

The quantity of land, alone, is no rule for determining the number of cattle or other live stock: Not only the quantity and quality, but also the situation and the crops will affect the question; and the attentive farmer will determine from his experience, how far he is to enlarge or reduce the number of his live stock.

Cows in milk are not to want water. In this climate, they ought to be watered three times a day. Their water ought to be near; as driving cows any distance, is very injurious to their milk.

* In a former publication, I endeavoured to prove, that treading the ground, in constant pasturing, is more injurious to the soil, than scraps of dung, dispersed and left exposed to the sun and wind, are beneficial.

OBSERVATIONS on NOVEL-READING; in an ESSAY, written by a member of the Belles-Lettres society of Dickinson college, at Carlisle.—Philadelphia, 1792.—Price one eighth of a dollar.

TO those parents, and instructors of youth, who have not sufficiently reflected on the pernicious consequences of permitting young minds to imbibe the principles contained in most of our modern novels, we would recommend a perusal of this essay. The author appears to have made the most of a thread-bare subject. He has stated, in a plain and forcible manner, those effects, which the opinion of moral writers, supported by reason and experience, has long ascribed to a species of reading, which is for the most part unprofitable—frequently injurious. Such of our fair readers as inconsiderately trifle away the precious hours of youth in the indiscriminate perusal of novels, will find, in the following extract, some incentives to devote their attention to more useful studies.

What a vast difference would there be, if the ladies dedicated that time they so idly throw away on novels, to reading such books as their parents, or some friends who are capable of judging, might recommend to them as most proper and profitable. By this means their minds would be expanded—their ideas enlarged—their judgments ripened and strengthened—and they would experience the most satisfaction in the company of persons of understanding: whereas, while they continue to make novels their favourite employment, they must be in pain, except when surrounded by such as have spent their time to the same purpose, and arrived at the same degree of—*ignorance* with themselves. It would work a reformation on a great many young men, whose idleness and aversion to learning render them odious to attentive students, and off-casts from their society; and instead of meeting with protection among the ladies, and being their particular favourites, as, I must say, they commonly are, they would find themselves despised and ridiculed, and would have no alternative but that of applying closely to their studies, in order to obtain peace of mind, and to reinstate themselves into favour.

It is as lamentable as it is unjust, that this general inattention of females to learning, that this neglect of the improvement of their minds, should entail disgrace on the whole sex, and involve it under an imputation of a deficiency in mental faculties. But it is not, my fair readers! yet too late to rescue your sex from this reflection—happily it is in your power, and I pray you to neglect no opportunity, by attention—by application—by the study of *proper books*—by a care of what company you keep—and in particular, whom you admit to your sincere friendship and confidence—to convince our sex that you have been blessed by nature, in, at least, as ample a degree as they—Nay, by your great improvements and attainments, you might even humble their pride, lessen their mighty ideas of superiority, and put them to the blush on account of the *littleness* of their knowledge, which would otherwise be comparatively *great*; and it is this comparative greatness that renders them frequently very conceited. You would excite in them an emulation to excel. Now this emulation is a virtue, and is a sure road to excellence.

How many valuable ends would by this means be accomplished at once!—You would convince the world of your capacities—you would improve your own minds—and at the same time assist in rendering those of the male sex more accomplished, as well by the emulation with which you would inspire them, as by your sound and instructing conversation.

Besides, as the bringing up of children, and the first principles of their education, are much the care, and in a great measure the lot of the female parent: you would now be capable of discharging your duty in this respect, by training them up in a proper manner, by instilling into them sound principles, and, what is of far more effect, by setting them also a virtuous example;—but when precept and example are compatible, and go hand in hand, they corroborate, they give peculiar force to each other. And the happiness of society much depends on the wise and faithful discharge of this important duty.

Columbian Parnassiad.

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.
S. O. N. N. E. T.

Whatever conflicts in my breast engage,
Shield me from haughty pride and cruel
rage;
Teach me with candour through life's
scenes to rove,
And clasp my neighbour with fraternal
love;
The worthy great to honour, free from
fear;
The weak to pity, and the good revere.

O THOU dear object of my hapless
love!
Long to my heart thy fancied form I've
prest;
But, summon'd now to thy abode above,
There, in thy arms, I'll find sweet bal-
my rest.

Thy former pangs revibrate tho' my soul,
When thou didst smile at agonizing
grief;
'Twas Heaven who taught thy feelings
to control,
And gave thee resignation for relief!

When to the vale of life my steps de-
scend,
Humanity! thy votary befriend,
Instruct me every virtue more to prize,
Blest in the converse of the good and wise.
And when my soul prepares to take her
flight,

Now death, to me, would prove a wish'd-
for guest
But ah!—to leave thy emblems quite
forlorn!

Oh! then the hope of heavenly bliss ex-
cite;
Whisper that mildness may expect the
best skies,

What friend will cheer and hug them to
his breast,
When stern misfortune causeth them to
mourn?

And with the hand of friendship close my
eyes:
Philad. Oct. 1792.

My hov'ring soul first views the bliss
thou'dst give;
Then clinging infants make me wish to
live.

CON STANT I A.

H. K. jun.

Oct. 18, 1792.

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.
ADDRESS to HUMANITY.

SICK of the world, in prime of days,
Constantia took a serious fit—
Resolv'd to smn all balks and plays,
And only read what saints had writ—
To Bethlehem's walls she would re-
pair,
And be a penfive sister there.

TO thee, Humanity! still let me bend,
And own thee Reason's guide, and
Virtue's friend.

A sailor, loitering from his crew,
As chance would have it, pass'd along—
She told him what she had in view,
And he reply'd—Fair maid, you're
wrong;
Let faded nymphs to Bethlehem go,
Where kisses freeze and love is no.

What tho' my poverty forbids relief
To him who pines in sickness and in grief,
Thy heavenly dictates still can bliss im-
part;

For well thou know'st the feelings of my
heart.
In ev'ry vein thy kind sensations flow;
I feel thee ever in my bosom glow.

The barren oak and cluster'd pine
Afford a gloomy, sad delight;
But why that bloom of health resign,
The mingled tnat of red and white:
In cloister'd cells the flowers expire
That on the plain all eyes admire.

To charm the heart on earth, to thee is
given,
Whilst thy mild raptures raise the soul to
heaven.

With such a pensive, pious train
Who, but a hermit could agree—
Ah, rather stay to grace the plain,
Or wander on the wave with me :
For you the painted bark shall wait
And I would die for such a freight.

No wandering seaman, she replied,
Can tempt me to forego my plan ;
No barque that wafts him o'er the tide,
'Nor many a better looking man :
Go, wanderer, plough your gloomy
sea,
Constantia must a sister be.

To gain so fair a flower as you,
The tar returned, who would not plead ?
Nor shall you, nymph, to Bethlehem go,
While love can write what you must read :
Come, to yon' meadow let us stray,
I have some handsome things to say.—

Love has his wish when reason fails—
In vain he sigh'd, in vain he strove :
Forsake, said she, those swelling fails
If you would have me—think of love :
Great merit has your sailing art,
But absence would distract my heart.
What else was said, we secret keep ;
The tar, grown fonder of the shore,
Neglects his prospects on the deep,
And she of Bethlehem talks no more :
He slyly quits the coasting trade ;
She pities her—that dies a maid.

Philad. 1792.

ODE Sung at the Great Wigwam of the
Tammany Society, or Columbian Order, of
New-York, on the celebration of the Third
Century of the Discovery of America by
Christopher Columbus, on the 12th October,
1492.

YE Sons of freedom ! hail the day
That brought a second world to
view,

To great Columbus' men'ry pay
The praise and honour justly due.

Chorus.

Let the important theme inspire
Each breast with patriotic fire.

Long did oppression o'er the world,
Her sanguine banners wide display ;
Dark bigotry her thunders hurled,
And freedom's domes in ruin lay.
Justice and liberty had flown,
And tyrants call'd the world their
own.

Thus heaven our race with pity viewed ;
Resolved bright freedom to restore :
And, heaven-directed, o'er the flood,
Columbus found her on this shore.
O'er the blessed land, with rays di-
vine,

She shone, and shall for ever shine.

Hark ! from above, the great decree
Floats in celestial notes along ;
"Columbia ever shall be free."
Exulting thousands swell the song.
Patriots reverse the great decree ;
Columbia ever shall be free.

Here shall the enthusiastic love,
Which freemen to their country owe,
Enkindled, glories, from above,
In every patriot bosom glow ;
Inspire the heart, the arm extend,
The rights of freedom to defend.

Secure forever, and entire,
The Rights of Man shall here remain :
No nobles kindle discord's fire,
Nor despot load with slavery's chain :
Here shall the oppress'd find sweet
repose,
Since none but tyrants are our
foes.

Here commerce shall her sails extend,
Science diffuse her kindest ray ;
Religion's purest flame ascend ;
And peace shall crown each happy day,
Thrice favored land, by Heaven de-
signed
A world of blessings for mankind.

Then while we keep this jubilee,
While seated round this awful shrine,
Columbus' deeds our theme shall be,
And liberty, that gift divine.
Let the transporting theme inspire
Each breast with patriotic fire.

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

The SAD REVERSE.

MILD were the accents of the maid I
loved,
And all my friends my youthful flame ap-
proved.

No sooner did the priest his task perform,
Than Love's soft sighs were turned to Fu-
ry's storm.

Alas ! how vain all mortal hopes of
bliss !
The harshest word she ever spoke was
"Yes."

Philad. 1792.

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

HISTORICAL SKETCH of the PROCEEDINGS of CONGRESS, in the year 1791, which commenced, at Philadelphia, on the 24th of October, 1789.

(Continued from our last—page 205.)

(DEBATE on the FISHERY BILL—concluded.)

MR. Page.—No man in this house is more heartily disposed to encourage the fisheries of the united states than I am : nor can any one more sincerely wish to encourage the bold, active, and enterprising adventurers in that branch of our commerce to persevere in it, than I do ; being sensible of the importance of their traffic in peace, and of the defence of their country, and annoyance of their enemies in war ; but, sir, I much doubt whether congress can give that encouragement to the fisheries to which they are entitled, and which policy would lead the general government to give, were it not restricted by the constitution.

I consider, sir, the constitution as intended to remedy the defects of the confederation to a certain degree ; so far only, as would secure the independence and general welfare of the confederated states, without endangering the sovereignty and independence of the individual states — Congress, therefore, was authorized to pay the debts of the union, and to regulate commerce ; partly for that purpose, and partly to prevent improper and dangerous commercial combinations ; jealousies and altercations between the states ; but congress was not entrusted with any regulation of exports, which could admit of an interposition which might be dictated by partiality ; nor was congress permitted to lay any tax, which could by any possibility operate unequally on the states in general. It is said, indeed, that if a drawback be not allowed on the salt used in salting fish, there will be, in fact, a duty on the exportation of the fish ; but to this, I think, it may be replied, that the constitution guards the exports of each state against the possibility of a *partial* restriction by congress, or even by the states themselves ; that congress cannot lay a duty on the exportation of rice, indigo, tobacco, &c. or any other article exported from any state, because this might be done to the injury of the state where such duty would operate, and to the advantage and aggrandisement of some particular states, its competitors, more favoured by the general government, or possessing more influence in the debates of congress ; and that the states are also individually restrained from laying such duties, without the consent of congress, to prevent acts which might produce jealousies, commercial combinations, and perhaps, at length, civil dissensions ;—that this restriction, if it be intended to prevent partiality, therefore, cannot extend to authorize drawbacks, which may be productive of partial preferences, and their consequent jealousies ; that if drawbacks be granted at all, they ought to be universally extended to every article which is or can be exported from any of the states, having in its composition a dutiable ingredient ; that hence ships, and other vessels, &c. should have drawbacks on the sails, cordage, iron, &c. but it may also be said, that as to the duty on salt, that is amply repaid to the merchant by the price annexed to his fish ; the sums laid out in salt and fish together form a capital, on which he takes care to have a sufficient profit. The merchants employed in this traffic, if allowed a drawback, would have a preference to other merchants, who import largely, pay heavy duties, and have no other advantage than the usual advance on their goods. The exporter of any article, with a drawback, must have an advantage over his fellow-citizens, who purchase through necessity many dutiable articles, and are obliged to consume them, without any other benefit than the use of them. I mention this, because it has been said (by Mr. Ames) that having made the men of Marblehead pay for salt, they have a right to demand the money expended in that salt, on the exportation of their fish : for it would be as reasonable for the man who had eat his fish, on which his salt was expended, or who had used any other article for which he had paid a duty, to claim of congress a return of his money expended therein, as the exporter of fish ; the only difference is, that if both were paid the exact sum so expended by them, the exporter of fish would get twice paid ; the purchaser or consumer of his fish would pay him for his salt therein, as if it were subtax.

October, 1792.

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fish, and the state for it as mere salt: here then is a field for partiality, discontent, and complaints, which the constitution wisely guards against. It cannot, therefore, be to any purpose, to tell us that a bounty, or allowance, as it is now called, is preferable to a drawback; as there is not so great room for fraud in the one as the other: nor can it be of importance to shew that the fishermen have not the profit to which they are entitled; that their services in the last war deserve rewards, &c. their country shared with them the glory of their gallant behaviour; but they alone received the rewards they aimed at—the 1200 ships they took, was a compensation for services, and a reward for those exploits. It is true they annoyed the enemy; it is certain their prizes sometimes fed, armed, and clothed our armies; but it is not said that they did not receive payment for furnishing those things.

But here we are asked, is it not of great consequence to the united states, to employ those bold, skilful seamen in our service, that we may enjoy the commercial advantage they give us in peace, and their powerful assistance in war?—to this I reply, that it ought first to be proved that congress has the power and authority to give them the encouragement demanded; and even if congress have that power, it ought to be shewn that it can be extended to the benefit of the sailors of some of the states, and not to those of every state. It may be said, that congress may, with as much propriety, give bounties to our hunters in the western country, to raise up a nursery of soldiers as a barrier against the Indians, and to promote the fur trade, as to give drawbacks and bounties to the fishermen of the eastern states with a view to encourage fisheries, and to raise a nursery of seamen for their defence against enemies who may invade our eastern frontiers. Indeed, if defence be the object in view, we might as well give bounties to sturdy landsmen, to be in readiness and constant training for war.

Indeed, sir, I confess I am not altogether convinced, that if congress have this power, it ought to be thus exercised; because it is not clear to me, that those fishermen would not be more profitable to the united states, if they were cultivating the lands which now lie waste, and raising families, which would be of ten times more value than their fisheries. A nursery of virtuous families, which will produce soldiers, sailors, husbandmen and statesmen, must be preferable to a mere nursery of sailors, who generally live single, and often perish at sea. I always look upon the loss of a crew to an infant republic, as the loss almost of a new state.

I speak of this question, however, as a citizen of the united states, as a member of this house. Were I to discuss it as a citizen of Massachusetts, and in their legislature, I should say, as the state is nearly filled with inhabitants, and our fishermen increase your commerce in peace, protect us in war, and indeed even enrich us by their prizes, it is our interest to encourage them to the utmost, and to prevent their going into the service of other countries. I might therefore, as a member of the legislature of that state, do all in my power to procure bounties for them, and indeed for all the sailors belonging to that state; but I should not think of applying to congress for their assistance; not only because I doubt their right to afford it, but because I should look upon it as in some degree derogatory to the sovereignty and independence of the state. I should look upon such an interference of congress as a step towards swallowing up the powers of the state governments, and as consolidating the different states into one government; which the wise and virtuous in every state always protested against as dangerous to their liberties; the fear of which, consolidation prevented many good men from voting for the adoption of the new government.

The framers of the constitution guarded so much against a possibility of such partial preferences as might be given, if congress had the right to grant them, that even to encourage learning and useful arts, the granting of patents is the extent of their power; and surely nothing could be less dangerous to the sovereignty or interest of the individual states, than the encouragement which might be given to ingenious inventors or promoters of valuable inventions in the arts and sciences—the encouragement which the general government might give to the fine arts, to commerce, to manufactures and agriculture, might, if judiciously applied, redound to the honour of congress, and the splendor, magnificence, and real advantage of the united states: but the wise framers of our new constitution saw that if congress had the power of exercising what has been called a royal munificence for these purposes, congress might, like many royal benefactors, misplace their munificence, might elevate sycophants, and be inattentive to men unfriendly to the views of government; might reward the ingenuity of the citizen of one state, and neglect a much greater genius of another—a

citizen of a powerful state, it might be said, was attended to, whilst that of one of less weight in the federal scale was totally neglected. It is not sufficient to remove these objections, to say, as some gentlemen have said, that congress is incapable of partiality or absurdities, and that they are as far from committing them as my colleagues or myself—I tell them the constitution was formed on a supposition of human frailty; and to restrain abuses of mistaken powers: the constitution has been said by some to be like the answers of the oracles of old, capable of various and opposite constructions; that it has been ingeniously contrived like some of them to suit two events, a republican or a monarchical issue; I will not pretend to say that this is not in some instances too just an observation, nor will I undertake to deny that it was not the intention of some of the convention that such ambiguities might be in their constitution, to correspond with the critical and ambiguous state of the American mind, respecting government; but I will boldly affirm, that whatever the theories of that day might lead some to think, respecting the application of monarchical principles to the government of the united states, no one can at this day pretend that they are applicable to their circumstances, their dispositions or interests, or even are agreeable to the wishes of the people. Even before the adoption of the constitution, when the rights of men had not been so thoroughly investigated as they since have been, it must be remembered, that whole states, and large and respectable minorities in other states, complained of and objected to the aristocratical and monarchical features of the new government. In vain did the friends of the new government, friends of order, of union, or of liberty, contend that the powers granted by the constitution, which appeared so alarming, were such as would never be exerted, but when all good men would acknowledge the necessity of exercising them, and that indeed they would be explained or restrained by some future amendments—the sagacious and eloquent Henry shook his head at such promises, sighed, and submitted to the will of the majority, a small one indeed, but foretold, from the knowledge of the human heart, what would be done and said in justification of every measure which might extend the power of congress.

Is it politic and wise then, Mr. chairman, to exert the power contended for, even if it be authorized by the constitution? May not the interference of congress in the business of regulating the trade in the eastern states excite, if not envy, on account of a supposed partiality, a jealousy, lest congress undertake to meddle in the commercial regulations of other states? May not congress with equal propriety undertake to regulate the tobacco, the rice and indigo trade, as well as that of the fisheries? If they intermeddle in the business of sailors, why not in that of manufacturers and farmers? Where, I may ask with my colleague, may they they not go on in their zeal, and I will add, in their laudable pursuit of promoting the general welfare; and how totally may they be mistaken? If jealousy of rival states, instead of mutual satisfaction and pleasure—if distrust and suspicion of congress, instead of confidence in their measures, be the consequence, how will the union be promoted, or the general government secured? However virtuously disposed the present members may be, and I am ready to applaud their honest intentions, let them consider, sir, that they had better suppress their patriotic emotions, than give a pretext for their successors to abuse the powers which they now wish to exert for the public good: I know they will quote the opinion of as wise and virtuous a citizen as in the united states: I know his patriotism, and know well his true republican principles; but, sir, with the freedom of a fellow-citizen, I take the liberty of saying, that his honest zeal, like that of the friends of the bill, has led him into a mistake*. That able statesman and virtuous citizen, like the eloquent advocates of the bill, has considered the acts now quoted, as a full sanction for the one before the committee; but I am of opinion that those acts had better be repealed, than give a sanction to the enacting of a law which goes to the establishment of bounties or drawbacks, or by whatever other name they may be called, which may be used to the partial encouragement of any branch of trade or employment whatsoever. I shall therefore vote against the bill before us, and to get rid of it, shall vote for striking out the first section, according to the motion now before the committee.

The votes being now taken on the motion for striking out, it was negatived.—Mr. Giles then moved, that the words “allowance now made,” should be substituted for “bounty now allowed.”—He observed, that he conceived the vote against striking

Mr. Jefferson, secretary of state, in his report on the fisheries, stated that the

out the first section was a decision in favour of the policy of granting governmental aid to the fisheries; the inquiry now was, on what terms this aid should be granted.

When he first mentioned his doubts respecting the principle of the bill, it was, he said, with diffidence, and those doubts in some measure arose from an idea that the bill contained a direct bounty upon occupation; upon a more minute examination, he thought the term bounty unnecessarily introduced into the bill; and that the object of it could be answered without the use of terms, which might hereafter be deemed to contain a decision upon the general principle of the constitutional right to grant bounties. It was to avoid any thing which might wear the appearance of such a decision, that induced him to make the present motion.

He proceeded to remark, that as great a difference of opinion often existed respecting the precise meaning of the terms used, as the consequences which flow from them after attaining such precision of meaning; it was of importance to the present discussion, that an accurate definition of the terms used in the bill, and of those proposed to be used, should be had.

The avowed object of the bill was not to increase, but to transmute the sum, or a portion thereof, now allowed to the fisheries in lieu of the drawback upon salt, from the merchant, who is now supposed to receive the sole benefit, to the fishermen really employed in the fishing vessels: This is a mere chimerical project, but if it be admitted that this is the object to be effected by the bill, the term bounty is improperly applied.

The great characteristic distinction between bounties and drawbacks, as they essentially relate to the administration of this government, consists in the governmental objects to which they may severally be applied: Drawbacks are necessarily confined to commercial regulations—bounties may be extended to every possible object of government, and may pervade the whole minutiae of police; they may not only be extended to commerce, but to *learning, agriculture, manufactures*, and even the *sacredness* of religion will be found too feeble to furnish complete protection from their influence. The people of the united states have always been scrupulously tenacious of a constitutional security, for the most free and equal exercise of this right; but through the medium of bounties, even this right may be invaded, and the only security against such invasion must be *governmental discretion*.

The same characteristic distinction will attend that *species* of bounty which may incidentally result from commercial regulations; and direct bounties upon occupation, founded upon the broad basis of discretionary right: the specification in the constitution, of the right to regulate commerce, may possibly in some cases give rise to this indirect species of bounty, not from any right in the constitution to grant bounties, but as the necessary result from the specified right to make commercial regulations—and this specification can be the only foundation of justification to this indirect species of bounty, but there is no specification in the constitution, of a right to regulate *learning, agriculture, manufactures, or religion*, and so far as the sense of the constitution can be collected, it rather forbids than authorises the exercise of that right.

Arguments used to deduce any given authority from the term *general welfare*, abstractedly from the specification of some particular authority, are dangerous in the extreme to rights constitutionally reserved, and ought ever to be viewed with great caution and suspicion; they serve directly to shew that this government is not only consolidated in all its parts, but that it is a consolidated government of unlimited discretion; that it contains no constitutional limitation or restriction. If any given authority be inferred from the term *general welfare* in the abstract, any other authority is equally deducible from it, because the term is applicable to every possible object of government, and differs only in degree, as to the several governmental objects.

He would remark further, that bounties, in all countries and at all times, have been the effect of favoritism; they have only served to divert the current of industry from its natural channel, into one less advantageous, or productive; and in fact they are nothing more than governmental *thefts* committed upon the rights of one part of the community, and an *unmerited governmental munificence* to the other.—In this country, and under this government, they present an aspect peculiarly *dreadful and deformed*.

To contemplate the subjects upon which bounties are to operate in the united states, the nature of the government to dispense them, the state preferences which now do and will forever, more or less, continue to exist, the impossibility of an equal operation of bounties throughout the united states, upon any subject whatever, should be consi-

dered; and one of these two effects will necessarily follow the exercise of them—either the very existence of the government will be destroyed, or its administration must be radically changed: it must be converted into the most complex system of tyranny and favoritism.

He observed, that it was not unfrequent at this time to hear of an eastern and southern interest, and he had for some time silently and indignantly seen, or thought he saw, attempts by this mean to influence the deliberations of the house upon almost every important question; so far as he was the insulted object of these attempts, he felt that contempt for their authors, which appeared to him to be the correspondent tribute to the impurity of their designs; yet he thought that this had been the most formidable and effectual *misferial machine* which had been yet used in the administration of the government. But one great mischief he apprehended from establishing the principle of the unrestrained right to grant bounties, will be, that it will make the difference of interest between eastern and southern, so far as they differ in their respective states of manufacture and agriculture, real, which is now only ideal—It will make that party real, which is now artificial—The jealousies and suspicions arising from *party* will then have a substantial foundation, which now have no foundation in fact, but are now ingeniously stimulated by a few, for the purpose of effecting particular objects; as long as the government shall be administered liberally and impartially, as long as the principle of reciprocal demand and supply between east and south shall remain inviolate, so long there can exist no essential distinct interest between them; but the instant bounties or governmental preferences are granted to occupation, that instant is created a separate and distinct interest, not only between east and south, but between the manufacturer and the cultivator of the soil; there will still exist a community of agricultural interest throughout the united states, and he hoped the time was not far distant, when a common sympathy would be felt by the whole of that class of the community.—For these reasons, he hoped the motion would prevail.

The proposed amendment, to change the word *bounty* into *allowance*, was adopted by the committee, who then rose and reported the bill to the house; and on the following day (Feb. 9th) the same was passed, by a majority of 17—there being 38 yeas, and 21 nays.

Yeas. Ames, Barnwell, Benson, Boudinot, S. Bourne, B. Bourne, Clarke, Dayton, Fitzsimons, Gerry, Gilman, Goodhue, Gordon, Gregg, Griffin, Hartley, Hillhouse, Huger, Kittera, Laurance, Learned, Lee, Livermore, Madison, Muhlenberg, Niles, Schoonmaker, J. Smith, I. Smith, W. Smith, Sterrett, Sturges, Silvester, Thatcher, Tredwell, Vining, Wadsworth, Ward.

Nays. Ashe, Baldwin, Brown, Giles, Grove, Heister, Key, Macon, Mercer, Moore, Murray, Page, Parker, Seney, Steele, Sumpter, Tucker, Venable, White, Williamson, Willis.

On providing for the Defence of the Frontiers.

EARLY in the session, the president communicated to congress an account of two successful expeditions against the Indians, in the months of June and August preceding, by general Scott and colonel Wilkinfon, at the head of detachments of Kentucky militia. A more important expedition, however, was still depending—that of general St. Clair, who was to penetrate into the Indian country, as far as the Miami towns, with a considerable army, consisting of regular troops and Kentucky militia. With this force it was scarcely doubted, that he would be able so effectually to intimidate and harrass the hostile Indians, as to put an end to their depredations, and make them glad to sue for peace. If the expedition should even fail of this last mentioned effect, it was hoped that such a chain of forts would be established, as would, in a great measure, restore tranquility to the frontiers, by checking the incursions of the savages. But all these hopes were blasted, by the total defeat of general St. Clair's army, on the 4th of November, in the vicinity of the Miami villages.—Official information of this melancholy and unexpected event was laid before congress, on the 12th of December. Our readers will recollect the various and violent passions and emotions to which this mournful catastrophe gave rise, from one extremity of the united states to the other. All deplored the untimely fall of so many brave men, particularly of several worthy officers, who had done honour to themselves and their country, in the late war with Great-Britain. The deplorable situation of the frontier inhabitants was also a subject

of general sympathy;—it was feared, that the victorious savages might ravage and depopulate the defenceless settlements, and give a full loose to their insatiable thirst for blood, and their love of plunder. It was apprehended, that the small military force which remained, might not be able to defend the forts occupied by them; especially if, as was suspected, the Indians had associates, or leaders, who could manage the artillery, which had fallen into their hands in the engagement.—Fortunately, these fears were not realized. The Indians, whether from necessity, from accident, or from choice, made a much more moderate use of their victory than could reasonably have been expected. Besides, measures were taken, by the governments of Pennsylvania and Virginia, for the temporary defence of their respective frontiers.

When the defeat of general Harmer, in the preceding year, was taken into view, with the failure of general St. Clair's expedition; when it was considered that the united states were involved in a war, from which they could not easily extricate themselves; that the demands and exertions of the enemy would rise in proportion to their success; that, if an accommodation were at all attainable, it must be accepted on disadvantageous and humiliating terms; that the prosecution of the war would either burthen the people with heavy additional taxes, or interfere with the established revenues, to the great injury of the national credit; that the waste of blood and treasure necessarily attendant on the prosecution of the war, would be certain and great, and that the contest might be tedious, before it could be brought to a successful issue.—When the people had reflected on these circumstances, they began to look back to the origin of the war; and many were loud in censuring the measure, as being founded in the most flagrant injustice, on the part of the united states; and as being, in itself, highly impolitic. The officer at the head of the war-department suffered severely in the public prints, while the minds of the people were thus irritated. He was charged with having wantonly precipitated the nation into this ruinous and disgraceful war; and it was asserted, that peace might have been established with the Indians, had proper steps been taken for the purpose.

On the other hand, it was contended that the depredations and enormities of the Indians had been such, and all attempts to treat with them, or to establish a permanent peace, had proved so fruitless, that war was unavoidable; that the measure had already been sanctioned by the representatives of the people, who had authorized the raising of an army for the purpose; that no such complaints as those now prevalent were made, at the beginning of the war, and, it was fairly supposable, never would have been made, had the late expedition proved successful.—The vigorous prosecution of the war was urged, as a matter of expediency, apart from all considerations of the justice or policy of its origin.

While the minds of the people were in this state of agitation, the business was undergoing a discussion in congress, where the same diversity of opinion appears to have prevailed. On the 25th of January, a bill providing for the more effectual protection of the frontiers, was presented in the house of representatives, by a committee appointed for that purpose. This bill was the subject of a very lengthy and interesting debate, for several days; during which, however, the doors were open only a part of one day. The following is the substance of that day's debate, on a motion for striking out the second section of the bill, which contemplated the raising of three additional regiments of infantry.

In favour of the motion, and against the proposed augmentation of the military establishment,

it was urged, that the Indian war, in which the united states are at present involved, was in its origin, as unjustly undertaken, as it had since been unwisely and unsuccessfully conducted;—that depredations had been committed by the whites, as well as by the Indians; and the whites were most probably the aggressors, as they frequently made encroachments on the Indian lauds, whereas the Indians shewed no inclination to obtain possession of our territory, or even to make temporary invasions, until urged to it by a sense of their wrongs; a proof of this unencroaching disposition on their part, plainly appeared in their conduct, after the victory they lately obtained over our troops; for, when flushed with success, they might have swept the country before them, and penetrated as far as Pittsburgh, they contented themselves with the advantage they had gained over their invaders, and did not attempt to invade our territories in return, although there was no where at hand a sufficient force to check their career.

The mode of treating the Indians, in general, was reprobated, as unwise and impolitic; the Indians are with difficulty to be reduced by the sword, but may easily be gained by justice and moderation: and although their cruelties are alleged as reasons for a different conduct, and the sufferings of the white people pathetically deplored, these narratives are at best but *ex parte* evidence;—we hear nothing of the sufferings of the Indians.

Peace may be obtained from the Indian tribes, at a much less expense than would be necessary for the expense of the war:—to persevere in hostilities, would be wasting the public money to a very bad purpose indeed; for supposing our arms crowned with victory, what are the advantages we may expect to reap from our success?—we can only gain possession of their lands—a possession, that must long continue unproductive of the smallest benefit, as we already possess land sufficient; more, in fact, than we will be able to cultivate for a whole century to come.

Instead of being ambitious to extend our boundaries, it would answer a much better national purpose, rather to check the roving disposition of the frontier settlers; and prevent them from too suddenly extending themselves to the western waters; if kept closer together, and more nearly connected with the old settlements, they would be more useful to the community at large, and would not so frequently involve us in unnecessary and expensive wars with the Indians: but if permitted to rove at pleasure, they will keep the nation embroiled in perpetual warfare, as long as the Indians have a single acre of ground to rest upon.

If the citizens of the united states were recalled within their proper boundaries, there they might, for years to come, cultivate the soil in peace, neither invaded nor invading. As the country advances in population, and our limits are found too narrow, it will then be soon enough to contemplate a gradual extension of our frontier: but, in the mean time, it is an idle profusion of blood and treasure, to carry war beyond our present line of forts; it is only exposing our arms to disgrace, betraying our own weakness, and lessening the public confidence in the general government, to send forth armies to be butchered in the forests, whilst we suffer the British to keep possession of the posts within our territory.

As long as Britain is suffered to retain those posts, we can never hope to succeed against the Indians; nor ought we to trace our late misfortune to any other source than her still holding them in her possession: were they in our hands, the Indians could not carry on their operations against us, with the same degree of vigour as they now do; for it is from those forts that they obtain their supplies of arms and ammunition, with which they can be, at all times, plentifully furnished, as long as things continue on their present footing.

Until those posts are in our possession, it will be in vain to send our armies into the wilderness. A body of five thousand men, sent out against the Indians, under the present circumstances, would be as effectually defeated as the smaller ones have already been: in those wilds, our troops have no friend at hand, to furnish them with supplies, or to give them intelligence of the approach and operations of the enemy; whereas the Indians, receiving both aid and information from their friendly neighbours, can preconcert their plans, and choose, according to their own convenience, the place and the hour of attack, as they did before.

It was here observed, by a gentleman on the other side of the question, that we ought undoubtedly to get possession of those posts; and that we might have long since obtained it, if we had only laid a seasonable embargo on all the British shipping in our ports; though he doubted, whether it would at present be worth while to take such a step, as the English have lost so great a portion of our carrying trade, in consequence of the additional tonnage laid on their vessels.

In favour of the motion, it was further urged, that supposing the war to have been originally undertaken with justice on our side—supposing also, that the national honour and interest called for a continuance of hostilities; yet, as it was by no means either necessary or prudent to invade the Indian territory, as this had been attempted in two successive campaigns, and the event had, in both instances, been such, as to afford no very flattering prospect from a third expedition of the same kind, it was thought much more advisable to content ourselves with defending the frontier; and this might be done, without making so great an augmentation in the military establishment.

The only use of regular troops on the frontier, is to garrison the forts, and to have a standing force in the neighbourhood, to form a station, to which the military may

resort; either for protection or supplies; but as to active service, the frontier militia and rangers were pronounced to be by far preferable to the regular troops, as being more expert woodsmen, and better habituated to the Indian mode of fighting. To defend the forts, a small number of regulars would be sufficient; the present establishment of two regiments would, if completed, be amply adequate to the purpose; and when assisted by such forces as might at all times be collected on the frontier, would be able to repel every inroad of the enemy.

Experience has proved, that the sudden and desultory attacks of the frontier militia and rangers, are ever attended with better success than the methodical operations of a regular force; the former are better calculated for expedition and surprise, making unexpected sallies, scouring the country in small bodies, harrassing the Indians, and intercepting their straggling parties, while their motions are unobserved; whereas, when a body of regulars take the field, encumbered with baggage and heavy artillery, the unavoidable slowness of their movements affords the enemy an opportunity of watching all their operations, collecting their whole force, and skulking in the woods around them, till they can seize the favourable moment to strike a sudden blow, which they generally do with success, but which they could never attempt, if exposed every hour to the unforeseen attacks of our woodsmen, who would keep their attention constantly engaged in all quarters, and thus prevent them from uniting in large bodies.

It was further observed, by some gentlemen who even admitted the propriety of invading the Indian territory, that to effect this with success, it was by no means necessary to make such an increase in the military establishment, as that contemplated in the bill: the miscarriage of the former expeditions could not (they said) be alleged as a sufficient reason; for it is well known, that the former establishment was far from being complete: the regulars, intended for the service of the last campaign, were to have been above two thousand two hundred; the president was besides empowered to raise two thousand five hundred levies, in addition to the regulars; and these would together, have constituted an army of about four thousand seven hundred men; had such a body been employed, we might reasonably have expected much better success against the Indians, whose numbers were so far inferior, the whole force of the Wabash tribes not amounting to above eleven or twelve hundred warriors, who never could keep the field for any length of time, but must be soon obliged to disperse, without venturing an attack upon an army of such superior strength.

Instead of this, our army consisted of only about twelve hundred men, and of these not above four or five hundred were regular troops: besides, had even this force been sufficient if employed in season, the delays that had taken place in the execution of the plan, would alone have been sufficient to defeat the intended purpose. During the winter, the law was passed for raising the additional troops, to carry on the war with greater vigour; the whole summer was spent in the business, and the few men that we did enlist, were not raised till late in the fall; collected at length at the head of the Ohio, they fruitlessly loitered away their time, till they finally erected a monument to our eternal disgrace and infamy.

Whatever troops are to be employed, ought to be raised with diligence and dispatch, if we wish to avoid a similar miscarriage in our next attempt: the army ought not to enter the Indian country, till their whole force is complete—difficulties, however, and delay, equal to those of last year, may be expected in enlisting the men, and we shall have the officers in pay a considerable time, without any soldiers: perhaps the former pay of the troops was too low; and proper effective men were unwilling to accept of it; if so, let it be raised; let the men be well clothed and fed; and they will more readily engage in the service; probably, also, the term of three years was an objection with many, who would otherwise have joined our standard: if enlisted only for six months, the ranks will be sooner filled; and this ought to have considerable weight with those who advocate the augmentation of the military establishment, as they cannot but know, that if we set about enlisting the number of men contemplated in the bill, and in the manner there prescribed, they cannot be raised time enough to render any service in the next campaign.

The information contained in the report on the table was not, it was said, to be implicitly relied on: that report was made by a man, who had not personally visited the frontier: others, who had been on the spot, were of opinion, that if two thousand levies had been raised last year, they would have been sufficient not only for the defence of the frontier, but even for any offensive operations, that might have been

thought necessary : such troops, collected in the vicinity, are more competent to the undertaking, than the troops now in contemplation ; whenever they were tried, they behaved as well as the regulars, and in the action under general St. Clair, they gave equal proofs of their valour.

The expense of such an army as the bill contemplates, is an object well worthy of serious consideration, especially at the present moment, when there is scarcely a dollar in the treasury. Gentlemen would also do well to advert to the progress of this business, and consider where they were likely to stop, if they went on at their present rate : at first, only a single regiment had been raised, and the expense was about 100,000 dollars ; a second was afterwards added, which swelled the expense to about 300,000 ; and now a standing force of 5168 men is contemplated, at an annual expense of above a million and a quarter. Can this be justified in the present state of our finances, when it is well known, that the secretary of the treasury, having been requested by the members from a particular state, to build a light-house on a part of their coast, declined the undertaking, and alledged the want of funds, as the reason ?

Our resources, however, might be made to answer for the support of such a force as that which was intended for the service of the preceding year, and there would be little complaint or dissatisfaction among the people : very few murmurings were heard against the former establishment ; but such a one as is now contemplated, will be thought extravagant, and will breed discontent among the citizens of the united states.

Apprehensions, it is said, are entertained, that the object contemplated in raising these additional troops, is not so much to punish and force the Indians, as to have a regular standing force, equal to what the British have on this continent. This is said to amount to about six thousand men, including those in Canada : but it is to be remarked, that the British nation has not above *one* thousand men within the limits of the united states ; and yet, with this handful of troops, they not only keep the Indians in awe, but even, in opposition to the wishes of the united states, retain possession of those posts, which should have been ceded to us pursuant to the terms of the treaty : why then is it necessary, for the purpose of establishing posts and garrisoning them ; to increase the standing force to so large a number, as that contemplated in the bill under consideration ?—During our late arduous struggle for liberty, when we had to cope with the most powerful nation under heaven, the commander in chief had never at any one time above ten thousand men, under his own immediate command ; and if, with so small a force, we were able to effect so glorious a revolution, there can be no necessity of going such lengths at present, for the sake of establishing a military character—it is strange policy indeed, to raise five or six thousand men, to oppose a handful of Indian banditti, whose utmost amount does not, from the documents on the table, appear to exceed twelve hundred.

We are preparing to squander away money by millions ; and no one, except those who are in the secrets of the cabinet, knows for what reason the war has thus been carried on for three years :—but what funds are to defray the increased expense of maintaining such a force as is now contemplated ?—The excise is both unpopular and unproductive :—the impost duties have been raised as high as is consistent with prudence :—to increase them would be but to open a door for smuggling, and thus diminish their productiveness : and if those sources of revenue fail, if our finances be thus exhausted in unnecessary wars, we shall be unable to satisfy the public creditors, unless recourse be had to new taxes, the consequence of which may, with just reason, be deplored ; whereas, if we but keep our expenses within bounds, if we nurse our finances, we shall be respectable among the nations of the earth, nor will any nation dare to insult us, or be able to do it with impunity.

At an early stage of the debate, an honourable gentleman had suggested, that, instead of passing a law for raising, at all events, the additional regiments, which, for his part, he did not think necessary, the house (if they finally determined the present establishment to be insufficient) would perhaps do better to appropriate a certain sum of money, to enable the executive to call in such additional aid, as circumstances might require.

To this it was objected, that it is the duty of the representatives of the people, in all appropriations of the public money, to make them for certain specific purposes :—to act otherwise, on the present occasion, would be setting a precedent, that might, in its consequences, prove highly injurious ; for, although the greatest confidence may safely be reposed in the virtue and integrity of him who now fills the presidential chair,

it is impossible to foresee what use may hereafter be made of the precedent by his successors, or how far it may be carried.

That as to the justice of the war carried on against the Indian tribes, that was a question which could not admit of a doubt in the mind of any man, who would allow that self-preservation and indispensable necessity, are sufficient causes to justify a nation in taking up arms:---if the present war be not in every respect justifiable, then there never was, nor ever will be a just war: it was originally undertaken, and since carried on, not for the sake of conquest, but to defend our fellow-citizens, our friends, our dearest connexions, who are daily exposed, in the frontier settlements, to all the rage of savage barbarity, to which they, with their wives and children, must soon fall victims, unless we speedily fly to their assistance:---and although there are some people, who utterly deny the justice of any war whatever, this doctrine, however fine in theory, will hardly ever obtain in practice: for, is it to be imagined, that any set of men are of such a passive disposition, as calmly to look on, whilst their friends and relations are butchered before their eyes, and refuse giving them every assistance in their power?

The murders and depredations, which have, for years past, been repeatedly committed by the savages, loudly call for redress:---from various documents, of unquestionable authority, now in the hands of the secretary at war, signed and attested by the executive and legislature of Kentucky, by the district judge, and the captains of the militia, it appears, that from the year 1783 to 1790, there have been, of the inhabitants of that district, or of emigrants on their way thither, no less than fifteen hundred persons, either massacred by the savages, or dragged into captivity; two thousand horses taken away; and other property plundered or destroyed, to the amount of fifty thousand dollars; and there is good reason to suppose, that on the other frontiers of Virginia and Pennsylvania, the number of persons murdered or taken prisoners, during the above mentioned period, would furnish a list of one thousand or fifteen hundred more.

The white people, it is true, have sometimes committed depredations on the Indians; but the instances have been rare of their making unjust attacks upon the savages, nor did they, on these occasions, commence hostilities against them, till exasperated by the strongest provocations, that could possibly stimulate the human heart: this circumstance may be justly allowed as some palliation of the offence:---even in these instances, however, a few individuals only were concerned; and when the affair came to the knowledge of the state, ample reparation was made to the injured party:---the general government too had shewn an equal disposition to do justice to the Indian tribes; witness the affair of the Cherokees: for as soon as congress had heard their complaints of an encroachment made on them, by some people from the frontier of Carolina, immediate orders were issued for obliging the intruders to evacuate the Indian territory.

But, notwithstanding the disposition that prevails, as well in the legislatures of those states whose frontiers are most exposed, as in the general government, to cultivate peace and amity with the neighbouring Indians, that desirable object is become utterly unattainable in the present posture of affairs:---The frontier Indians have killed a number of whites; the whites, in their turn, have made retaliation: both parties are in the highest degree exasperated against each other, and likely to continue so, in spite of every endeavour that can be made to effect a reconciliation: with minds thus irritated, it is vain to hope for peace, as long as they continue in each other's neighbourhood; it is therefore necessary to form a strong barrier, to keep them asunder; unless indeed the advocates for a cessation of hostilities, would oblige the frontier settlers to abandon their lands:---but by what new-invented rule of right, should the inhabitants of Kentucky, and the other frontier settlers, be laid under a greater obligation, than any other citizens of the united states, to relinquish a property legally acquired by fair purchase?---were it even proposed to pacify the savages, by purchasing the lands anew, such a measure would answer no other purpose, than that of procuring a temporary peace, which would soon again be interrupted by a war, that would produce the necessity of again having recourse to the same expedient: we should have to purchase the lands, again and again, without end; by thus squandering the public money, year after year, we should only swell the national debt to an amount, that we cannot possibly foresee:---better at once to make a vigorous effort, to act in a manner becoming the national dignity, and to maintain our ground by war, since we cannot obtain a durable or an honourable peace.

Attempts have, at various times, been made to effect treaties of peace with the Indian tribes, with whom we are now at war :—and although these efforts have constantly proved ineffectual, they yet shew that neither the united states, nor the state of Virginia, were backward to adopt conciliatory measures, and to do away that animosity which had commenced on the part of the savages, at an early period of the late war with Britain, and had continued to break out at intervals ever since. In the years 1783, 84, 85, 87, 88, and 90, offers of peace were made to them : on the last mentioned occasion, when a treaty was proposed at the Miami village, the Indians at first refused to treat : they next required thirty days to deliberate—and in the interim, the inhabitants of Kentucky were expressly prohibited, by the president of the united states, to carry on any offensive operations against them ; yet, notwithstanding this forbearance on the part of the whites, no less than 120 persons were killed or captured by the savages, and several prisoners roasted alive, during that short period, at the expiration of which, the Indians refused to give any answer at all.

On another occasion, the Indians, not content with rejecting our offers of peace, proceeded even so far as to insult us, by telling us we had lands within the British posts, and asking us, why we did not go and take possession of them?—Is this language to be used within the united states? No! we are able, abundantly able to do it, whenever we please ; and if we would but retrench our expenses, in some instances, which might well admit of a reduction, our ability would still increase ; our finances are not quite so insufficient as some gentlemen seem to imagine, nor so easily deranged --we are still able to prove that the boasted efficiency of the general government is something more than an empty name--we can yet raise both men and money ; sufficient to defend the nation from either injury or insult.

It is now too late to inquire, whether the war was originally undertaken on the principles of justice, or not ; we are actually involved in it, and cannot recede, without exposing numbers of innocent persons to be butchered by the enemy : for, though we should determine to discontinue the war, can it be said that the savages will also agree to a cessation of hostilities?—it is well known that they are averse to peace, and even the warmest advocate of pacific measures, must therefore allow, that the war is a war of necessity, and must be supported ; we cannot, without impeachment both to our justice and our humanity, abandon our fellow-citizens on the frontier to the rage of their savage enemies : and although the excise may be somewhat unpopular, although money may still be wanted, what is the excise, what is money, when put in competition with the lives of our friends and brethren?

A sufficient force must be raised for their defence : and the only question now to be considered is, what that force shall be : experience has proved, that the force employed in the last campaign was inadequate : it is true, the establishment was not complete : but who will venture to assert, that, if it had been complete, it would have been sufficient for the intended purpose? Are gentlemen, who assert this, so well acquainted with the circumstances of the enemy, as to be able to give an accurate statement of the amount of their forces on the frontier? There are higher opinions in favour of an augmentation of the army, than can be adduced against it—opinions, given by men of judgment and experience, who have themselves been on the spot, and are well acquainted with the situation of affairs in that quarter :—these gentlemen, who must be allowed to be competent judges, are decidedly of opinion, that the present establishment, though completed to the last man, will not furnish an adequate force to carry on the war with effect ; and that it will be a hopeless attempt, to open another campaign, with less than about five thousand regular troops, the number contemplated in the bill.

Nor ought that number to be deemed extravagant, under an idea, that we have only a contemptible handful of banditti to contend with : their numbers were, last year, from authentic documents, stated at about twelve hundred warriors, from different tribes ;—such was the opposition then contemplated,--but it is impossible to ascertain what accessions of strength they have since received, or even what force they had engaged in the late unfortunate action ; as the very men, who were in the engagement, do not pretend to form any just or accurate estimate of the number of their assailants : but there is good reason to suppose, that they had previously entered into an association with various tribes, that have not as yet come within our knowledge : the bows and arrows, used against our troops, on that occasion, afford a convincing proof, that they had foes to encounter, from distant nations, as yet unacquainted with the

use of fire arms--nor does the account of the bows and arrows depend, for its authenticity, on newspaper evidence alone; gentlemen of unquestionable veracity, who were personally engaged in the action, have declared, that they had themselves noticed the arrows flying.

When we consider the warlike dispositions of the Indians in general, and the alacrity with which the victors are ever sure to be joined by numerous allies; we have every reason to expect a much more formidable opposition in the next campaign:--it is well known, that the savages place all their glory in deeds of war; and that, among them, a young man cannot make his appearance in company, till he has signalized his valour by some martial achievement;--when, to this powerful incentive, a new stimulus is added, by the trophies obtained in the late action, it is presumable that numbers will crowd to their standard; and it strongly behooves us to prepare in time for a much more vigorous effort, than any we have yet made against them.

The objections drawn from the increased expence, must entirely vanish from before the eyes of any man, who looks forward to the consequences of one more unsuccessful campaign:--such a disaster would eventually involve the nation in much greater expence, than that which is now made the ground of opposition;--better, therefore, at once, to make a vigorous and effectual exertion to bring the matter to a final issue, than continue gradually to drain the treasury, by dragging on the war, and renewing hostilities from year to year.

If we wish to bring the war to a speedy and happy conclusion, and to secure a permanent peace to the inhabitants on the frontier, we must employ such troops, and adopt such measures, as appear best calculated to ensure success;--if we delay our determination, until the force of the enemy be ascertained, we can make no provision at all; for the nature and circumstances of the case preclude us from the very possibility of obtaining a knowledge of their strength and numbers--but are we, mean while, to remain inactive and irresolute, and make no efforts to repel their intended attacks? No! Whatever their numbers may be, prudence calls aloud for provision of some kind: and if experience is to have any weight with us, the example of the French, and of the British, points out the true mode of securing our frontier, and rendering it invulnerable to an Indian foe: let us occupy posts in the vicinity of the enemy; let them be properly garrisoned, and well provided, and the business is done.

There will afford an opportunity of trading with the friendly tribes, and will prevent all intercourse between the whites and the Indians, except under proper regulations; should hostilities be meditated by any tribes, who are not in amity with us, early intelligence of their movements can be obtained: their marauding parties may be beaten off on their approach, or intercepted on their return;--opportunities may be taken of separately attacking the hostile tribes; their old men, their squaws, their children, will be exposed, a great part of the year, whilst the others are out hunting;--in short, if fear, hope, interest, can be supposed to have any influence on the Indians, this mode of defence must be allowed to be preferable to any other, as giving the fullest scope to the operation of all those motives.

A different mode has been long pursued in Virginia, and adopted by the inhabitants of Kentucky; but its success has not been such, as to offer any inducement to the general government to follow the same plan:--Rangers have there been employed for a number of years, to scour the frontiers; and those rangers, too, were expert woodsmen, perfectly inured to the Indian mode of warfare; yet, notwithstanding their utmost vigilance, the savages still found means to commit all the murders and depredations already enumerated;--'tis true, however, that a frontier militia-man, trained up in the woods, may be, in many respects, preferable to a regular soldier, who has not the same knowledge of the country, and of the mode of fighting;--but with equal experience (and proper men, possessed of that experience, may be enlisted on the establishment) regular troops will be found infinitely superior to any militia upon earth.

Every man who has ever seen militia in the field, cannot but know, that a very trifling disaster, or a slight cause of discontent, is sufficient to make them disband; and forget all subordination, so far as even to neglect the means of self-defence;--whereas, regular troops, under proper discipline, and acting with greater steadiness and concert, are much more to be depended on, especially when the object of attack is distant, and great fatigue is to be undergone. The militia, in whatever mode they may be called out, will hardly be men of a proper description;--if large pay be offered, the temptation will equally prevail upon those who are unfit for the service, as it will

upon good effective men:—Besides, some of the states have no militia laws; and even in those states which have such laws, they are gone into disuse; no dependence can therefore be placed on militia, under any laws now existing;—there is, indeed, a general militia law now before the house; but if it ever passes, it certainly cannot be passed in due season to answer the purpose of providing for the immediate defence of the frontier—regular troops must be raised, or nothing effectual can be done:—and if, to avoid the expense, we refuse the only aid that may prove of any real service, we render ourselves responsible for the consequences of this parsimonious policy, which may be attended with the ruin and destruction of our fellow-citizens in the western country.

The question, on the motion for striking out, being put, it was determined in the negative—yeas, 18; nays, 34.

The bill was passed on the 1st of February—yeas, 29; nays, 19.

Yeas. Amies, Baldwin, Barnwell, Benson, Brown, Clarke, Dayton, Fitzsimons, Giles, Hartley, Huger, Kitchell, Kittera, Learned, Madison, Moore, F.A. Muhlenberg, Murray, Page, Seney, W. Smith, Sterrett, Silvester, Fredwell, Tucker, Wadsworth, Wayne, and Moore.

Nays. Ashe, S. Bourne, B. Bourne, Gilman, Goodhue, Gordon, Grove, Hillhouse, Jacobs, Macon, Niles, Parker, J. Smith, I. Smith, Steele, Sunmter, Thatcher, Ward, and Willis.

The senate amended the bill, in sundry particulars. To some of these amendments the house of representatives disagreed; and the senate would not recede from them. A conference was then held, between committees of both houses; an accommodation took place, and the bill was enacted into a law.

WHILE the bill providing for the more effectual defence of the frontiers was depending before congress, the secretary of the treasury was required, by an order of the house of representatives, to lay before that house such information, with respect to the finances of the united states, as would enable the legislature to judge, whether any additional revenue would be necessary, in consequence of the proposed increase of the military establishment. He accordingly gave a statement of the products of the revenues, and of the appropriations thereof to different objects; from which it appeared, that there would remain a considerable deficiency to be provided for.

A few days after the passing of the bill, the following motion was laid on the table:—“*Resolved*, That the secretary of the treasury be directed to report to this house, his opinion of the best mode for raising the additional supplies requisite for the ensuing year.”—This motion was warmly discussed for two successive days. The debate was interesting and well supported. Much was said of the baneful effects of ministerial influence; its unvaried tendency to sap the foundations of liberty, in every country where it is suffered to exist; and the dangerous consequences to be apprehended by the people of America, if the house of representatives, in whom the constitution vests the sole power of originating bills for raising revenue, should so far surrender that power, into the hands of any executive officer, or head of a department, as to make him the oracle to dictate all their schemes of finance, and prescribe ways and means of drawing money from the pockets of their constituents.—The following speeches contain the substance of the most material arguments employed in this lengthy and animated debate.—

MR. SEDGWICK said, that when the law was passed, constituting the department of the treasury, and making it the duty of the secretary to report to the legislature, plans for the management and improvement of the revenue; he had fondly indulged the hope, that a great principle in the administration of the government had been so far settled, that it would not have been called in question at so early a period. The principle he then, and still understood to be, that a great officer should, by appointment for that purpose, and an adequate salary, be responsible to the community, to produce to the consideration of the national legislature, such systematic arrangements in the intricate business of finance, as should give the highest assurance of the support of public credit, with the least possible burden to the citizens of America. That, if this great principle remained still to be determined, he ardently wished that we might profit by the experience of other nations, and by our own—that he knew of no nation

that suffered under the weight of a public debt, but had found it indispensable to its welfare, to appoint some officer, whose duty it should be to superintend this important branch of business; and that without such appointment, it was impossible for him to conceive that an orderly administration of the finances could be effected. It was not long since, that all America had attempted to provide for the public exigencies, by the indigested schemes of legislating financiers. The effects are remembered by all—the revenue was incomparably less productive, and yet the people infinitely more burdened than at present. These facts would render any other arguments superfluous, with those who believed that experience was the best guide to well founded political conclusions. But, on the other hand, if gentlemen were disposed to calculate on the data afforded by imagination, and to build systems on arguments a priori, not only unfructified by experiment, but in opposition to all experience; we might render the debts we owed, which had been justly styled the price of liberty, and for which therefore, we were under the highest obligation to provide, an intolerable burden. For he would run the venture to pronounce, that the measures which would result from such a desultory mode of procedure, would create grievous exactions on the people, disappoint the expectations of government, and prove inadequate to the support of public credit.

By these observations, he did not mean to derogate from the respectability of the character of the house collectively, or of any individual member of it. There might be many who had sufficient talents ably to preside in the management of our finances, provided their minds were confined to the contemplation of that subject alone. But it should be remembered, that while separated, in the recess of the legislature, the avocations of professions, or other business, left to most of the members but little leisure for the investigation of political questions; that while in session, they were obliged to pay attention to every subject of legislation committed to the national government; that, considering the limited faculties of the human mind, he did not think gentlemen should feel themselves wounded in reputation, by the supposition that they were not collectively, minutely acquainted with every branch of science, a knowledge of which might be involved in the subjects of our legislation. Without such an extent of information and science, a man might be an excellent legislator. Otherwise the business of popular legislation must altogether cease, or be very badly managed. It would not produce the smallest uneasiness in his mind, to have it universally known, that he pretended not to the deep knowledge of jurisprudence of the attorney-general—the acquaintance of the secretary of state with the political interests and relations of the community—or the profound knowledge of the secretary of the treasury, of the intricate subject of finance. Yet he felt some degree of confidence in the ability which he possessed, of judging of the expediency of adopting such measures as those officers should recommend.

He observed, that the house, ever since the organization of the executive departments, had acted as if convinced of the justness of this reasoning, by their frequent references to the heads of those departments. That, particularly, when it had been suggested, that the judicial system required amendment, the subject had been referred to the consideration of the attorney-general. That when the commerce of the country came under deliberation, it was referred to the secretary of state. That these subjects comprehended the most important and dearest interests of the people. That he heartily concurred in those references, and would take the liberty to add, that they had the support of the gentlemen who were now so strenuous in opposition to the present motion. That if the house was then right, those would not be wrong who were in favour of this question.

He observed further, that gentlemen, in the two cases which, in argument, they had supported, had given very opposite opinions of the collective character of the members of the house: when they were considering them solely devising the ways and means necessary to supply the deficiency of the revenue, they gave them all the qualities of profound financiers; but when they were to consider the reports of the secretary, they became at once transformed into resolute dupes, incapable of manly investigation, and quietly sailing down the stream of ministerial influence. Did gentlemen feel, he asked, in the latter instance, the want of that dependance of spirit, which is necessary, to enable them to investigate and decide for themselves? If so, they would want much of that greatness of character, which would enable them, in the former case, to act for the public benefit.

He concluded by observing, that it appeared to him, that gentlemen who so strenuously opposed the present motion, would, if they should succeed in their wishes, destroy most of the benefits intended by the institution of the office of secretary of the treasury, and wholly screen the officer from every species of responsibility.

Mr. Page—I shall always vote against a motion for applying to the secretary of the treasury, for information respecting the means of procuring the sums of money necessary for the exigencies of government.

It is no argument to me, to be told, that the act which established the department, at the head of which that officer is placed, authorises that motion. That act may be pleaded as obligatory on the secretary, to reply to such enquiry, when made by congress, but not to induce this house to make such enquiry. When that act, which is now urged in justification of the motion before the house, was under the consideration of the house which formed it, I raised my feeble voice against it—I endeavoured to shew, that the powers given to an officer, who was appointed by the president and senate, and removable by the president alone, were such as were utterly incompatible with the principles of the constitution, and perhaps with the letter of it, as that does not permit even the independent senate, the representatives of the legislatures of the several states, to originate a money bill.

I contended, sir, that it was the peculiar duty of this house, to originate money bills, and to devise ways and means, as they are called—I am still most decidedly of the same opinion; and I think, with the member from Pennsylvania, (Mr. Fitzsimons) that such a reference to the secretary of the treasury, is a dereliction of our duty, and an abandonment of the trust reposed in us; and that many other references must have the appearance of an unbecoming indolence—I am also of opinion with the member from Georgia, (Mr. Baldwin) that if ever we make a stand, it should be on this ground.

I will add, that it is high time to make that stand.---For a bill having passed, which was opposed as dangerous to the constitution, and utterly incompatible with the principles of a free government, and indeed as inconsistent with the plain construction, and I may say, the very letter of our own constitution; and that bill being now appealed to, as a justification of a motion which can be supported on no other principles, but such as may be used to subvert our government, and to introduce a monarchy, as unlimited as that lately abolished in France.---(for surely if more wisdom can be found in a few heads of departments, than in the whole representative body of the people.---and if those heads can be made responsible, whilst the representatives are free from responsibility, and dispatch and energy can be obtained without the expense of a congress, or of this house at least; I see not why the people might not make a favourite president, as absolute as the kings of France have been, and call on congress, like the parliaments of Paris, only to register his edicts.) I say, as this is the case, it is high time to make a stand.---But we are told that the heads of departments are recognized by the constitution, and the business now required of one of them sanctioned by law.---and we are also told of precedents, establishing and authorising this mode of proceeding.---it is surely then high time for every member, who views that law, and such proceedings under it, in the light I do, to join with the member from Georgia, and make a stand, as he called it.---And I trust, sir, that rather than suffer that law to be thus referred to, they will unite to amend or repeal it.

I repeat it, sir, here we should make a stand; for, however well intended such measures may be, and the arguments in support of them, their tendency is mischievous, and ought to be opposed by every friend to a free government.

The bills establishing the departments of government, have strong monarchical features; and have too often led congress into the steps of monarchical governments. The republican part of the British government rely on a committee of ways and means.---the heads of departments being members of the house of commons, are always forward to take the lead in the plans or projects of the crown.---and they have so ingeniously involved the plans of finance, that few understand the mysterious business, and therefore it is in the minister's hands alone.---Sir, the house of commons always severely scrutinize their plans, and are not so obsequious to their ministers, as some gentlemen are disposed to be to our secretaries.

But what would Englishmen say, if their parliament were to pass such a bill as this now referred to; and should call on a man, not a member of either house, but appointed by the king, with the advice, indeed, of the house of lords, removable however by

the king alone; to lay before the house of commons a plan of ways and means? Would the people of England be satisfied with the strange story of his responsibility, and of his superior abilities? But what is this responsibility so much talked of? The president may dismiss the secretary from his office, or this house may impeach him;—but when the president and congress both are his accomplices, who will dismiss, or who impeach? and where then is the responsibility?

We are asked, indeed, are you afraid of truth, and unwilling to receive instruction? I answer, no—truth is our great object, and just information our only aim—but to get at truth, respecting the most likely means of raising a revenue, with as little inconvenience as possible to our constituents, was, I conceive, a principal object in the view of the framers of our constitution, when they instituted this house of representatives. In this house alone I should search for truth, respecting this important question—From the representatives of the states I should expect to receive all the necessary information respecting it: and if the secretary be possessed of vouchers, or further information, the house should call for it.—In the committee of the whole, every enquiry should be made—resolutions be proposed, examined, amended, and when maturely considered and approved by the house, where all the further information which the heads of departments can give may be called for, our business would be done. This is the way for congress to get at information, and to arrive at truth.

It is ungenerous to hold up a secretary as responsible for errors adopted by congress; and it is unreasonable to impose upon him a task which, although our peculiar duty to perform, we shrink from. The multitude of references already made to the secretary of the treasury, and the necessary length of some of his reports, leave him no leisure to attend properly to the different branches of his own department.

But what information do we ask? We know the estimate of expenses for the present year—we have estimates of the probable amount of the revenue—and we have called for a report of the amount of surplusses, if any, in the treasury. We can then, as well as the secretary, determine whether any additional revenue will be necessary; and if so, we alone ought to devise the ways and means of raising it. If dispatch is necessary, it is better to determine here, at once, what is to be done, than apply to the secretary, whose plans we may, after long debates, reject.—As to the secretary of the treasury, I acknowledge his abilities; I know too that some of his reports do honour to his heart, as well as to his head—his gallant behaviour in the late war, has commanded my highest respect and esteem—but I owe too much respect to our country, to agree to the resolution before you—I wish, therefore, that this house would refer only such cases to him, as they cannot decide on, without official information in his hands—and that, in the present case, the house would, in a committee of the whole on the state of the union, take under their consideration the means of raising the supplies which may be found necessary, for the support of government, and the protection of the frontiers.

Mr. Murray observed, that on such a question, his object should be to pursue what appeared to him the wisest mode of raising taxes.—In agreeing, however, with the resolution and its reference, he could neither see danger in the precedent, nor surrender of the constitutional right in the consequences—as to the privilege of originating money-bills—when ways and means are to be sought for, his first object should be to gain all the information the delicacy of the case demanded.—The duty of exploring the resources of a country, as yet untried in many of its objects of taxation, was certainly the business of the house of representatives—but why they should refuse to themselves an opportunity of gaining additional knowledge, beyond what the leisure of any one here, or the abilities of few could collect, was extraordinary.—He wished for a reference to the secretary in the first instance, because it would not very well comport with the dignity of the house, to refer to him in the second instance.—If, on trial, there should appear either a crudity or a conflicting of systems; and if, as would most probably be the case, partiality in the mover of any undebated set of resolutions, should show itself, the house must either make the most of the plans proposed, or, in the very last resort, call on the officer of government to suggest his opinion on the subject.—The subject was extremely intricate—but part of the intricacy of taxation and finance was removed, by the well arranged order in which he presumed the documents relative to the department were preserved.—An act of congress has already delineated the duties of the various departments—to the secretary of the treasury it belonged to collect information respecting the objects of taxation—to

invent, or adopt and propose schemes by which the revenues were to be improved—to digest ideas on the political economy of the country, and to superintend its finances—In such a department, he must think that a mass of information existed on the various resources of this country, and their probable productiveness, which was not necessarily to be expected elsewhere—He wished to avail himself of this information, on which he would exercise his right of judging, altering or rejecting; and he wished to obtain it in the mode most congenial with his own mind, an open responsible communication to the whole house.—He was certain that, though in no habits of intimacy himself, that could justify a private communication with the secretary, or warrant from the secretary an unsolicited opinion to him, the opinions and ideas of the secretary would, in some way or other, most assuredly find their way into the house—He wished to see no ministerial out-of-door influence—The wholesome influence of superior judgment; and of well-digested opinion, he did not fear; on the contrary, that superiority was the only one to which he could bow; and the only way in which the unmixed benefit of such an influence can be felt, was that way in which the law respecting the heads of departments contemplated the subject.—From this mode of communicating all the knowledge of the treasury department, two benefits would be derived—The secretary would send to us his best opinions on the subject, and in a way of which the whole house, and the public itself, could avail themselves in forming a judgment—and private influence, partially, and irresponsibly given to individual members, would be rendered useless.—He begged leave to remark, that the objection to this mode, that the power and right was in the house of representatives to originate money-bills, could not have much weight—The house of representatives, of right, and by the constitution, were properly constituted the sole origin of money-bills—But this reference does not deny the right, nor can it weaken its operation—A bill does not originate till the house has agreed to some principles or resolutions; or a committee reports a bill by order:—principles then, established by vote, resolutions, or leave, are the only ways in which, in a legislative sense, any thing can be known to this government to originate in the work of legislation—He who has not a seat here, of whom, for the sake of multiplied information, we require controllable opinion; does no more originate the legislative work of the house, than the author of a work on finance, from whose opinions we form a scheme of revenue, can be said to tax the people. There is certainly this good attending a reference in such cases—a greater chance for simplicity in the system of finance, and greater stability—The opinions thus obtained, are no obligatory farther than as they appear founded in wisdom—we can alter, add, or reject—a complete control is in our power.—It is thus we shall unite the efficiency and regularity, which are the only good parts of bad governments, with the control and right of rejection which belong to the most free. Gentlemen, after all, will not be precluded from furnishing the house with the result of their individual labours and talents.—Some gentlemen had agreed, that if a committee were to submit a plan to the house, that committee might obtain all the intelligence necessary from the secretary—This would, he thought, be better than obtaining information secretly by individuals; but would be very objectionable, and attended with this inconvenience—that the opinions of the secretary, on which the committee might make their report, would be but partially known to the house, and would come into it unaccompanied by the high responsibility which a formal report from the officer, made in the face of the world, would give them.—He said he would vote for the reference, because he wished, on so tender a subject as that of taxation, to have all possible information—because he felt his right to reject opinions to which he might not be able to subscribe; and because he thought the house ought not to look for official information, in any other mode, than that, in which they might rightfully exert their impartial judgments, in its admission or rejection.

(To be continued.)

October, 1792.

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The CHRONICLE.

ABSTRACT of FRENCH INTELLIGENCE.

WE mentioned, in our last, that M. Petion, mayor of Paris, had appeared at the bar of the national assembly, at the head of the envoys of the commonality, on the 4th. of August, and demanded that the king should be suspended, and a national convention called, for the purpose of choosing a new king, or executive magistrate. At the same time, a decree of accusation against M. la Fayette, charging him with high treason, was depending before the assembly. All waited, with anxious attention, the decision of the assembly, respecting M. la Fayette; as being a measure which would determine the comparative strength of the Jacobin and constitutional parties. At the close of the debate on this decree, there appeared 224 members in support of it, and 400 against it. This decision was so unpopular, that the majority, on quitting the hall, were grossly insulted and abused, by a large mob assembled about the door.

It was now feared by the Jacobin leaders, that the same majority, who had voted in favour of M. la Fayette, would also oppose the suspension of the executive powers of the king. Measures were therefore taken for accomplishing by force, what could not be hoped from the calm decrees of the legislative body; and a plan was formed for uniting the whole force of the Jacobin party, so as to enable them to act in concert, immediately upon the ringing of the tocsin, or alarm-bell, which was fixed for midnight, between the 9th and 10th of August, in case the assembly should not decree the king's suspension, in their sitting of the 9th. The more effectually to ensure the success of this plan, the police of the city was totally subverted by the respective sections, and a new system introduced, in which only three members of the preceding body were retained. As the national guards had, in the disturbances of the 20th. of June, given strong appearances of attachment to the king, a new commander, (M. Santerre) was appointed. Detachments were made from the national guards, of men who could be depended on; and these with a battalion from Marseilles, and a large body of federates from the different sections, constituted a powerful force, which was to be under the immediate command of M. Santerre, who was not to obey the existing superior officers.

All things being thus in train, a rumour of an intended attempt to carry off the king, was spread among the people, on the evening of the 9th. Upon which all the avenues leading to the Tuilleries were immediately crowded with an enraged populace. Under the pretext of quieting the apprehensions of the people, detachments of the national guards were posted in the several avenues around the palace. In the mean time, the friends of the constitution and of the king, though they did not know that the other party had managed matters with so much system, were informed of the intention to excite a tumult, by ringing the alarm-bell at midnight. A force which was deemed adequate to the defence of the palace, was accordingly stationed there. Some courtiers, however, were arrested in disguise; and this circumstance served not a little to give a keener edge to the fury of the people. The tocsin was rung, the drums were beat, and the avenues to the assembly and the palace were crowded with an incensed multitude, who demanded vengeance on the traitors that had been apprehended. The unfortunate victims, some with a mock-trial, and others without any such form, were immediately put to death. Before nine o'clock on the morning of the 10th. the palace was invested with an astonishing and outrageous multitude, calling out for the dethronement of the king; who had fled, in the mean time, with the queen and royal family, to the national assembly, for protection. They were placed, during the remainder of the day, in a box, which had been occupied by the short-hand writers; while the assembly continued their deliberations, and scenes of horror surrounded them. An attempt was made to force the palace. A regiment of Swiss guards, stationed there, endeavoured to defend it. They fought with the utmost intrepidity.

and killed several hundreds of the assailants. But the attack being continued with fury; and several pieces of cannon, loaded with grape-shot, being employed against them, they were obliged to yield to superior force. A few escaped the general massacre, and were made prisoners; but these soon after fell a sacrifice to the rage of the populace, as did many others who were suspected of attachment to the king. The number of the Swiss who fell on this occasion were about 700, but the whole number of the killed is said to have consisted of some thousands.—While these scenes of horror were going forward, the assembly decreed the suspension of the king, and ordered that he should be kept in confinement, under the care of the commander of the national guards, and the mayor of Paris, till a national convention could be convened; and that, in the mean time, the executive power should be vested in six responsible ministers. A decree of accusation against M. la Fayette was again brought forward, and sanctioned by the assembly. By this decree any person was authorized to bring him to Paris, living or dead. M. la Fayette was soon informed of this decree. He found the inclination of his army, and found the men generally disposed to be governed by the will of the national assembly. To tarry till the news of the decree against him reached the army, would have been inevitable destruction. He, with a number of officers, set out for Holland, in the character of French emigrants; but in passing through the territories of the principality of Liege, the whole party were made prisoners, and confined in Namur.—It is somewhat remarkable, that, although the decree of suspension appears to have been extorted from a majority of the assembly, by the Jacobin faction in that body, supported by a tumultuous assemblage of Parisians, yet this decree, like almost every other measure of the assembly, has been loudly applauded throughout the nation. The king, it is true, had long lost the confidence of the people, who have been accustomed, for some time past, to look to their representatives, for the political salvation of France. The assembly have published a lengthy vindication of their conduct.

Accounts from London, to the 8th of September, state, that the Duke of Brunswick, after taking several fortified places, had marched with his army towards Paris.—In consequence of his successes on the frontiers, Longwi, and several other places having fallen into his hands, the national assembly passed a decree, expressing in strong terms, the danger of the country, and calling on the citizens to arm, and turn out to reinforce the army—Sixty thousand armed men were to be raised immediately—this decree provided for a general alarm—the tocsin was rung, and the general beat in all the sections. The citizens immediately repaired to the camp de Mars, to select their volunteers, and make their arrangements to comply with the decree for reinforcing the army.

It being suggested, that, previous to going to the frontiers to fight the enemy without, it was proper to take care of the enemy within—the idea was immediately communicated from man to man, and the whole body immediately divided themselves into parties, and spread themselves all over the city—they broke open the prisons, and put all the prisoners to death; among whom were upwards of one hundred of the non-juring clergy, including one bishop, col. Montmorin, &c. &c.—The garrison of Longwi consisted of 1800 men, who were all made prisoners of war.—Part of the Austrian army were besieging Verdun.

An account was circulated in Paris, at the time of the massacre, which added greatly to the fury of the populace, namely, that four thousand men, belonging to the army of M. Dumourier, sent to reinforce the garrison of Verdun, had been treacherously led into an ambuscade, and cut to pieces.

Among the victims in the prison called the Abbaye, were all the queen's ladies, as Madame Lambelle, half sister to M. D'Orleans, Madame de Tarrant, &c. &c.—M. Montmorin was slain between two members of the national assembly, who were sent to check the people. From the prisons the populace proceeded to the houses of suspected persons, and wherever they found *deposits* of arms, or any papers that discovered a correspondence with emigrants, they slaughtered the owners.—The most moderate accounts state the slain to be about 4000; the highest estimate is 7000.—The national assembly, the public offices, and the treasury, during these horrors, remained unviolated.—The temple, the residence of the king and his family, was not attacked.—The guard had been doubled, and it was hoped it would remain in safety.—Though it was apprehended by many, that when the news of the capture of Verdun should

arrive, the populace, exasperated by this new disaster, would destroy the royal family.

Earl Gower, the British ambassador, is arrived in England, from Paris. The Marquis de la Fayette is gone to Luxembourg, by order of the Duke of Brunswick. M. Luckner is reinstated in his command, as generalissimo of the French armies.

P. H. M. L. A. D. E. L. P. O. H. I. A., October 3.

NOTHING flows, in a stronger light, the rooted inveteracy of the Indians, than their putting to death every flag, that has been hardy enough to approach them. Captain Snake, a chief belonging to the Muntee (friendly) tribe, was sent, some time since, with a message to the hostile nations, but was killed at one of the Delaware towns, the moment he made his business known.

At the anniversary commencement at Princeton, the 26th ult. the degree of Bachelor of Arts was conferred on 36, and that of Master of Arts, on eleven gentlemen.

6th. Mr. Spiller, the celebrated English foot-traveller, who is now engaged in exploring the interior of America, and means to proceed, if possible, from sea to sea, arrived at Augustine, in East-Florida, about the first of July, and requested leave of the governor to explore that province, for the purpose of botanical researches. Although otherwise treated with civility, his request was refused, under pretence of rigid orders to suffer no strangers to come there, except for the purpose of settling under the Spanish government.

By a letter from capt. John Rogers, to governor Lee, of Virginia, dated August 5, 1792, in the territory south of the Ohio—it appears that a series of most cruel murders and depredations have been committed on the frontiers in that quarter; and principally by the Creeks. The number of men, women and children killed since January 1, 1792, amounts to 63, and the number of horses stolen, to 400. There was a treaty to be held the 6th of August, in the district of Mero—600 of the Chickesaws, and 110 of the Chocktaws, had arrived on the ground.

By a return made to his excellency the governor, there has been exported from this city, during the months of July, August, and September, 89,729 barrels of flour, and 2,331 barrels of middlings.

10th. A French gentleman, recently from the Wabash, informs that the Indians are employed in removing their families beyond the waters of the Mississippi, in order that the warriors, upon their return, may be less incumbered for battle.

It is a fact, that the demand for printing-paper has become so extensive in this city and state, and from other states that depend upon the Pennsylvania mills for a supply, that it can no longer be answered. It is hoped that a regard to the interests of literature in the united states, will induce the legislature to take some steps towards remedying this evil. Perhaps it will be found, that the taking off the present duty on foreign paper will be the only means, for some time to come, of procuring a sufficiency of this very necessary, and indispensable article.

A large, commodious, and elegant state-house has been lately erected at Trenton, in New-Jersey, for the accommodation of the legislature and public offices of that state. It is said to be almost finished, at least so far as comfortably to receive the two houses at the October session. The building is one hundred feet long by fifty wide, with a semi-hexagon at each end, over which is to be a balustrade.

Mr. John Churchman, author of the ingenious new Magnetic theory, having failed in his applications, in this country, for the means of enabling him to prosecute his discoveries, by making a voyage to Bassin's bay, lately embarked, at Baltimore, for London, it is said, with a view to apply to the *Literary Societies* there, to countenance him in his future endeavours for the above purpose.

13th. A number of artists are arrived at Boston, from Amsterdam, who are to be employed in the manufacture of glass, in the glass-house in that town.

A Richmond (Virginia) paper of October 5th, informs, that the four horses belonging to the mail-stage were drowned the preceding day, in attempting to ford Pamunkey-river—the passengers crossed the river on a temporary bridge erected for foot passengers—the driver narrowly escaped drowning.

17th. On the 26th of September happened a severe frost in Elizabethtown, (Maryland) and its vicinity, which totally destroyed all the tobacco that was in the fields. The loss is said to be severely felt by the people in that part of the country.

On the 3d instant was celebrated in New-York, the completion of the third century since the discovery of America by Columbus. On this occasion a monumental obelisk was exhibited by the Tammany society at their great wigwag; where an animated oration on the great nautical hero, was delivered by F. B. Johnson, esquire.

Information has been received from governor Blount, (territory south of the Ohio) that the Cherokees of the five lower towns on the Tennesse, had declared war against the united states, on the 11th of September, and that from three to six hundred warriors had set out upon an expedition against the frontier settlements. In consequence of this intelligence, one regiment of the militia of Washington district was ordered out. On the 15th of September, however, news was received, that some leading men had prevailed with the Cherokee Indians, that had collected to go to war, to disperse and go to their homes.

A gentleman at Fort Franklin, in a letter, dated Sept. 27, writes thus to his friend in this city: "We are in great expectations of a peace by spring. Cornplanter, with 130 warriors from the Seneca tribes, from the Munties, the Massafagues, &c. set off about twenty days ago, for the hostile tribes, for the purpose of endeavouring to obtain a permanent peace. If he does not meet with success, we may expect a bloody war."

The Nantucket whaling vessels have, been remarkably fortunate the last season in taking fish. One ship only, brought in 1300 barrels of oil, and 7000 wt. of bone. It is remarkable that the English and Nova-Scotia fishermen have, during the same season, met with but very little success.

A petition has been drawn up at Winchester, in Virginia, to be presented to congress early in the ensuing session, requesting them to take into consideration the impropriety of officers acting under the excise laws being proprietors of stills, or any way interested therein.

A letter from a gentleman in Charleston, (S.C.) dated Oct. 1, mentions two frosts having happened in the neighbourhood of the Wateree river, previous to that date; a circumstance extremely uncommon in Carolina.

The following is extracted from a letter received on Monday from Charleston—Capt. Robert Maxwell and a Mr. Spears, an Indian trader, are arrived here with dispatches from gen. Pickens and col. Anderson, to the following purport: "That a general Creek war may shortly be expected to take place; that the four lower Cherokee towns are hostilely disposed, and will act in concert with the Creeks. A body of the Cherokees, Creeks, and Shawanese, in all about five hundred men, are now out, and it is supposed will fall upon the settlements at Cumberland or Holstein, Col. Anderson has erected four block-houses on the frontiers. An old trader, by the name of Ramfay, with another trader, hath been killed in the Creek nation, and a Mr. Shaw, an agent from congress, narrowly escaped the same fate; and which was prevented by some Indian women, who gave Mr. Shaw timely notice thereof, so that he made his escape. General M'Gillivray is now at Pensacola—It is the opinion of the back country, that every Indian tribe, from Lake Erie to the gulph of Mexico, will, in the course of this winter, be in a state of warfare with the united states."

The grand jury of Charleston district, (S.C.) recommend, in a late presentment to the legislature, to inflict some other punishment than a *fine* upon those masters, &c. who are guilty of murdering negroes.

The number of persons lately inoculated in Boston, is stated in one of their papers to be nine thousand three hundred and eighty-four, of whom one hundred and ninety-eight died, which is in the proportion of about *one to forty*.

We hear from Newark (N.J.) that on Friday, the 12th instant, Nicholas Low, Esq. was chosen governor of the Jersey manufacturing society; and that John Bayard, Esq. was chosen deputy-governor of the said society.

A Virginia paper mentions an extraordinary instance of longevity, in a person now living in Prince-Edward county, in that state. His name is John Holloway, who was born in the year 1670, consequently now 122 years of age. He is said to enjoy good health and spirits, and a remarkably cheerful temper. His mode of living has nothing singular in it, except that he often drinks freely of spirits, and is very fond of sweets, particularly honey. He lately lost a wife, near one hundred years of age, whom he married, a widow, in his seventieth year, who, though childless before, bore him a son within one year after their marriage. Old Mr. Holloway can now, with-

out fatigue, walk twelve miles a day, and, from all appearance, may yet for several years, bid defiance to the scythe of time.

[Extract of a letter from New-Jersey, October 13.]
 "On the 10th of May last, the wife of Mr. Griggs, of Middlesex county, New-Jersey, was delivered of three children; two females and a male—I have seen them, and think they are as fine children as I have generally observed of the same age, when only one at a birth."

On the 11th instant, the house of representatives of Virginia, unanimously resolved to intrust the delegates from that commonwealth to the senate of the united states, to use their interest and exertions to have the doors of that honourable body opened to the citizens of the union.

[Extract of a letter from a citizen of Cincinnati, Sept. 9th 1792.]

"The day before yesterday general Wilkinson returned to this place, from a visit to the out post, and an extensive excursion, to general St. Clair's field of slaughter, and around the head waters of the Big Miami---I am informed that he has discovered two pieces of the brass ordnance lost on the 4th of November; that he explored the country in front of the field of battle, within eight miles of the old Miami village, which turns out to be sixty miles from the field: He has also explored the country to the east of general St. Clair's trace; from whence it appeared that the governor bore much too far to the westward."

27th. The army under general Wayne had not gone down the river Ohio, from Pittsburgh, on the 4th of October; the water being so low as to prevent their passage. It is probable, therefore, that the operations of the troops will be retarded to a tedious and laborious winter campaign.

Mr. William Longstreet, of Augusta, in Georgia, has lately completed the model of a new invented steam engine, calculated for moving all kinds of heavy machinery: This engine is so constructed, and applied to saws, as to perform from forty to forty-five strokes with each in a minute, without the complication of wheels, cogs, or cranks; and all its operations are managed by a single cock. The inventor asserts that his machinery may be so applied as to grind 150 bushels of grain per day, or saw 2000 feet of inch boards in the same time.

29th. In Paris there are two seminaries of learning for the children of Irish parents. Their revenues are large, some say, to the amount of 100,000l a year; be that as it may, the students, in number about 700, had by some ill-judged intemperance of conduct given offence to the people of Paris; an insurrection was the consequence, and the rage of the populace was concentrated on the two colleges; the students immediately sought safety in flight; the people had soon completely demolished both the colleges. Happily all the students are safely arrived in the British dominions.

30th. The late French news will probably induce many to be apprehensive that the cause of liberty is in danger. But the people of France are the best judges of their own situation. When the enemy is at the gates, it is no time to trifle with those within, who are not heartily engaged for us. The common practice of all nations, in such hours of extreme difficulty and danger, will justify the conduct of the French. The citizens of Paris received news that a body of 4000 French, detached to the assistance of Verdun had been defeated, and it is agreed that every man shall turn out to oppose the common enemy. In such a case, can any one suppose they would leave their wives and children in the hands of "refractory priests" and others, convicted of high crimes against the nation, and attached to the cause of the duke of Brunswick? Upon a careful review of every article of European intelligence, yet received, it does not appear that the duke of Brunswick, at the head of his army, can ever reach Paris: Should he, however, arrive there, his total defeat will be the more certain. He need not promise to himself in Paris, even the fortune of Burgoyne at Saratoga; his life must atone for his temerity, and his army, in all human probability, will fall by the sword.

Protest of M. La Fayette, and the officers who accompanied him, against the seizure of their persons on a neutral territory.

The undernamed French citizens, forced by an irresistible concurrence of extraordinary circumstances, to renounce the glory of protecting, as they have hitherto done, the

liberty of their country, unable any longer to oppose the violations of the constitution, which the national will had established therein, declare, "That they cannot be considered as military enemies, since they have given up their posts in the French army; and still less, as part of those of their countrymen whose interests, sentiments, and opinions, absolutely opposite to theirs, have engaged them to league themselves with the powers at war with France; but as strangers, who claim a free passage, which the rights of nations secure to them, and which they only wish to make use of, to repair as speedily as possible to a territory, the government of which is not in an actual state of hostility against their country."

An opinion has prevailed that the Americans fall short of the longevity of the inhabitants of Europe. After premising that we are less attentive in collecting the instances of long life here than in Europe, we shall enumerate a few extracts from the newspapers during 1789 and 1790. Mrs. Kenzey, N. Car. aged 114. Mr. Elithrop, Con. 105. Mr. Carter, Con. 107. Mr. Williams, Con. 101. Mrs. Dowset, Con. 103. Mrs. Dixon, Mass. 101. Mr. Hayley, N. Hamp. 101. and Mrs. Ulrich, 105. Mr. Van Verts, Albany, 124. Dr. Vanlear, Penn. 104. Mr. Montz, 100. and Mrs. Benneison, 100.

A writer in the Knoxville Gazette, says, It is an undoubted truth, (strange as it may appear) that the baron D'Corrondolet, governor of Louisiana, and governor O'Neal of Pensacola, have opened the stores of the king of Spain, in West Florida, to the Creeks and Cherokees, and delivered them arms and ammunition in abundance, advising and stimulating them to go to war against the frontier inhabitants of the united states, and that quickly, that now, or never was the time, while the united states were engaged with the northern tribes.

The disunion that has been so much talked of in France appears to have arisen wholly from the schemes and artifices of the royalists and retainers to despotism, agitated by the king and his family. Since the suspension of the monarch, and his confinement, the most authentic accounts represent the nation as united against all its enemies. Should this really be the case; when the amazing strength of the nation is considered, it is evident it will be at their own option to adopt what form of government they see fit. The number of persons capable of bearing arms in France, is six millions, seven hundred thousand, whereas the whole combined force that can be brought to act against them cannot exceed two hundred and fifty thousand.

State of Europe, with respect to France, communicated to the national assembly, by the secretary for foreign affairs.

Sweden. That kingdom had already testified pacific intentions. Government refused to enter into the league against France. Several Swedish officers wished to be employed in the French service. The regency made proposals for a commercial intercourse.

Russia. That empire never concealed its hostile views; but it could only threaten France for a long time to come.

The southern courts were in the same case.

The German Empire was combined against France.

Holland. That republic promised the most perfect neutrality. The Dutch ambassador remained in Paris.

Great-Britain. That empire professed exact neutrality. The British ambassador had orders from his court to quit France; but nothing hostile was insinuated in the mandate. The English government observed to him, that as the executive power had been taken out of the king's hand, his credentials were no longer valid or of any effect; and that it was his duty to withdraw without loss of time. His British majesty continues perfectly neuter, but did not think he would invade that neutrality, by demanding that the lives of Louis XVI. and his family should be protected. He expected that no violence would be offered to their persons, as that would awake the indignation of all Europe. Authorized by the executive power *ad interim*, the secretary for foreign affairs had written to the English ambassador, and testified how much the French desired to continue in amity with a great people, who were the first to acknowledge the sovereignty of nations.

The determined French citizens forced by an irresistible concurrence of circumstances to renounce the glory of protecting, as they have hitherto done,

METEOROLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS, made in PHILADELPHIA,

In the MONTH of SEPTEMBER, 1792.

Days.	Baromet.		Thermometer of Farenh.		Reaum.		Anemo- meter Prevail.	Wind.	Height.	M or A - T or H - R.	Days.	Baromet.		Thermometer of Farenh.		Reaum.		Anemo- meter Prevail.	Wind.	Height.	M or A - T or H - R.
	In.	Fr.	D.	F.	D.	R.						In.	Fr.	D.	F.	D.	R.				
130	30	0	12	85	0	0	E	I	1	Fair, cloudy	130	30	0	12	85	0	0	E	I	1	Fair, cloudy
30	0	0	7	63	0	0	SW	I	1	Overcast	30	0	0	7	63	0	0	SW	I	1	Overcast
230	0	0	3	80	0	0	SW	I	1	Rainy	230	0	0	3	80	0	0	SW	I	1	Rainy
30	0	0	12	65	0	0	SW	I	1	Overcast	30	0	0	12	65	0	0	SW	I	1	Overcast
330	0	0	10	80	0	0	Varial.	I	1	Fair	330	0	0	10	80	0	0	Varial.	I	1	Fair
430	0	0	0	49	0	0	Idem.	I	1	Overcast	430	0	0	0	49	0	0	Idem.	I	1	Overcast
130	30	0	2	81	0	0	NE	I	1	Fair	130	30	0	2	81	0	0	NE	I	1	Fair
530	30	0	4	64	0	0	NE	I	1	Idem	530	30	0	4	64	0	0	NE	I	1	Idem
630	30	0	5	68	0	0	NE	I	1	Idem	630	30	0	5	68	0	0	NE	I	1	Idem
730	30	0	2	14	0	0	SE	I	1	Idem	730	30	0	2	14	0	0	SE	I	1	Idem
830	30	0	1	12	0	0	SE	I	1	Idem	830	30	0	1	12	0	0	SE	I	1	Idem
929	30	0	1	14	0	0	SE	I	1	Idem	929	30	0	1	14	0	0	SE	I	1	Idem
1030	30	0	1	13	0	0	SW. S	I	1	Overcast	1030	30	0	1	13	0	0	SW. S	I	1	Overcast
1130	30	0	2	12	0	0	SW. S	I	1	Idem	1130	30	0	2	12	0	0	SW. S	I	1	Idem
1230	30	0	2	12	0	0	SW. S	I	1	Idem	1230	30	0	2	12	0	0	SW. S	I	1	Idem
130	30	0	2	12	0	0	SW. S	I	1	Idem	130	30	0	2	12	0	0	SW. S	I	1	Idem
1430	30	0	2	12	0	0	SW. S	I	1	Idem	1430	30	0	2	12	0	0	SW. S	I	1	Idem
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2029	30	0	1	15	0	0	SW. S	I	1	Idem	2029	30	0	1	15	0	0	SW. S	I	1	Idem
2129	30	0	1	15	0	0	SW. S	I	1	Idem	2129	30	0	1	15	0	0	SW. S	I	1	Idem
2229	30	0	1	15	0	0	SW. S	I	1	Idem	2229	30	0	1	15	0	0	SW. S	I	1	Idem
2329	30	0	1	15	0	0	SW. S	I	1	Idem	2329	30	0	1	15	0	0	SW. S	I	1	Idem
2429	30	0	1	15	0	0	SW. S	I	1	Idem	2429	30	0	1	15	0	0	SW. S	I	1	Idem
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3029	30	0	1	15	0	0	SW. S	I	1	Idem	3029	30	0	1	15	0	0	SW. S	I	1	Idem

W. A. T. H. E. R.

T H E
UNIVERSAL ASYLUM,
 A N D
Columbian Magazine,

FOR NOVEMBER, 1792.

BY A SOCIETY OF GENTLEMEN.

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P H I L A D E L P H I A:

PRINTED FOR THE PROPRIETORS, BY WILLIAM YOUNG,
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T O C O R R E S P O N D E N T S .

WE have to acknowledge the receipt of sundry valuable performances, both in prose and verse. The following pieces will be inserted next month—*Honorias, or the mourner comforted*—*The premature adviser*—*The revolutions of fashion*—*Lines addressed to a lark*—*Hymn*—*Verses for the close of the year 1792*—*Truth, an epigram*—*The distressed maiden*—*On the gout*—*Hypocrisy universal*—*On Delta*—*On satiety*—*Anacreontic*—*The country swain's address to his city charmer*—*The superannuated maiden*

We have received two letters this month from our correspondent, who signs himself *Incognito*. We are sorry we cannot think so favourably of his piece signed *Horatio* as he himself appears to do—We must adhere to our former decision respecting it. The lines in memory of a celebrated bard, some time since deceased, besides being rather prosaic, contain what could not fail to be construed into a censure of the deceased's surviving friends.

The poem on spring is cold as winter.

The bosom-friend is replete with sorry puns.

Mencutio's enigma would puzzle the brains of our readers, without affording them either intellectual improvement, or rational amusement.

The Oddy is written with great humour and spirit, but the satire is too pointed.

Anuelia, a Historiette, borders too much on the marvellous—“Keep probability in view.”

Had A. B. reflected on the impropriety of giving a public answer to his question, he would probably have proposed a private interview, which we should not have declined.

PHILADELPHIA, November 30, 1792.

CURRENT PRICES OF PUBLIC SECURITIES.

Six per cents, per cent.	21 1/2	Bank U. S. whole shares per cent advance	43
Deferred six per cents,	13 1/2	Bank of N. America do	31
Three per cents,	12 1/2		

COURSE OF EXCHANGE.

Bills of Exchange on London, 90 days	66 1/2	Amsterdam, 60 days per guilder	3 1/2
Ditto, 60 days	68	Ditto, 90 days	2 1/2
Ditto, 30 days	70		

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

THE

UNIVERSAL ASYLUM,

AND

Columbian Magazine,

FOR NOVEMBER, 1792.

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM

On MODERN IMPROVEMENT.

MR. EDITOR,

IF the present times abound in revolutions, they are also productive of improvement, not only in government, but in the arts, whether termed liberal or mechanical. With respect to government, the constitution and laws of the united states would operate as sufficient proofs, could not others be adduced. A sense of liberty pervades Europe, and is extending to its dependencies in the three other quarters of the globe. The Quixotism of attachment to monarchy has subsided; and loyalty is no longer the Dulcinea of modern refinement. We ought to smile at the pompous description of feasts, tilts and tournaments, did not reflection convince us, that they were the result of false pride and real barbarism. They were intended to advance that predatory system, which even religion could not subdue. Women, if noble and beautiful, were ideally exalted into angels; and a mistaken adoration of the supreme power was impiouly blended with this species of idolatry. A knight in armour sallied from his castle in order to assert the superiority of his mistress's beauty; and thus every city in Europe, and throughout the greater part of Asia, could boast a Helen, the object of contention, and the fire-brand of havoc. Surely the superiority of the moderns must be inferred in this respect. Our women are certainly as fair as those celebrated in the records of chivalry; and their mental accomplishments must be without comparison superior. It is true, that a haughty fair-one occasionally gives rise to a duel. One, and sometimes both admirers have been known to perish in these conflicts; but it is at present very generally confessed, that female charms ought rationally to be estimated; and beauty is no longer considered as the price of blood.

The evils of piracy are almost annihilated. Formerly every coast abounded in these unlicensed, maritime free-booters. The most pow-

erful nation, which ever existed, commissioned one of its most experienced generals, to wage war against these pests of commerce, and society in general. After his success they even decreed him the honours of a triumph in their capital. At present we hear not of a single instance of piracy; and ought not the moderns to claim some merit in this instance, as well as in many others?

A revolution, with respect to literature, has also happily succeeded. A man is no longer venerated for partially understanding useless and almost obsolete languages, unless he unites with them a knowledge of philosophy and history, and a tolerable acquaintance with the useful and ornamental arts. The name of Newton is venerated, while those of Scaliger and other pedants are scarcely mentioned. Locke and Montesquieu have illuminated that world, which the learning of the schools, as they were called, threatened to sink into ignorance and barbarism. The humblest public seminary in Europe, or the united states, possesses more solid erudition, than was in the universe in the twelfth century. Your readers, I hope, will not accuse me of blameable neglect, if I forbear mentioning those luminaries, whose labours reflect glory on the eighteenth century, especially as the very enumeration of their names and works would greatly exceed the limits generally allowed to an essay.

Let us not therefore superstitiously bend before the shrine of boasted antiquity; but let us, at the same time, allow it its intrinsic merits; still however asserting, in contradiction to the injudicious admirers of the ancients, that the present age by far excels its most celebrated period, in literature, arts, science, government, humanity and religion.

Yours, &c F. W.

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

Vultus alit venis, et cæco carpitur igni.

Virgil.

The man, whose conscience errs from reason's path,

Even in this world must suffer heavenly wrath.

MR. EDITOR,

TO enumerate a part of the enormities of which I have been guilty, is my object at present. Should I attempt to descant on the whole, my labour would exceed that of Hercules, when he vainly endeavoured to cleanse the Augean stable. However, what I shall throw out may conduce to fertilize the human mind, and operate as a mental compost.

I was born in a village in the province (now state) of Pennsylvania. My father was an industrious farmer, and my mother as good a house-wife as any in the neighbourhood. How great was their kindness but how false and directed! In their opinion, I could

spell, before I knew my letters; could read before I could spell; could write before I could read, and understood Latin, before I could well articulate English. If there is a pleasure in parental anticipation, it too often inflicts misery on their offspring. Fondled, admired, and incessantly flattered, I conceived myself a being of a superior order. My preceptor I despised, and, as if I had derived knowledge from intuition, disregarded the instruction which books convey, and the experience which age bestows.

When I look back on the events of the early period of my life, I derive some consolation from thinking, that I was not altogether the author of my present woes. But when I reflect on a more mature period, I find myself divested of every shadow of excuse. I was not an idiot; nor did I experience any bad examples; but such as flowed from neglect, and injudicious indulgence. At a more advanced age, when youth prepares to step into manhood, deprived of my parents, I became the ward of a worldly-minded man, who imagined, that, whilst he duly attended to my pecuniary concerns, he fully discharged the duties of a guardian. Learning, in his estimation, was a traffic, except mercantile accounts. "A penny saved is a penny gained" was his favorite proverb; and if I could not at the end of the week minutely account for my small stipend, he accused me of extravagance, and aimed to upbraid me into parsimony.

He died just as I had completed my twenty-first year; nor did I feel any regret on the occasion. On the contrary, like a bow un-bent, I rushed from one extreme to the other. In my opinion, economy had hitherto been avarice; and consequently I now conceived, that profusion was true gentility. My dress, from being plain, suddenly became tawdry. I sang without music, and danced without observing measure or time. The jack was daily laboriously heard, and the operations of the cork-screw were almost incessant. Without company I was dull; with company I was frantic; and when, on account of my extreme folly, gentlemen would no longer consort with me, I became the companion of rakes, and the prey of sharpers.

Yet, sir, I emerged from this dream of horror, in order to plunge into another more deep and horrible. I suddenly, more from the impulse of fancy than the conviction of reason, discarded the companions of my jovial hours, and resolved on reformation. I unfortunately conceived a violent passion for a beautiful and respectable maiden. Elvira, if thy shade attends to the accents of penitence, hear them uttered with all the energy of woe, and in the language of true affliction!—I saw her, I loved, and was truly beloved by her. She saw my follies through the medium of good nature, and over-rated those good qualities, of which my friends thought me possessed.

Why should I conceal my horror, I sighed for her regard. We intended, and consented to be my wife. But alas! the raptures of love were but of short duration. Shortly after our union, I was hurried to a prison for debt; and was shortly informed, that Elvira was the victim of grief. Hallowed be the God under which her remains repose, and for given be the crimes of the man who injured her!

Such, sir, is my history, which, without the assistance of episodes, I might have lengthened into a novel. But truth is my object, which

aims at truly amending the heart, without inordinately gratifying the fancy. But how grievous is my distress! I unceasingly hear and behold my Elvira. Conscience ever upbraids me, and horror is my constant companion.

Wishing that your young readers may derive improvement from this artless account of my sufferings, I am, Mr. editor, your obedient humble servant.

A PENITENT.

—●●●●●—
RULES for forming a JUST and ELEGANT STYLE.

[By FELION.]

GIVE me leave to touch this subject, and draw out, for your use, some of the chief strokes, some of the principal lineaments, and fairest features, of a just and beautiful style. There is no necessity of being methodical, and I will not entertain you with a dry system upon the matter, but with what you will read with more pleasure, and, I hope, with equal profit, some desultory thoughts in their native order, as they rise in my mind, without being reduced to rules, and marshalled according to art.

To assist you, therefore, as far as art may be an help to nature, I shall proceed to say something of what is required in a finished piece, to make it complete in all its parts, and masterly in the whole.

I would not lay down any impracticable schemes, nor trouble you with a dry formal method; the rules of writing, like that of our duty, is perfect in its kind; but we must make allowances for the infirmities of nature; and since none is without his faults, the most that can be said is, That he is the best writer, against whom the fewest can be alleged.

“A composition is then perfect, when the matter rises out of the subject; when the thoughts are agreeable to the matter, and the expression suitable to the thoughts; when there is no inconsistency from the beginning to the end; when the whole is perspicuous, in the beautiful order of its parts, and formed in due symmetry and proportion.”

In every sprightly genius, the expression will be ever lively as the thoughts. All the danger is, that a wit too fruitful should run out into unnecessary branches; but when it is matured by age, and corrected by judgment, the writer will prune the luxuriant boughs, and cut off the superfluous shoots of fancy, thereby giving both strength and beauty to his work.

Perhaps this piece of discipline is to young writers the greatest self-denial in the world, to confine the fancy, to stifle the birth, much more to throw away the beautiful offspring of the brain, is a trial, that none but the most delicate and lively wits can be put to. It is their praise, that they are obliged to retrench more wit than others have to lavish; the clippings and filings of these jewels, could they be preserved, are of more value than the whole mass of ordinary au-

thors; and it is a maxim with me, that he has not wit enough, who has not a great deal to spare.

It is by no means necessary for me to run out into the several sorts of writing: we have general rules to judge of all, without being particular upon any, though the style of an orator be different from that of an historian; and a poet's from both.

The first thing requisite to a just style, is a perfect mastery in the language we write in; this is not so easily attained as is commonly imagined, and depends upon a competent knowledge of the force and propriety of words, a good natural taste of strength and delicacy, and all the beauties of expression. It is my own opinion, that all the rules and critical observations in the world will never bring a man to a just style, who has not of himself a natural easy way of writing; but they will improve a good genius, where nature leads the way, provided he is not too scrupulous, and does not make himself a slave to his rules; for that will introduce a stiffness and affectation, which are utterly abhorrent from all good writing.

By a perfect mastery in any language, I understand not only a ready command of words, upon every occasion, not only the force and propriety of words as to their sense and signification, but more especially the purity and idiom of the language; for in this a perfect mastery consists. It is to know what is English, and what is Latin, what is French, Spanish, or Italian, to be able to mark the bounds of each language we write in, to point out the distinguishing characters, and the peculiar phrases of each tongue; what expressions or manner of expression is common to any language besides our own, and what is properly and peculiarly one phrase, and way of speaking. For this is to speak or write English in purity and perfection, to let the streams run clear and unmixed, without taking in other languages in the course: in English, therefore, I would have all Gallicisms (for instance) avoided, that our tongue may be sincere, that we may keep to our own language, and not follow the French mode in our speech, as we do in our clothes. It is convenient and profitable sometimes to import a foreign word, and naturalize the phrase of another nation, but this is very sparingly to be allowed; and every syllable of foreign growth ought immediately to be discarded, if its use and ornament to our language be not very evident.

Languages, like our bodies, are in a perpetual flux, and stand in need of recruits to supply the place of those words that are continually falling off through disuse: and since it is so, I think it is better to raise them at home than abroad. We had better rely on our own troops than foreign forces, and I believe we have sufficient strength and numbers within ourselves: there is a vast treasure, an inexhaustible fund in the old English, from whence authors may draw constant supplies, as our officers make their surest recruits from the coal-works and the mines. The weight, the strength, and significance of many antiquated words, should recommend them to use again. It is only wiping off the rust they have contracted, and separating them from the dross they lie mingled with, and both in value and beauty they will rise above the standard, rather than fall below it.

Perhaps our tongue is not so musical to the ear, nor so abundant in multiplicity of words; but its strength is real, and its words are therefore the more expressive: the peculiar character of our language is, that it is close, compact, and full; and our writings (if you will excuse two Latin words) come nearest to what Tully means by his *Pressa Oratio*. They are all weight and substance, good measure pressed together, and running over in a redundancy of sense, and not of words. And therefore the purity of our language consists in preserving this character, in writing with the English strength and spirit: let us not envy others, that they are more soft, and diffuse, and rarefied; be it our commendation to write as we pay, in true sterling; if we want supplies, we had better revive old words, than create new ones. I look upon our language as good bullion, if we do not debase it with too much alloy; and let me leave this censure with you, That he who corrupteth the purity of the English tongue with the most precious foreign words and phrases, is just as wise as those modish ladies that change their plate for china; for which I think the laudable traffic of old clothes is much the fairest barter.

After this regard to the purity of our language, the next quality of a just style, is its plainness and perspicuity. This is the greatest commendation we can give an author, and the best argument that he is master of the language he writes in, and the subject he writes upon, when we understand him, and see into the scope and tendency of his thoughts, as we read him. All obscurity of expression, and darkness of sense, do arise from the confusion of the writer's thoughts, and his want of proper words. If a man hath not a clear perception of the matters he undertakes to treat of, be his style never so plain as to the words he uses, it never can be clear; and if his thoughts upon this subject be never so just and distinct, unless he has a ready command of words, and a faculty of easy writing in plain obvious expressions, the words will perplex the sense, and cloud the clearness of his thoughts.

It is the unhappiness of some, that they are not able to express themselves clearly: their heads are crowded with a multiplicity of undigested knowledge, which lies confused in the brain, without any order or distinction. It is the vice of others, to affect obscurity in their thoughts and language, to write in a difficult crabbed style, and perplex the reader with an intricate meaning in more intricate words.

The common way of offending against plainness and perspicuity of style, is an affectation of hard unusual words, and of close contracted periods: the faults of pedants and sententious writers, that are vainly ostentatious of their learning, or their wisdom. Hard words and quaint expressions are abominable: wherever you meet such a writer, throw him aside for a coxcomb. Some authors of reputation have used a short and concise way of expression, I must own; and if they are not so clear as others, the fault is to be laid on the brevity they labour after; for while we study to be concise, we can hardly avoid being obscure. We crowd our thoughts into too small a compass, and are so sparing of our words, that we will not afford enough to express our meaning.

(To be concluded in our next.)

The LIFE and singular PROJECTS of the celebrated JOHN LAW, COMPTROLLER-GENERAL of the FINANCES in FRANCE.

MR. LAW was named director-general of the royal bank at Paris, and branches of it were established at Lyons, Rochelle, Tours, Orleans, and Amiens. It is not a little remarkable, that the credit of the royal notes became equally respectable as that of the general bank, notwithstanding the *notes* of the former contained a fixed and positive value; and the latter, in consequence of a new regulation, by which the amount was to be paid in *silver coin*, could at any time have been greatly diminished in their value. In February, 1720, this bank was incorporated with the company of the Indies, and on the 29th of May following, there were no less than 2,230,000,000 livres of paper money in circulation, for which this incorporated body was responsible.

It is here necessary to observe, that soon after the establishment and success of the general bank, Mr. Law began to develope his grand and stupendous project, so universally known under the name of the Mississippi scheme; a project, which, if carried into full execution, would, in all probability, have exalted France to a vast superiority of power and wealth over every other state. The scheme was no less than the vesting the whole privileges, effects, and possessions, of all the foreign trading companies, the great farms, the profits of the mint, the general receipt of the king's revenue, and the management and property of the bank, in one great company, who thus having in their hands all the trade, taxes, and royal revenues, might be enabled to multiply the notes of the bank to any extent they pleased, doubling, or even trebling, at will, the circulating cash of the kingdom; and by the greatness of their funds, possessed of a power to carry the foreign trade and the culture of the colonies, to a height altogether impracticable by any other means.

The outlines of this monstrous and impracticable monopoly, were approved of by the regent, who issued letters-patent for erecting 'The Company of the West,' to which he granted, at the same time, the whole province of Louisiana, or the country on the river Mississippi.

That part of America having been represented as a region abounding in gold and silver, and possessing a fertile and luxuriant soil, the *shares* or *stakes* were bought up with great avidity, and such was the rage for speculation, that the unimproved parts of the colony were actually sold for 30,000 livres the square league.

The company of the west, of which Law was of course director-general in pursuance of his scheme, undertook the farm of tobacco, at an advancement of upwards of two millions of livres; they soon after procured the charter and effects of the Senegal company, and in May 1719, actually procured the grant of an exclusive trade to the *East-Indies*, China, and the South Seas, with all the possessions and effects of

the China and India companies, which were now dissolved, on the condition of liquidating their debts. The price of *actions* now rose from 50 to 1000 livres each.

On the 25th of July, 1719, the mint was made over to the company of the west, which now assumed the name of *The Company of the Indies*, for a consideration of 50 millions of livres; and on the 27th of August following, they also obtained a lease of the farms, for which they agreed to pay 3,500,000 livres advanced rent. Having thus concentrated within themselves, not only the whole foreign trade and possessions of France, but the collection and management of the royal revenues, they promised an annual dividend of 200 livres per share, in consequence of which the price of *actions* rose to 5000 livres. As it appeared, by a specious statement, that their annual revenue exceeded 80,500,000 livres, and had every prospect of being improved by their foreign commerce, a rage for the purchase of their stock seems to have insatuated all ranks of people in the kingdom.

The frenzy prevailed so far, that the whole nation, clergy and laity, peers and plebeians, statesmen and princes, nay, even ladies, who had or could procure money for that purpose, turned stock-jobbers, outbidding each other with such avidity, that, in November, 1719, after some fluctuations, the price of *actions* rose to above 10,000 livres; more than sixty times the sum they originally sold for.

Mr. Law had now arrived at an unexampled pitch of power and wealth: he possessed the ear of the duke of Orleans; he was almost adored by the people, and was constantly surrounded by princes, dukes, and prelates, who courted his friendship, and even seemed ambitious of his patronage. Such was the immensity of his property, that he bought no less than fourteen estates with titles annexed to them, among which was the marquise of Rosny, that had belonged to the great duke de Sully, the minister and friend of Henry IV. About this period too, a free pardon for the murder of Mr. Wilson was conveyed to him from England, while the capital of Scotland, proud of having produced so great a man, transmitted the freedom of the city in a gold box.

The only obstacle to his advancement to the highest offices in the state, being soon after removed, by his adjuration of the Protestant religion, in favour of the ritual of the church of Rome, he was declared comptroller-general of the finances, on the 18th of January, 1720. But after having raised himself to such an envied situation, he at length fell a sacrifice to the envy of the other ministers, who, playing upon the fears of the regent, induced him to issue an arret, on the 21st of May, 1720, which, contrary to sound policy, and even to the most solemn stipulations, reduced the value of the company's bank notes one half, and fixed their actions, or shares, at 5000 livres. By this fatal step, which seems evidently to have been taken in opposition to the opinion and advice of the comptroller-general, the whole paper fabric was destroyed, and this immense speculation turned out to be a mere bubble! The consternation of the populace was soon converted into rage; troops were obliged to be stationed in all parts of

the capital, to prevent mischief; and such was the depreciation of this boasted paper money, that 100 livres were given for a single *Louis-d'or*.

The fury of the mob, instead of being directed against the government, on account of the *arret*, which had been the occasion of all the mischief, was pointed entirely at the devoted head of the projector, who, perceiving the necessity of leaving France, asked an audience of the regent, to whom he is reported to have said, "Monseigneur, I have committed great faults I own; I did so because I am but a man, and all men are liable to err; but none of them proceeded from malice or knavery—you will find nothing of the kind in my conduct." Having retired, on the 10th of December, 1720, to a *villa* in the neighbourhood of Paris, by means of a passport from the duke of Orleans; the postchaise of madame St. Prie, and a detachment of the household guards belonging to the duke of Bourbon, he, with some difficulty, escaped to Brussels. His brother was soon after sent to the *bastille*, and all his own immense property was seized upon, and confiscated by government.—Thus the ex-comptroller-general, from the splendid sphere in which he lately moved, was reduced to a comparatively indigent situation, having little else to support him, but the salary of his office, which he still retained, through the friendship of the duke of Orleans.

After waiting for some time in the capitals of the Austrian low countries, in expectation of being recalled to France, he repaired to Rome, in which city he paid his respects to the personage, commonly known by the name of the Old Pretender. From thence he proceeded to Venice, and after having travelled through Germany, arrived at Copenhagen, where, in consequence of an invitation from the British ministry, he embarked on board the Baltic squadron, commanded by sir John Norris, and arrived a passenger in the admiral's own ship, on the 20th of October, 1721. On his landing, he instantly repaired to the capital, and was presented to George I. He afterwards hired a house in Conduit-street, Hanover-square, where he was daily visited by people of the first quality and distinction.

His arrival having occasioned a considerable degree of jealousy among the whig party, the earl Coningsby, after representing to the house of peers the danger arising from the residence of a person in England, who had done so much mischief in a neighbouring country; who had renounced his allegiance to his natural sovereign, had openly countenanced the pretender's friends, and, what was worst of all, had renounced his God by turning Roman Catholic; moved the house to enquire, whether sir John Norris had received any orders to bring Mr. Law over.

This business, however, was suffered to drop, and on the 28th of November following, Mr. Law appeared at the bar of the king's bench, accompanied by the duke of Argyle, the earl of Hay, and several others of his friends, and pleaded his majesty's pardon for the murder of Edward Wilson, Esq. in 1694.

In 1722, Mr. Law repaired once more to the continent, and concluded the chequered course of his life at Venice, in March 1729, in the 53th year of his age.

LIFE of MADAME du CHATELET.

GABRIELEA-Emilia Tonellier-de Breteuil, marchioness du Chatelet, was descended from a very ancient family of Picardy, established at Paris for above three hundred years. She was the daughter of the baron de Breteuil, introducer of foreign princes and ambassadors at court, and was born on the 17th of December, 1706. At a very early age, she displayed great strength of genius, and vivacity of imagination. She shewed a peculiar fondness for the belles lettres, and devoted great part of the early period of her life to the study of the ancients: Virgil, above all, was her favourite author. She had a wonderful attachment to the *Aeneid*, and even began a translation of it; but, unluckily, that work was never brought to a conclusion. She was, likewise, remarkably fond of perusing the works of the best French poets; and could repeat the most beautiful and striking passages of them. She applied also to foreign languages; and, in a little time, made herself so far acquainted with the English and Italian, as to be able to read Milton and Tasso with ease.

Madame du Chatelet, however, did not confine herself to the study of the belles lettres. Metaphysics and mathematics were objects also of her pursuit, and Leibnitz, a philosopher equally profound and ingenious, was the guide whom she chose to direct her in this new path. By close application, she was soon enabled to write an explanation of that celebrated German's philosophy, under the title of 'Institutions of Physics,' which she composed principally for the use of the count du Chatelet-Lomont, her son. If this work is entitled to praise, on account of the order and perspicuity observed in it, the preliminary discourse, which Voltaire justly calls a master-piece of eloquence and reasoning, is undoubtedly highly interesting. In this discourse, which is addressed by the marchioness to her son, she first shews, that one of the most sacred duties of men is, to pay the strictest attention to the education of their children; after which, she requests that he would take advantage of the dawn of reason, and endeavour to preserve himself from that ignorance which is so common among persons of his rank.—"You must accustom your mind early," says she, "to think, and to find resources in itself; you will be sensible, throughout life, what comfort and consolation arises from study; and you will even see that it can afford pleasure and delight." She then advises him to apply principally to natural philosophy; gives an account of the plan she proposes to follow in her lessons; and traces out, in a few words, how much that science has been indebted to those philosophers who have appeared since Descartes. In explaining the system of the latter, and that of Newton, she relates the violent disputes they created, and exhorts him, at the same time, to guard against party spirit, which always impedes the discovery of truth. "It is assuredly very unreasonable," continues she, "to make a kind of national affair of the opinions of Newton and Descartes. When a book of philosophy is in question, we ought to ask if it be good; and not whether the author is an Englishman, a Frenchman, or a German." She exhorts her son, also, not to carry his respect for great men to an excess, bordering on idolatry.

Madame du Chatelet had too much judgment, and was too ardent in the pursuit of truth, to dwell long on the chimeras of metaphysics; she readily quitted, therefore, the imaginations of Leibnitz, in order to give herself up to the clear and perspicuous doctrine of Newton. Having, by close application, gained a complete knowledge of that eminent philosopher's principles, she undertook the arduous task of making a translation of them from the original Latin into French, which she published, with an admirable commentary, and by this enterprise rendered an essential service to science.

This commentary, which is far superior to the translation, is composed of two parts, and is preceded by a short history of astronomy, from Pythagoras to the present time. The first part contains an explanation of the most remarkable phenomena of our system, and the second an analytical solution of the principal problems which relate to it. When we reflect on the dryness of the subject, and the little analogy it has with the delicacy and vivacity of the fair sex, we cannot help admiring the abilities of the authoress, and calling to mind the following lines, which Voltaire addresses to her, in his epistle on Newton's philosophy.

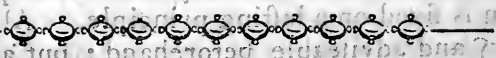
Comment avez-vous pu dans un age encore tendre,
Malgre les vains plaisirs; ces ecueils des beaux jours
Prendre un vol si hardi, suivre un si vaste cours,
Marcher après Newton, dans cette route obscure,
Du labyrinthe immense où se perd la nature ?
Spite of those pleasures which too oft engage
The youthful mind, unguarded yet by age,
How could you soar, and, with so vast a flight,
Great Newton follow, and yet follow right,
In that dark course, hid from the light of day,
Where nature's self is forc'd to go astray ?

Madame du Chatelet's manners were no less estimable than her talents. Though formed, by her figure, her rank, and her knowledge, to be distinguished from the greater part of those among whom she lived, she seemed never to be sensible of those advantages which she enjoyed. She was fond of glory, but without ostentation. "No female," says Voltaire, "ever possessed so much knowledge, and yet no one ever shewed her learning less. She spoke on scientific subjects to those only whom she thought she could instruct, and never with any view to call forth applause." This portrait must undoubtedly exhibit a just likeness of Madame du Chatelet; for no one had a better opportunity of knowing her character, than the person by whom it was delineated. Every one, almost, is acquainted with the close intimacy which subsisted between this celebrated lady and Voltaire, for nearly twenty years. The taste which they each had for philosophy and the belles lettres, served to render this connexion extremely agreeable, especially to the latter, who seems to have derived no small benefit from it. Without the advice of his illustrious friend, many of his pieces, perhaps, would not have contained such a number of beau-

On every thing he wrote, madame du Chatelet was consulted, and her criticisms were always so proper, that her counsel was generally followed. A woman, who has no other merit than that of being learned, is certainly wanting in her duty to society. No reproach, however, can be thrown out against madame du Chatelet, on this head. Her fondness for study never made her forget what she owed to her family; she took upon herself the care of the education of her son, whom she instructed in geometry; and she did not think it below her, to enter into all those details which are required in the management of a house. Instead of delighting in slander, or ridicule, she often became the advocate of those who, in her presence, were made the objects of either. She possessed so much greatness of soul, that, though she perfectly knew that she was exposed to the shafts of malice, she never shewed the smallest desire of being revenged on her enemies. A pitiful pamphlet, in which one of those authors, who delight in blackening reputations, had made very free with hers, being put into her hands, she said, "that if the author had lost his time in writing such useless stuff, she would not lose hers in reading it;" and next morning she exerted herself to liberate him from prison, even without his knowledge.

All that madame du Chatelet can be blamed for is, that she took too little care of her health, and sacrificed it to her glory. Long before her death, she foresaw the fatal stroke which at length carried her off. Being then apprehensive that sufficient time would not be left her, to finish the commentary she had begun on Newton's Principia, she devoted almost every moment to it; and thus hastened her dissolution.

She died at Lunneville, in the year 1749, aged 43, some time after she had been delivered of a child. She was a member of several foreign academies.



ADMIRAL POCOCKE'S RECEIPT for PICKLING BEEF, PORK, MUTTON, &c. and keeping the MEAT good and sweet.

TAKE four gallons of good water, to which add one pound and a half of Muscovado sugar, two ounces of salt-petre, and six pounds of Bay, or common great salt; put the whole into a clean pot or kettie, and let it boil being careful to take all the skum off as it comes up; when no more skum rises, take the liquor off, and let it stand till it is cold: then, having put the meat you want to preserve into the vessel you intend to keep it in, pour the liquor over the meat, till it be quite covered, in which condition it must be kept. Beef, preserved in this manner, has been taken out of the pickle after lying in it ten weeks, and been found as good as if not salted more than three days, and, at the same time, tender as a chick.

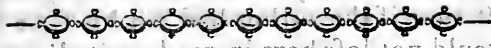
If you intend to preserve your meat for a considerable length of time, it will be necessary, once in two months, to boil the pickle over

again, skimming off all that rises, and throwing in, during the boiling, two ounces of sugar, and half an ounce of common small salt. This pickle will hold good for twelve months.

This pickle is incomparable to cure hams, neat-tongues, or beef which you intend to dry, or make what is called hung-beef; observing, when you take them out of the pickle, first to clean and dry them, then put them in paper bags, and hang them up in a dry, warm place.

N.B. Some who have tried the above receipt, and choose their meat saltier than it will effect, instead of six pounds, take eight or nine pounds of salt.

In the hottest weather, it has been found necessary, before the meat is put into the pickle, to rub it well over with salt, and let it lie, from one hour to three or four hours, until all the blood run from it. If the meat is the least tainted before it is put into the pickle, it will be entirely spoiled, in a day's time, in hot weather.



An ADMONITION to those, who glory in SEDUCING the AFFECTIONS of the FAIR, and then DESERTING them.

NO man ought certainly to make professions to a lady, till he is fully convinced her person, her temper, and her fortune, are perfectly agreeable to his circumstances, and way of thinking; for without such previous knowledge, he undertakes at random the most important affair of life; and then no wonder if he involves himself in difficulties and uneasiness.

Love, whatsoever some may think of it, is not a passion to be sported with; nor is the affection of a lady to be attempted, till a man is assured his own is fixed on a lasting principle. All imaginable caution is necessary and adviseable beforehand: but after his professions of regard, his services, and solicitations, have won the heart, and made him dear to her; reason, honour, justice, all oblige him to make good his engagement, and to be careful of her peace. Then there is no retreating; nor can any thing but her loss of virtue justify his leaving her. And whether he has promised her marriage, or not, makes very little difference; for, surely, if he has courted her affections, and gained them, upon the reasonable supposition that he intended making her his wife, the contract is, in the sight of heaven, of equal force. He who basely imposes on the honest heart of an unsuspecting girl, and, after winning her affections and esteem by the soft and prevailing rhetoric of courtship, can ungenerously leave her to sorrow and complaining, is more detestable than a common robber, in the same proportion as private treachery is more villanous than open force, and money of less concern than happiness.

If you intend to preserve your meat for a considerable length of time, it will be necessary, once in two months, to boil the pickle over

OF THE REFINEMENTS OF TASTE AND ELEGANCE.

Mr. EDITOR,

IT is of the greatest importance, in the conduct of life, to set a just value on things, and to give them only that share of attention that is due to them. To be too solicitous about trifles is affectation; to be inattentive to what our interest or happiness is nearly concerned in, is no less than shameful negligence. There are many things, which are not to be regarded as either the *least* or the *most* important; and we ought to examine into their nature and their use, in order to know the measure of esteem they deserve. Of this kind are the refinements of taste and elegance.

If it be asked, what we mean by elegance? We may say, it is distinguished from beauty, as the *species* from the *genus*. Elegance is a kind of beauty. It is different from grandeur, as this regards the magnitude of an object, whereas elegance regards the texture and disposition of its parts. It is not the same with propriety; a thing is proper with regard to some use or end; but it is elegant in relation to the feelings of the mind. In short, it is one of those things which we clearly experience, though it is not easy to give a logical definition of them; every one has a notion of it, in proportion to the delicacy of his taste, and a thousand definitions and descriptions will not make him know a whit more of it.

Many and various are the advantages of elegance. It promotes the happiness of society, as it comprehends that polish of manners, that humanity of behaviour, which render the intercourse of mankind easy and agreeable. What fallies of passion, what insults, cruelty and blood-shed, are prevented by that deference which politeness obliges us to shew towards those we converse with! Besides, the pleasures of taste are an innocent gratification to those who have time and leisure for them. They are a valuable present from nature, to beguile the tedium of life, and to reconcile us to the hardships and severities of our lot. Though the man of taste, with a more susceptible heart than others, has commonly a larger share of grief and uneasiness, yet, amidst all the bitter draughts he takes of the cup of misery, he seldom misses to find relief in the elegant page of a classical author, or in the fairer page of Nature's works.

Again, elegance is favourable to the culture of arts and sciences; We must study these, as the means of attaining elegance; if we admire the one, we will, in course, cultivate the other: Besides, refinement of taste renders the communication of knowledge more easy, and places it in the most engaging light. What a very difficult appearance have the various branches of philosophy, as exhibited in the writings of the present times, from what they had in the dark ages, and even for more than a century after the revival of learning! Cleared, in some measure, from the obscurity and confusion of scholastic barbarism, the sciences now shine forth in their native beauty, and the agreeable simplicity of their dress increases the number of their admirers.

In fine, it has a happy influence on the morals of mankind. As there is a remarkable analogy between the graceful and becoming in the fine arts, and the beauty of moral conduct; so a just relish of the one, may have a tendency to bring us in love with the other. He that can bear nothing in a poem or picture, but what is decent or beautiful, will readily be disgusted at an irregularity of manners.

It must be owned, however, when a people are near the extremes of refinement, then a taste of elegance is apt to degenerate into luxury and dissipation; rich materials and expensive pleasures become the sole objects of attention—trifling away time, and the other gifts of Providence, in a manner unworthy reasonable creatures, is then the celebrated *savoir vivre*. No sooner had the ancient Romans brought to perfection the arts that soften and adorn human life—or rather transplanted them all of a sudden from Greece, the native country of the muses and the graces, than they sunk into effeminacy, and soon lost their antient simplicity, their liberty, their virtue.

That we may taste the charms of elegance, without running into an excess of refinement, we should, in the first place, take care not to lose sight of simplicity; we must never think of adding to the beauty of nature; all we can do is but to imitate it, or set it in an advantageous light. It is true, objects often excite a more lively and agreeable emotion in the mind, as exhibited in painting and poetry, than as we see them in the common field of nature; the reason is, that it is the excellence of these elegant arts to select and arrange objects, so as to give them the additional charms arising from contrast or resemblance: but all other embellishment, all colouring that has a tendency to disguise the object, ought carefully to be avoided. Simplicity is the native dress of truth: and a sincere love of the latter is seldom without a taste for the former. A glare of tinsel ornament not only deprives us of the genuine beauties of nature, but hinders us from having clear and distinct views of things. Simplicity is modest, and therefore wins upon our affections; she disregards herself; if she recommend an object to our attention, she takes no share in the praise; she says it is good, it is useful, it is honourable, without assuming any airs of self-importance. Amiable pattern of humility! she does all she can, and yet would seem to do nothing. Why are we so taken with the story of Le Fevre, in Tristram Shandy? Were it told in the language of the Rambler, instead of the language of nature and simplicity, it would immediately lose its effect.

In the second place, we should never separate elegance from utility, nor admit any thing as a beauty, which does not answer some valuable purpose. One may go on, adding one superfluous ornament to another without end, and without ever coming, in the least degree, nigher perfection; for, having passed the point of utility, there is no other to stop at; all beyond is undistinguishable confusion, where the understanding is bewildered. The human mind, in all its pursuits, would have some end, some fixed point to aim at; without this, it may be sated, or overwhelmed, with variety of dissipating pleasures, but must be a stranger to solid satisfying enjoyment. Hence the superfluity of ornaments in Gothic architecture serves only to perplex and confound the attention; hence too, the profusion of epithets, meta-

phors, and pointed similies in Cowley, and the other poetical writers of the luxurious reign of Charles II. will always cloy a reader of good taste: In fine, hence it is the most solid and lasting pleasure, to find what is of real use, placed in such a point of view, as to display a striking elegance.

The beauty of ornament is relative; and, therefore, whenever we find it introduced purely for its own sake, or whenever it engages the attention more to itself than to the subject, we may be sure it is in a false taste.

After all, elegance is but of secondary consideration; usefulness is of the first. It would be a poor compliment to an architect, that he had built a fine house—but convenience had been so little attended to in the plan, that no one could live comfortably in it. Nor is the speaker more worthy of commendation, who endeavours less to enlighten the understanding, or touch the hearts of his audience, than to raise their admiration with glittering thoughts, flashes of wit, and all the pomp and glare of language. On the other hand, a convenient house, and a discourse that is suitable to the purpose, will always have their value, however destitute of decoration. The truth is, it is a pitiable weakness to be so fond of elegant appearance, so caught with outward form, as to overlook real worth, because it happens to lie under some exterior disadvantages.

Yours, &c. PHILOCTES.

A LETTER from a LADY to her NIECE, on her expressing great uneasiness at the LOSS of her BEAUTY by the SMALL-POX.

MY DEAR MARIA,

WE must distinguish those evils which are imposed by Providence, from those to which we ourselves give the power of hurting us. A small part of *your* calamity is the infliction of heaven; the rest is little more than the fretting of idle discontent. You have, indeed, lost that which may sometimes contribute to happiness, but to which happiness is by no means inseparably annexed. You have lost what the greater number of the human race never have possessed; what those on whom it is bestowed, for the most part, possessed in vain; and what you, while it was yours, knew not how to use. You have only lost early, what the laws of Nature forbid you to keep long; and have lost it while your mind is yet flexible, and while you have time to substitute more valuable and durable excellencies. Consider yourself, Maria, as a being born to know, to reason, and to act: rise at once from your dream of melancholy to wisdom, and to piety: you will find that there are other charms than those of beauty, and other joys than the praise of fools.

I am your affectionate aunt,

A. V.

Some particulars relative to the SOIL, PRODUCTIONS, and COMMERCE of KENTUCKY, &c. with observations on the WEST INLAND NAVIGATION of AMERICA.

[Extracted from a letter, written by Mr. Imlay, of Kentucky; formerly of New-Jersey.]

THE soil of Kentucky is uncommonly favourable to hemp, and Indian corn. I have known 12 cwt. of the former produced from an acre of ground, and as much as 100 bushels of the latter. This has not only been done from an uncommonly fertile spot; but there are larger bodies of land adjoining, which are equally prolific. I believe, that, were I to mention, upon an average, the produce of the whole country, it would be found to be nearly as follows:

Hemp, per acre,	8 cwt.
Indian-corn, or maize, ditto,	60 bushels.
Wheat, ditto,	30 ditto.
Barley, ditto,	40 ditto.
Oats, ditto,	50 ditto.
Clover and Timothy grass, ditto,	25 cwt.

Besides hemp and flax for manufacturing, cotton is cultivated with considerable success, particularly in the southern parts of the state, and Cumberland; and, no doubt, in a few years, when our settlements extend to the Natchez, cotton will be produced in as great perfection as in the East or West-Indies. No soil or climate can be more congenial to this plant, than the regions of the lowermost parts of the Mississippi. We have it in our power to promote the culture of silk also. The mildness of the climate, and the great quantity of the mulberry-trees, which are every where interspersed in our forests, render this matter extremely easy; but how far this will be politic, when the use of silk is going out of fashion, is a matter that requires some consideration. Cotton has supplied its place, and its superior excellence, I apprehend, will always make it a more profitable manufactory.

The productions of Cumberland are nearly the same as those of Kentucky. The quality of tobacco is perhaps something better; but the climate being considerably warmer, it is not so favourable to wheat and barley, nor does grass grow there so luxuriantly, as with us.

The country below Cumberland soon becomes warm enough for indigo and rice; and perhaps these articles, in a few years, will be cultivated on the Mississippi, with as much success, if not more, than they ever were in South-Carolina or Georgia; particularly the former, as the soil on the Mississippi, is infinitely more luxuriant, than any whatever in the Carolinas. Some essays were made in this business, previous to the late war; but the object was abandoned, on the destruction of the settlement below the Natchez.

Oranges, and other tropical fruits, grow at the Natchez, and some distance above, to considerable perfection. There are a variety of nuts, which grow both in Kentucky and Cumberland, some of which

are common to both; the most remarkable of which is the pacane; but as they have all been noticed, both by Carver and Jefferson, I shall refer you to them, for their particular descriptions and properties. Grapes, plumbs, goose-berries, and strawberries, grow also spontaneously in the southern parts of Kentucky, and in most parts of Cumberland.

To comprehend the object of the commerce of this country, it is first necessary to contemplate it, abounding in all the comforts of life, limited in its variety of climate only by what is not desirable; with a soil so prolific, a navigation so extensive, and a security so permanent, from being inland, that it seems this vast extent of empire is only to be equalled, for its sublimity, by the object of its aggrandizement.

Provisions, tobacco, and raw materials will constitute the first articles of our trade. Such a quantity of beef, pork, bacon, butter, cheese, &c. &c. might be furnished from this country as will, one day, no doubt, supply the West-India islands, and afford relief to the miserable Chinese, whose scanty portion of rice is only sufficient to keep soul and body together. Our mountainous countries must always prove excellent ranges for herds of cattle; the grass, in the summer, affording sufficient food to fatten them, without the expence of cultivating meadows, and the winters are seldom so severe as to require any other food than the cane and pea-vine.

The navigation of this country has been much talked of. The distance from one place to another has been computed, with some degree of accuracy, and the various experiments which have been made, confirm the opinion, that its difficulty is merely imaginary.

The common mode of descending the stream, is in flat-bottomed boats, which may be built from 15 to 500 tons burthen. But, as far as I have been able to judge, I should suppose, that about fifty or sixty tons burthen, would be the most convenient, wieldy, and consequently safe, particularly when the waters are very high; for, in such cases, the rapidity of the current makes it difficult to manage an unwieldy mass with facility. These boats are built of oak-plank, with a certain proportion of breadth to their length, *i. e.* nearly as twelve feet to forty; which will be a boat of nearly forty tons. They are covered, or not, as occasion may require. The object is, to build them as cheap as possible; for their unwieldiness prevents the possibility of their returning, and they can only be sold as plank.

Several of these boats set out together, let us suppose 5, 10, 15, or 20, of 60 tons burthen each, which would require each six hands to navigate them. The boats then of 60 tons each will employ 60 hands, which will be equal to navigate up the stream three boats of five tons each, and which would be more than sufficient to bring back the cargo which the produce of the ten boats would purchase; as the articles we export are gross and bulky, while we want only, in return, superfine goods; the coarser goods, of every sort, will always be manufactured in the country. We also make our own salt, sugar, spirits, malt-liquor, and shall soon make our own wine. These boats must be worked up with steam and sails.

The invention of carrying a boat against the stream by the influence of steam is a late improvement in philosophy, by Mr. Rumfay, of Virginia, whose ingenuity has been rewarded by that state with the exclusive privilege of navigating these boats in her rivers for ten years; and as this grant was given previous to the independence of Kentucky, the act of separation guarantees his right. Some circumstance or other has prevented his bringing them into use. If this principle should fail, I flatter myself that philosophy is capable of supplying the place, in the appropriation of some one of the secrets with which mechanics abound. But should we still be obliged to row our boats against the stream, it is not only practicable, but easy.

The frequent turnings in the Mississippi produce in every bend, eddy water, which, with the advantage the wind affords, (blowing, the greater part of the year, from the south-west, and directly up the windings of the river, which, by reason of the vacancy between the banks and rising forests on either side, afford a channel for the current of the air) is sufficient, with sails, keeping as much as possible in the eddy water, to carry a boat fifty miles a day up the stream.

To account for those winds philosophically, would be extremely heavy; but, as it is a circumstance notorious, from the testimony of voyagers in the Mississippi and Ohio, I presume the test of experience will be preferred to any philosophical disquisition upon the subject.

Should this navigation prove too tedious, and no improvements appear likely to be made in it, the importing into the country may be facilitated by another channel, from the Gulph of Mexico up the Mobile, which is a lazy current; from the principal branch of which there is but a short passage to a branch of the Tenesee, when you will have the advantage of the stream quite into the Ohio. I have enumerated this circumstance merely for the sake of information, for I have not the smallest doubt of the eligibility of the navigation of the Mississippi, which is proved from the experiments which are daily making. The distance from Pittsburgh to the Muskingum, is 173 miles; to the Little Kanhaway, 178; to the Great Kanhaway, 285; to Great Sandy, 342; to the Sciota, 390; to the Limestone, 500; to the Little Miami, 510; to Licking-creek, 524; to the Great Miami, 550; to the Great-bone creek, 582; to the Kentucky, 626; to the Rapiers, 703; to Salt river, 723; to Green river, 922; to the Wabash, 1019; to Cumberland river, 1113; to the Tenesee, 1126; to the Mississippi, 1183; from thence to New-Orleans, is about 1200 miles.

It is about 230 miles from the mouth of the Ohio up the Mississippi to the mouth of the Missouri, and about 20 from thence to Illinois, which is navigable for batteaux to its source. From thence there is a portage only of two miles to Chickago, which is also navigable for batteaux to its entrance into lake Michegan, which is a distance of sixteen miles. This lake affords communication with the river St. Lawrence, through Lake Erie, passing Niagara by a portage of eight miles. The lakes Erie and Michegan are navigable for vessels drawing six and seven feet water. This is one of the routes by which the exchange of commodities, between the northern and southern parts of this empire, will be facilitated.

In continuing the plan of intercourse, it will be found extremely easy to pass through lake Ontario to Wood-creek, up Wood-creek, and by a portage of about three miles you arrive at a creek, which in three miles more brings you to Fort-Edward, upon the Mohawk river, which is a branch of Hudson's river. There are several carrying places between that and its junction with Hudson; but very little labour would remove them, and I have no doubt but the state of New-York will be judicious enough to set early about it. It is certain that they have ordered surveys to be made, and plans are forming for the removal of those obstructions. It has been long in embryo with them. It was impossible a plan of so much utility could escape that sage and penetrating politician, general Schuyler, whose vast estate lies mostly in that part of America.

There are also portages into the waters of lake Erie from the Wabash, Great Miami, Muskingum, and Allegany, from two to sixteen miles. The portage between the Ohio and Potowmac will be about twenty miles, when the obstructions in the Monongahela and Cheat rivers are removed, which will form the first object of the gentlemen of Virginia, when they have completed the canals on the Potowmac.

The obstructions to the navigation of the Great Kanhaway are of such magnitude, that it will require a work of ages to remove them; but if ever that should be done, there will be an easy communication between that and James river, and likewise with the Roanoke, which runs through North-Carolina. But this is an event too remote, to deserve any consideration at present.

All the rivers in this country, of 60 yards wide and upwards, are navigable, almost to their sources, for flat-bottomed boats, during their floods, and for batteaux, the greater part of the year, the great Kanhaway and Little Miami excepted. The Tenasee has a considerable fall, where it passes through Cumberland mountain, where there must be a portage also. From thence it is navigable quite to Holliston.

The rapids of Ohio are no obstruction, in high water, to boats going down the river; and, indeed, batteaux may pass almost at any time. There are two small rapids in the Wabash, between its mouth and St. Vincent's, but they are no impediment to navigation, except at times of low water. The Kaskaskia is a small river, which runs into the Mississippi below the Illinois, and is navigable a considerable way above the plains; the Mississippi is navigable to St. Anthony's falls, without any obstruction. Carver describes it as navigable above them, as far as he travelled. We have too little knowledge of the Missouri, to form any decided opinion of the extent of its navigation. It is, however, certain, that it is a more powerful stream than the Mississippi; and, in entering that river, it triumphantly rushes across, and its turbid waters, unmixed, seem to disdain a connection with the clearer current of the other. An easy communication again opens, by land, from the northern lakes to the head branches of the rivers which run into Hudson's bay, into the Arctic regions—and from the sources of the Missouri into the Great South-Sea. Thus, in the centre of the earth, governing by the laws of reason and humanity, we seem

calculated to become at once the emporium and protectors of the world.

Before I finish this letter, I shall just enter into some of the minutia of the distance and time of descending down the Ohio, which will serve for an account of all the other rivers. Mr. Jefferson has stated that "the inundations of the Ohio begin about the last of March, and subside in July."

Frequent rains in the latter end of the autumn produce floods in the Ohio; and it is an uncommon season, when one of those floods does not happen before Christmas. If there is much frosty weather in the upper parts of the country, its waters generally remain low until they begin to thaw. But, if the river is not frozen over, (which is not very common,) there is always water sufficient for boats of any size from November until May; when the waters generally begin to subside; and by the middle of June, in most seasons, they are too low for boats above forty tons, and these must be flat-bottomed. The frost seldom continues so long as the middle of February; and immediately upon its breaking the river is flooded: this flood may, in a degree, subside, but for no length of time; and it is from that period until May that the boats generally come down the river. The distance of descending is in proportion to the height of the water; but the average distance is about eighty miles in twenty-four hours, and from sixty to one hundred are the extremes; so that the mean time of going, in a flat-bottomed boat, from Pittsburgh to the rapids, is between eight and nine days, and about twenty days more to New-Orleans; which will make a passage from Pittsburgh to that place nearly a month. The inundations of the Mississippi commence something later than those of the Ohio; but it is very certain they begin in March, and subside in July. This is the most proper time to ascend the river; as you avoid the shoals, and have finer weather; but, above all, when the water is high, you have stronger eddies; and with taking the advantages, and with dextrous watermen, you may proceed fifty miles a day, which will bring you back to the rapids of the Ohio in forty days, making a large allowance for contingencies.

I shall take leave of you, for the present, with observing, that the smaller rivers have no stated period to govern their inundations, but are subject to be flooded by all heavy rains; which is a great advantage to the country, as it affords the inhabitants frequent opportunities of sending their produce to the several markets, upon the large rivers.

On the LAWS of the different AMERICAN STATES for the MANUMISSION of SLAVES.

[From M. Brissot de Warville's Travels in the United States.]

SLAVERY, my friend, has never polluted every part of the united States. There was never any law in New-Hampshire, or Massachusetts, which authorized it. When, therefore, those States proscrib-

ed it, they only declared the law, as it existed before. There was very little of it in Connecticut; the puritanic austerity which predominated in that colony, could scarcely reconcile itself with slavery. Agriculture was better performed there by the hands of freemen, and every thing concurred to engage the people to give liberty to the slaves;—so that almost every one has freed them; and the children of such as are not yet free, are to have their liberty at twenty-five years of age.

The case of the blacks in New-York is nearly the same; yet the slaves there are more numerous. It is because the basis of the population there is Dutch; that is to say, people less disposed than any other to part with their property. But liberty is assured there to all the children of the slaves, at a certain age.

The state of Rhode-Island formerly made a great business of the slave trade. It is now totally and for ever prohibited.

In New-Jersey the bulk of the population is Dutch. You find there, traces of that same Dutch spirit which I have described. Yet the western parts of the state are disposed to free their negroes; but the eastern parts are opposed to it.

It is probable that their obstinacy will be overcome; at least, it is the opinion of the respectable Mr. Livingston, celebrated for the part he has acted in the late revolution; he has declared this opinion, in a letter written to the society at Philadelphia. He has himself freed all his slaves, which are very numerous. He is one of the most ardent apostles of humanity; and, knowing the character of his countrymen, he reasons, temporises with their interest, and doubts not of being able to vanquish their prejudices. The quakers have been more fortunate in Pennsylvania. In the year 1758, they voted, in their general meeting, to excommunicate every member of the society who should persist in keeping slaves. In 1780, at their request, seconded by a great number of persons from other sects, the general assembly abolished slavery for ever, forced the owners of slaves to cause them to be enregistered, declared their children free at the age of twenty-eight years, placed them, while under that age, on a footing of hired servants, assured to them the benefit of trial by jury, &c. But this act did not provide against all the abuses that avarice could afterwards invent. It was eluded in many points. A foreign commerce of slaves was carried on by speculators; and some barbarous masters sold their blacks, to be carried into foreign countries; others sent the negro children into neighboring states, that they might there be sold, and deprived of the benefit of the law of Pennsylvania, when they should come of age: others sent their black pregnant women into another state, that the offspring might be slaves; and others stole free negroes, and carried them to the islands for sale. The society, shocked at these abuses, applied again to the assembly, who passed a new act, effectually to prevent them. It ordained, that no black could be sent into a neighbouring state without his consent; confiscated all vessels and cargoes employed in the slave trade; condemned to the public works the stealers of negroes, &c.

Doubtless we cannot bestow too much praise on the indefatigable zeal of the society in Pennsylvania, which solicited these laws, nor on the spirit of equity and humanity displayed by the legislature in passing them; but some regret must mingle itself with our applause. Why did not this respectable body go farther? Why did it not extend at least the hopes of freedom to those who were slaves at the time of the passing the first act? They are a property, it is said; and all property is sacred. But what is a property founded on robbery and plunder? What is a property which violates laws human and divine? But let this property merit some regard. Why not limit it to a certain number of years, in order to give at least the cheap consolation of hope? Why not grant to the slave, the right of purchasing his freedom? What! the child of the negro slave shall one day enjoy his liberty; and the unhappy father, though ready to leap with joy on beholding the fortune of his son, must roll back his eyes with aggravated anguish on his own irrevocable bondage! The son has never felt, like him, the torture of being torn from his country, from his family, from all that is dear to man; the son has not experienced that severity of treatment, so common in this country before this revolution of sentiment; yet the son is favoured, and the father consigned to despair. But this injustice cannot long fully the law of a country where reason and humanity prevail. We may hope that a capitulation will be made with avarice; by which these slaves shall be drawn from its hands.

Again—Why, in the act of March, 1780, is it declared that a slave cannot be a witness against a freeman? You either suppose him less true than the freeman, or you suppose him differently organised. The last supposition is absurd; the other, if true, is against yourselves; for, why are they less conscientious, more corrupted, and more wicked?—it is because they are slaves. The crime falls on the head of the master; and the slave is thus degraded and punished for the vice of the master.

Finally, why do you ordain that the master shall be reimbursed from the public treasury, the price of the slave who may suffer death for crimes? If, as is easy to prove, the crimes of slaves are almost universally the fruit of their slavery, and are in proportion to the severity of their treatment, is it not absurd to recompense the master for his tyranny? When we recollect that these masters have hitherto been accustomed to consider their slaves as a species of cattle, and that the laws make the master responsible for the damages done by his cattle, does it not appear contradictory to reverse the law relative to these black cattle, when they do a mischief, for which society thinks it necessary to extirpate them? In this case, the real author of the crime, instead of paying damages, receives a reward.

No, my friend, we will not doubt but these stains will soon disappear from the code of Pennsylvania. Reason is too predominant to suffer them long to continue.

The little state of Delaware has followed the example of Pennsylvania. It is mostly peopled by quakers—instances of giving freedom are therefore numerous. In this state, famous for the wisdom of its

laws, for its good faith and federal patriotism, resides that angel of peace, Warner Mifflin. Like Benezet, he occupies his time in extending the opinions of his society relative to the freedom of the blacks, and the care of providing for their existence and their instruction. It is in part to his zeal that is owing the formation of a society in that state, after the model of the one at Philadelphia, for the abolition of slavery.

With the state of Delaware finishes the system of protection to the blacks. Yet there are some negroes freed in Maryland, because there are some quakers there; and you perceive it very readily, on comparing the fields of tobacco or of Indian corn belonging to these people, with those of others; you see how much superior the hand of a freeman is to that of a slave, in the operation of industry.

When you run over Maryland and Virginia, you conceive yourself in a different world, and you are convinced of it, when you converse with the inhabitants. They speak not here of projects for freeing the negroes; they praise not the societies of London and America; they read not the works of Clarkson—No, the indolent masters behold with uneasiness, the efforts that are making to render freedom universal. The Virginians are persuaded of the impossibility of cultivating tobacco without slavery; they fear, that if the blacks become free, they will cause trouble; on rendering them free, they know not what rank to assign them in society; whether they shall establish them in a separate district, or send them out of the country. These are the objections which you will hear repeated every where against the idea of freeing them.

The strongest objection lies in the character, the manners and habits of the Virginians. They seem to enjoy the sweat of slaves. They are fond of hunting; they love the display of luxury, and disdain the idea of labour. This order of things will change, when slavery shall be no more. It is not, that the work of a slave is more profitable than that of a freeman; but it is in multiplying the slaves, in condemning them to a miserable nourishment; in depriving them of clothes, and in running over a large quantity of land with a negligent culture, that they supply the necessity of honest industry.

HISTORY of the AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

(Continued from our last page 256.)

1780. THE American army, under general Gates, suffered exceedingly from a scarcity of provisions, in marching through the inhospitable wilds of North Carolina. Their provision consisted principally of a few lean cattle, picked up in the woods; with green corn and peaches, as substitutes for bread. For several days, they were reduced to the necessity of subsisting on peaches alone. From the unhealthiness of the season and climate, and a want of wholesome provisions, the men became very sickly. The dysentery was a generally prevalent disease. Exhausted by fatigue, fasting,

and sickness, their murmurs became audible; and a disposition to mutiny appeared among them. But as there was no particular person to whom they attributed their misfortunes, or on whom they could wreak their vengeance; and as the officers, who shared every calamity, in common with the privates, used their utmost endeavours to encourage them under their sufferings, they, at length, ceased to complain, and patiently submitted to every hardship. They even became witty on the occasion, and used *starvation* as a cant-word, to ridicule their sufferings. By thus burlesquing their misfortunes, their spirits were revived, so that what had lately been a cause of dependency and murmuring, was now a subject of mirth.

The army at length arrived at Clermont, thirteen miles from Camden, on the 13th of August. General Gates had been joined, on his march, by the North-Carolina militia, under general Caswell; and by colonel Porterfield, a brave, active, and judicious officer, at the head of about 100 Virginia soldiers. By his singular address, he had found means not only to avoid the hapless fate of most of the corps which retreated, after the surrender of Charleston, but to subsist his little party since that time, and remain on the border of South-Carolina, in defiance, as it were, of the enemy. On the 14th general Gates was reinforced by the arrival of general Stephens, with about seven hundred Virginia militia. On the same day, an express arrived from col. Sumpter, with information that he had been joined by a number of South-Carolina militia, on the west side of the Wateree; and that an escort, with clothing, ammunition, and other valuable stores, for the garrison at Camden, was then on its way from Charleston, and must pass the Wateree, at a ferry about a mile from Camden, under cover of a small redoubt, occupied by the enemy, on the opposite side of the river. To enable col. Sumpter to reduce the redoubt, and intercept the convoy, he was immediately furnished with a detachment of between four and five hundred men, with two brass field-pieces.

As general Gates approached South-Carolina, lord Rawdon collected his whole force at Camden. The retreat of the British from their out-posts, the appearance of the American army, and the impolitic conduct of the conquerors towards their new subjects, concurred, at this juncture, to bring about a general revolt in favour of independence. Numbers broke through all ties, and joined their countrymen. Among these were several parties of militia, who had been embodied for the British service.

Lord Cornwallis, upon hearing of the approach of Gates, hastened from Charleston to Camden, which he reached on the 14th of August, the day after the arrival of the American army at Clermont. The British force at Camden consisted of about two thousand men, three hundred of whom were cavalry. Gates's army was augmented, by the arrival of the Virginia militia, to nearly four thousand men; but of this number no more than nine hundred infantry and seventy cavalry were regular troops. With this force he resolved to advance to the vicinity of Camden, and take an eligible position, that he might favour the execution of col. Sumpter's enterprise, and, at the same time, be in readiness to make the most of any advantageous circum-

stances, that might favour a co-operation with that officer's detachment. He had reason to expect, that, by straitening the enemy in their quarters, and cutting off their supplies, they would become an easy prey to his superior force; unless, indeed, they should take the timely precaution, to evacuate Camden and retreat to Charleston, which appeared probable. He therefore gave orders, that the sick, and all heavy baggage and stores, that were not immediately wanted, should be sent, under a guard, to Waxhaws, and that the army should move from its encampment, at ten o'clock, in the night of the 15th; which it accordingly did, in excellent order.

Although the inferiority of Cornwallis's force would have justified a retreat, he determined, after weighing all circumstances, neither to retreat, nor wait to be attacked in a disadvantageous position; but to march immediately, and attack the Americans at Clermont, where he was informed that they were encamped in a bad situation. He well knew that, by retreating to Charleston, he must lose his magazines, abandon those who were his friends, or who had submitted to British government, and give up to the Americans the whole of South-Carolina and Georgia, except the fortified posts of Charleston and Savannah. This appeared to be the worst fortune that could befall him, in any event; and he placed such confidence in the goodness of his troops, that, even in case of a defeat, he did not despair of effecting a tolerable retreat to Charleston. Thus it is evident, that he had much to gain by a victory, and little to lose by a defeat. It was remarkable, that both armies began their march precisely at the same time.

Between two and three o'clock, in the morning of the 16th, the advance of both armies met, and a brisk firing ensued; but some of the American volunteer cavalry, who were wounded by the first discharge of the enemy, fell back so suddenly, that the whole line was thrown into confusion. This untoward circumstance tended not a little to discourage the militia, although the order of the army was soon restored. Both armies kept their ground, and continued to skirmish, occasionally, during the remaining part of the night. The light-infantry, particularly those commanded by col. Porterfield, behaved with great spirit, at the time the army was thrown into disorder; but, unfortunately, that valuable officer, on whose conduct and abilities Gates placed great reliance, was badly wounded, early in the attack.

As soon as day appeared, a general engagement took place. At the first onset, the greater part of the Virginia and North-Carolina militia, on being charged by the British infantry, shamefully threw down their arms, and betook themselves to a precipitate flight. Dixon's regiment of North-Carolina militia, however, which had formed a part of Gregory's brigade, kept the field, and acquitted themselves with bravery, while they had a cartridge remaining. General Gregory himself received two bayonet wounds; and several of his men, who were made prisoners, were severely wounded by the bayonets of the enemy, whose charges they withstood with great firmness.

The continental troops, on finding themselves deserted by the militia, scorned to follow the ignominious example. Though now in-

ferior in number to the British, they bravely stood their ground, and maintained the unequal conflict, for almost an hour; during which a heavy firing was kept up on both sides, and intermixed with several sharp contests, at the point of the bayonet. For some time, the Americans had an evident advantage over their opponents. They had even taken a considerable number of prisoners. But, being overpowered by numbers, and in danger of being surrounded by the enemy, they were finally obliged to give way.

The victory of the British was complete. Every American corps was broken and dispersed; and the scattered troops were pursued upwards of twenty miles, by Tarleton's legion, who found the way covered with arms, baggage, waggons, and wounded men. The whole of the American artillery, and 2,000 stands of arms, with upwards of 200 waggons, and almost all their baggage, fell into the hands of the enemy. The number of the slain was never precisely ascertained; no returns of the militia having been made, after the action. The British accounts state their own loss, in killed, wounded, and missing, to have been no more than 324; that of the Americans they conjecture to have been more than five times that number, but there is reason to believe that, by this estimate, the loss of the Americans is considerably over-rated.—Baron de Kalb, who was mortally wounded in the action, and taken prisoner, died next day. This brave officer, who was by birth a German, had acquired great military experience, by long service in the French army. Congress resolved, that a monument, bearing an honourable inscription, should be erected to his memory, at Annapolis. General Rutherford, of North-Carolina, was wounded and taken prisoner; and about forty commissioned officers, of the various inferior ranks, were killed, wounded, or taken. Of the comparative degree of resistance made by the different American corps, an estimate may be formed, from this fact; that, of two hundred and ninety wounded prisoners, who were carried into Camden, two hundred and six were continentals, eighty-two were North-Carolina militia, and but two belonged to the Virginia militia. The British troops behaved with great bravery; but their superiority in cavalry, and the precipitate flight of the American militia, conducted materially to the completeness of their victory.

Col. Sumpter's enterprise fully succeeded. On the same evening that the two hostile armies marched from their respective quarters, he reduced the British redoubt on the Wateree, captured the guard, intercepted forty waggons loaded with stores, and took the escort, consisting of upwards of one hundred men, prisoners. When col. Sumpter heard of the defeat of the army under general Gates, he immediately retreated up the Wateree, with his prisoners and captured stores. But, on the morning of the 17th, Tarleton, with his legion and a detachment of light-infantry, pursued, with such celerity and address, as to overtake and surprise the retreating Americans, on the following day, at Fishing-creek. Sumpter's men having had scarcely any sleep, for the last four days, and supposing themselves out of reach of immediate danger, had chiefly submitted to the calls of nature, even the centinels were so much overcome by fatigue and want of sleep, that they neglected their duty. In this defenceless situation they

were surpris'd by the enemy, at noon-day; whose cavalry rode in among them, and put numbers to the sword: The British prisoners, in number about three hundred, were all retaken; and Sumpter's whole detachment was killed, captured, or dispers'd.

On the 17th and 18th of August, a small party of Gates's dispers'd army rendezvoused at Charlotte, about eighty miles from Camden, where they began to think of making a stand. They expected to be joined by the country militia, and by Sumpter's detachment; but on hearing of that officer's defeat, self preservation dictated an immediate retreat to Salisbury. All thoughts of resistance being now at an end; and the approach of the victorious enemy continually apprehended, the distressed situation of the whig inhabitants, in those parts of the country through which the wretched remnant of the unfortunate army retreated, may be more easily conceived than described. To avoid the cruelty of the British army, many families fled from their property, and their homes, and followed the troops; while others, whose situation rendered flight impracticable, mourned over the misfortunes of their country, and anticipated the worst of treatment that an exasperated enemy could inflict. Public calamity gave rise to too much private distress, and every one was so much engross'd by his own share of sufferings, that the sick, the wounded, and the dying, were almost entirely neglected, and exhibited, along the road, from Charlotte to Salisbury, scenes painful to humanity. A few days after the arrival of the troops at Salisbury, they proceeded to Hillsborough. To this place general Gates had repaired, shortly after his defeat; and, in concert with the government of North-Carolina, was devising plans for enabling him again to take the field.

Lord Cornwallis was restrained, by the season, and the sickness which prevail'd in his army, from pursuing his conquests; but, the country being now completely in his power, he determin'd, by the most severe treatment, to crush the spirits of all who were attach'd to independence. Violating the rights which are held sacred between hostile nations, he resolv'd to punish, as traitors and rebels, all the citizens of South-Carolina, who had submitted as British subjects, and afterwards took part with their friends and countrymen. We have already describ'd the unjustifiable measures which were taken, first to constrain the citizens to become subjects of Great-Britain, and afterwards, to compel them to take up arms in support of royal government. That the appearance of submission, thus extorted, should subject them to the punishment usually inflict'd on traitors and deserters, was hard; that lord Cornwallis should take advantage of such circumstances, to aggravate the horrors of war, by a deliberate effusion of human blood, mult be considered, by the impartial world, as a cruel "policy" for "motives of policy" were pleaded in defence of the measure.

Officers were given, by lord Cornwallis, that all who had submitted as British subjects, and afterwards revolted, should be punish'd with the greatest rigour, — That they should be imprison'd, and their whole property be taken from them, or destroy'd. He also issued positive orders, that every person who had been enroll'd as a British militia-man, and afterwards join'd the Americans, should, if taken,

be put to death. In compliance with this order, several of the inhabitants were actually hanged. A number of the most respectable citizens had firmly resisted every temptation to exchange their paroles for the protection of subjects. In order to crush this refractory spirit, orders were given to send out of South-Carolina, a number of its principal inhabitants. In pursuance of this arbitrary mandate, lieutenant-governor Gadsden, with most of the civil and militia officers, and several private citizens, were seized, put on board a vessel in the harbour, and sent to St. Augustine. In vain did they plead their rights, derived from the capitulation of Charleston, and challenge their adversaries to prove any thing against them, which merited expulsion from their country, and a separation from their families and friends. Lord Cornwallis meant to convince the inhabitants, that all who refused to relinquish their paroles, and become subjects, should be sent out of the country. General Rutherford and col. Isaacs, both of North-Carolina, who had been lately taken near Camden, were also removed to St. Augustine.—To complete the measures for enforcing the re-establishment of British government, lord Cornwallis, on the 16th of September, issued a proclamation for the sequestration of all estates belonging to the active friends of independence. John Cruden, Esq. was appointed to execute this business, on the receipt of an order or warrant, signed by lord Cornwallis, or the commandant at Charleston, and designating the persons whose estates were to be seized. All who should impede the said commissioner, in the execution of his duty, by the concealment or removal of property, or otherwise, were made liable to punishment, as aiders and abettors of rebellion.

Numbers, intimidated by these proceedings, yielded to necessity, and became British subjects. Indeed, to avow an adherence to independence, was, now, to brave poverty and ruin, and to court exile or an ignominious death. And yet, in this trying emergency, there were found many, whose patriotism and generous attachment to liberty were of that firm texture, which such great occasions always require, and frequently call into exertion. Several of the richest men in the state suffered their fortunes to remain in the power and possession of their conquerors, rather than stain their honour, by joining the enemies of their country. The patriotism of the ladies contributed much to this firmness. They crowded on board prison-ships, and other places of confinement, to solace their suffering countrymen. While the conquerors were regaling themselves at concerts and assemblies, they could obtain very few of the fair sex to associate with them; but no sooner was an American officer introduced as a prisoner, than his company was sought for, and his person treated with every possible mark of attention and respect. On other occasions, the ladies in a great measure retired from the public eye, wept over the distresses of their country, and gave every proof of the warmest attachment to its suffering cause. Among the numbers that were banished from their families, and whose property was seized by the conquerors; many excellent examples could be produced, of ladies cheerfully parting with their sons, husbands, and brothers; exhorting them to fortitude and perseverance, and repeatedly entreating them never to suffer family-attachments to interfere with the duty they owed to their country. When, in the

progress of the war, they were also comprehended under a general sentence of banishment, they with equal resolution parted with their native country, and the many endearments of home—followed their husbands into prison-ships and distant lands, where they were often reduced to the necessity of depending on charity for subsistence.—Animated by such examples, as well as by a high sense of honour and the love of their country, a great proportion of the gentlemen of South-Carolina deliberately adhered to their first resolution, of risking life and fortune in support of their liberties.

Never were the mischievous effects of slavery more strikingly exemplified, than during the American war. When a southern state became the seat of military operations, it could not, like a northern state, summon to its aid a hardy yeomanry, who fought for every thing that was dear to them, as men and citizens. On the contrary, a large proportion of the population consisted of negro slaves, who had nothing to gain or lose by the contest, but its issue what it might. Their condition could not undergo a change for the worse; it was possible it might be bettered by a change of masters. It was probably from a faint hope of this kind, joined to a desire of taking vengeance on their masters, for all the cruelties and wrongs they had suffered, that such of them as were disposed to take any part in the contest, generally sided with the British.

From this circumstance, the opulent planters of South-Carolina, who were generally firm wigs, were unable, by their utmost exertions, to protect their property from plunder, much less to make a successful stand against the troops of the enemy. It was only in the back parts of the state, where a free and hardy peasantry resided, that the British found themselves opposed with firmness, after they had established a royal government in every other part of the state. Those daring whigs were almost continually engaged in the execution of some plan, against the outposts or straggling parties of the enemy. Of this kind were the parties who took the field under colonels Sumpter, Marion, Williams of Ninety-six district, and other popular leaders.

Of Sumpter's gallant exertions we have already taken some notice. On the day that officer and his party were surprised by Tarleton, col. Williams, with about 200 South-Carolina and Georgia militia, engaged a party of 200 British regulars, and 300 militia, at Mulgrove's mills, on the Enoree river. Williams, when he perceived the enemy advancing to attack him, with a superior force, judiciously placed his men behind trees, and ordered them not to fire till the enemy were so near, that every man could make sure of his object. After the enemy had sustained a warm contest for some time, they were obliged to retreat. Sixty of their men were killed, and seventy wounded. Of the Americans, no more than three were killed, and eight wounded. Sundry other exploits were performed by this valuable officer. But no partisan rendered more essential service, with very small bodies of volunteers, than col. Marion. While Sumpter harassed the enemy, on one part of the frontier, after the surrender of Charleston, Marion was rendering a similar service, in the north-eastern extremity of the state. At the time general Gates was advancing towards South-Carolina, Marion took post on the Santee, with sixteen men.

From this station, after the defeat of Gates, he sallied out, rescued 150 prisoners, and captured a small British guard, which was conducting them from Camden to Charleston. Having released the prisoners, he dismissed the captured guard, and betook himself to the woods. He was now obliged to leave the state; but he returned in a few days, and continued to harrass the enemy, at the head of such of the inhabitants as he could get to join him, from time to time. Sometimes he had a tolerably numerous party; but this was seldom the case, for a considerable while after Gates's defeat; and the number of his followers was always fluctuating. His achievements, at the head of parties which varied between twenty-five and seventy, were astonishing.—With a view to deter the inhabitants from joining Marion, the British burned a great number of houses, on Pedee, Lynch's creek, and Black river, belonging to such as were supposed to do duty with him, or to befriend him. But this was an injudicious step; and instead of detaching any of Marion's followers from him, prompted many to join him. Those whose houses were destroyed took refuge with their friends, who were in arms; and, with them, for several months, slept in the open air, and sheltered themselves in the recesses of deep swamps, from which they sallied forth, whenever an opportunity of harrassing the enemy presented itself.

Gen. Sumpter, (for he had been promoted to the rank of brigadier-general,) soon after the dispersion of his corps, by Tarleton, on the 18th of August, collected a band of volunteers, partly from those who escaped on that fatal day, and partly from new adventurers. These he mounted, for the sake of greater expedition in his enterprises. He did not remain long in one place, but frequently varied his position, about Evoree, Broad and Tyger rivers. His utmost endeavours were incessantly employed to distress his adversaries, by successive alarms, by intercepting their convoys, and by rendering all their movements extremely difficult and dangerous. He had frequent skirmishes with the enemy, to whom his enterprising spirit and desultory mode of warfare were so injurious, that they made several attempts to destroy his force, all of which, however, proved unsuccessful. On the 12th of November he was attacked, at Broad-river, by major Wemys, at the head of a corps of infantry and dragoons; but the British were defeated, and their commanding officer taken prisoner. Eight days after, an attempt was made, by col. Tarleton, to surprise Sumpter's corps at Black-stocks, in the vicinity of Tyger-river. A precipitate attack was made, with 170 dragoons, and about 80 men of the 63d regiment; but Sumpter, having been apprized of Tarleton's approach, had taken a strong position, and was prepared to give him a warm reception. A considerable number of the Americans were stationed in a log-barn, through the apertures of which they fired with security, and did great execution. Tarleton made an impetuous charge with his cavalry, but was repulsed with considerable loss, and obliged to retreat. He fell back to a detachment of infantry, which was advancing to support him, and left the Americans in possession of the field. But Sumpter, having been badly wounded, and knowing Tarleton would be reinforced, retired across the Tyger, a few hours

November, 1792.

after the action Sumpter's wound interrupted his gallant enterprises for several months; but otherwise, the loss of the Americans was very inconsiderable, compared with that of the enemy, among whose killed were major Money and two lieutenants. General Sumpter's zeal and activity, in animating the drooping spirits of the militia; and his bravery and judicious conduct, in several engagements with detachments of the enemy, obtained him the applause of his grateful countrymen, and the thanks of congress.

For some time after Gates's defeat, the whigs of North and South-Carolina were much intimidated. But in proportion as the impression made by that event became gradually more faint, a spirit of enterprise was revived among them. The severity with which the British treated the revolters, who fell into their hands, was, upon the whole, favourable to the American cause; inasmuch as it made those who escaped, persevering and desperate in their opposition, and thus added considerably to the force of those small, but daring bands, which were so troublesome to the enemy, in the extreme parts of South-Carolina.

Early in September, col. Clarke, availing himself of that reviving spirit of enterprise which has been mentioned, mustered about 500 Americans, and marched against Augusta, in Georgia, by a tedious route through the upper parts of South-Carolina. The garrison defended themselves with much bravery, in two or three attacks; and, upon the near approach of a reinforcement, sallied out, and obliged Clark to retreat. In this sally, the British took some prisoners, one of whom, named Henry Dukes, was instantly hanged. Such of the inhabitants of Augusta as were supposed to have been friendly to Clarke's design, experienced every severe treatment. About thirty of them were hanged. This cruel and impolitic measure excited a general abhorrence, in the minds of the people, and prepared them for a revolt, whenever a fit opportunity should occur.

While lord Cornwallis was restrained from active operations, by the excessive heats, and unhealthy season, which followed his victory at Camden, major Ferguson, of the 71st regiment, visited the north-western settlements, and collected a corps of North and South-Carolina loyalists, which he disciplined, and prepared for service in the field. He also encouraged those who were disaffected to the Americans, by assuring them that lord Cornwallis would shortly commence offensive operations, in North-Carolina, with a respectable army; when it was hoped, they would evince their loyalty, by an active co-operation with the royal army.

Major Ferguson, wishing to intercept Clarke's party, on its retreat from Augusta, kept near the western mountains. The inhabitants of the country west of the Allegany mountains were alarmed, on hearing that Ferguson was so near them, lest he should pay them a visit, and commit depredations similar to those by which the British, and their Tory adherents, had excited the general indignation and abhorrence of all who had been exposed to their ravages. They therefore took up arms immediately, and marched against the enemy. The people in various and remote parts of the country, were actuated by the same impulse, at the same moment; and, without any previous

concert or communication with each other, there was a very considerable combination of detached parties, from several adjacent states, all having in view the destruction of Ferguson, whom they knew to be in a situation where he could have no immediate support. Their meeting was accidental. Col. Williams, of Ninety-six, was in pursuit of Ferguson, with 450 horse, when he was informed, that several other parties were advancing, with the same object in view. Williams, with colonels Campbell, of Virginia, Cleveland, Shelby, Sevier and McDowel, of North-Carolina, and Lacey, Hawthorn and Hill, of South-Carolina, with their respective corps of volunteers, amounting to between two and three thousand men, all rendezvoused together. Being mounted and unencumbered with baggage, their movements were rapid. The hardships they underwent were severe. Some of them tasted neither bread, salt, nor spiritous liquors, for weeks together; and slept in the open air, without blankets. They subsisted, chiefly, on ears of corn and pumpions, with occasional supplies of beef and venison, killed and roasted in the woods. So little military subordination was there in this volunteer army, that there was no commander in chief, but each colonel continued, after the junction, to command his own men.

The Americans, apprehending that Ferguson might be informed of their approach, and effect an escape, selected nine hundred of their men, and mounted them on their fleetest horses. These, on the 17th of October, came up with, and attacked major Ferguson, on the top of King's-mountain, near the confines of North and South-Carolina. They were formed into three divisions, which were led on in different directions, by colonels Lacey, Campbell, and Cleveland. Ferguson charged these several divisions, successively, as they advanced, and compelled them to give way; but as he could not present a front to each division of the assailants, at the same time, they only fell back a little way, and, posting themselves behind trees and rocks, poured in a continual fire upon his corps, in almost every direction. The Americans were all excellent marksmen, as were also a considerable number of their adversaries. An unusual proportion of the killed, on both sides, were shot in the head. Riflemen took off riflemen with such exactness, that they killed each other, in the same instant, while taking aim; and they were found, after death, with one eye shut and the other open, as is usual with marksmen, when leveling at their object. Major Ferguson displayed uncommon bravery; but his encampment was injudiciously chosen, in a situation where his men were much exposed, while the Americans had an opportunity of making their approaches, under cover of rocks and trees. He might have made good a retreat, with the greater part of his men, had he pursued his march immediately on his charging and driving the first division; for, notwithstanding the Americans behaved with as much spirit as could be expected from undisciplined troops, it was not easy to bring them to a second attack, after having been charged with bayonets. But his unconquerable spirit disdained either to flee or to surrender. After having maintained an obstinate and bloody conflict, for upwards of three quarters of an hour, he received a mortal wound. No hope of escape, or of successful resistance,

now remained. The submission of the British put an end to the contest. About 800 were made prisoners, and two hundred and fifty had been previously killed or wounded. Of the assailants no more than about twenty were killed; but that distinguished officer, col. Williams, of Ninety-six, was of the number. Of the royal militia, who surrendered, ten were hanged by the Americans. These, it was alleged, had been guilty of previous felonies, for which their lives were forfeited, by the laws of the state. It is not improbable, however, that the Americans were, in some degree, provoked to this measure, by the severity of the British, who had lately hanged several prisoners, in South-Carolina and Georgia.

By the death of major Ferguson, the royal cause sustained a loss, which would have been very sensibly felt, at any time during the war; but which, under present circumstances, was irreparable. Superior abilities, added to an uncommon spirit of enterprise, fitted him both for planning and executing great designs. Hence he had been pitched upon, by lord Cornwallis, to muster and discipline those loyalists, who might be induced to take the field under him, and co-operate with the British army, in its invasion of North-Carolina. Much was expected from this co-operation; but the total rout of the party which had joined Ferguson, rendered the loyalists extremely timid in their exertions. They were not disposed, indeed, to run any further risk in support of the royal cause, or to take any active part in the contest, until the British army should, by its own efforts, gain a decided superiority.

Cornwallis, leaving a small garrison at Camden, had taken the field with the main army; and, relying upon a powerful support from the loyalists, had penetrated into North-Carolina, almost as far as Salisbury, when he received the disagreeable and unexpected intelligence of Ferguson's death, and the total overthrow of his party. This circumstance, together with the opposition his army received from the North-Carolina militia, induced him to retreat to Winnsborough. In this march he experienced great annoyance from the American riflemen, who frequently approached within shot of his army, and, from behind trees, made sure of their objects. The militia took several of his waggons; and he was frequently insulted, in a very mortifying manner, by single men, who made a practice of coming up within musket-shot of his army, discharging their pieces, and then riding off. Ferguson's defeat, and the consequent retreat of Cornwallis, encouraged the American militia to take the field with uncommon alacrity, and renew their opposition with increased ardour; so that the British found themselves, at the close of the year, unpossessed of almost every advantage which might have been expected from the splendid victories they had gained, and the almost total annihilation of the American southern army, first by the capture of Charleston, and afterwards by the defeat of general Gates. British garrisons prevented open resistance, and awed the inhabitants into an apparent submission; in the vicinity of those places where they were established; but whenever the people were left to themselves, the active and spirited part of the community generally rallied round the standard of independence.

In the month of November, general Gates advanced from Hillsborough to Charlotte, at the head of a considerable force. He had exerted himself to the utmost, to repair the injuries of his defeat; and was again in a condition to face the enemy. But so much had the defeat at Camden operated to his disadvantage, that, in spite of all his former services, he became the victim of public ingratitude. Not even the remembrance of Saratoga could shield him from unmerited censure. His enemies could not accuse him either of incapacity, or mismanagement of any kind; but he had been once unfortunate, and this was deemed a sufficient cause, by congress, not only for depriving him of his command, but for ordering a court of enquiry to be held on his conduct. General Greene, who was appointed to succeed Gates, arrived at Charlotte, in the beginning of December, and delivered him the first official information of his removal from the command; although the resolution of congress, for that purpose, had been passed in the beginning of October. Such was the indelicate treatment he experienced. The resignation of Gates was manly—the conduct of Greene, on the occasion, bespoke the gentleman. Reciprocal politeness and friendship prevented the embarrassments which both must otherwise have felt. Greene uniformly vindicated the character of Gates, maintained that he had failed in no part of his military duty, and declared that his conduct deserved success, though he could not command it.—It was not against the pressure of public misfortune only, that general Gates had to struggle, at this trying emergency—the death of an only child, a promising youth of nineteen, added greatly to the poignancy of his distress. In passing through Richmond, on his way home, the house of Burgesses of Virginia, unanimously addressed him, in terms equally affectionate and polite. They assured him, that their grateful remembrance of his former glorious services could not be obliterated by any reverse of fortune.

(To be continued.)

ACCOUNT of the RELICS and MONUMENTS of the INDIANS, in NEW-HAMPSHIRE.

[From BELKNAP'S *History of New-Hampshire*—Vol. III.]

IN describing any country, it is natural to make some inquiry concerning the vestiges of its ancient inhabitants. It is well known that the original natives of this part of America, were not ambitious of perpetuating their fame by durable monuments. Their invention was chiefly employed either in providing for their subsistence, by hunting, fishing and planting, or in guarding against and surprising their enemies. Their houses and canoes were constructed of light and perishable materials. Their mode of travelling was to take all possible advantage of water carriage, and to shorten distances, by transporting their birchen canoes across the necks of land which were convenient for the purpose. Their manner of taking fish was either

by entangling them in wears, or dipping for them in scoop-nets, or striking them with spears. They took quadrupeds in traps or pitfalls, or shot them, as well as birds, with arrows. For the construction of their canoes and houses they used hatchets, chissels, and gouges of stone. To cook their meat, they either broiled it on coals, or on a wooden grate, or roasted it on a forked stick, or boiled it in kettles of stone. Their corn was pounded in mortars of wood, with pestles of stone. Their bread was baked either on flat stones set before a fire, or in green leaves laid under hot ashes. Clam-shells served them for spoons, and their fingers for knives and forks. They had no sharper instruments than could be formed of stones, shells and bones. Of these the two last are perishable by age; but of the first, relics are frequently found in the places of their former residence, generally in the neighbourhood of water-falls, and other convenient fishing places. The manner of finding them is by plowing or digging. The most of those which have been discovered, have come to light by accident, and a few only are so perfect as to merit preservation.

The hatchet is a hard stone, eight or ten inches in length, and three or four in breadth, of an oval form, flatted and rubbed to an edge at one end; near the other end is a groove in which the handle was fastened; and their process to do it was this: When the stone was prepared, they chose a very young sapling, and, splitting it near the ground, they forced the hatchet into it, as far as the groove, and left nature to complete the work by the growth of the wood, so as to fill the groove and adhere firmly to the stone. They then cut off the sapling above and below, and the hatchet was fit for use.

The chissel is about six inches long and two inches wide, flatted and rubbed sharp at one end. It was used only by the hand, for it would not bear to be driven. The gouge differs from the chissel only in being hollow at the edge. With these instruments they felled trees, cut them into proper lengths, scooped them out hollow for canoes, trays, or mortars, and fashioned them to any shape which they pleased. To save labour, they made use of fire, to soften those parts of the wood which were to be cut with these imperfect tools; and by a proper application of wet earth or clay, they could circumscribe the operation of the fire at their pleasure.

Their pestles are long, cylindrical or conical stones, of the heaviest kind; some of which have figures, rudely wrought, at the end of the handle.

Their kettle is nothing more than a hole, either natural or artificial, in a large stone; but their mode of boiling in it would not readily occur to a person who had seen a kettle used no other way than

* I have seen a native (says Roger Williams) go into the woods with his hatchet carrying only a basket of corn, and stones to strike fire. When he hath felled his tree (either a chestnut or a pine) he maketh him a little hut or shed of the bark of it. He puts fire, and follows the burning of it in the midst, in many places. His corn he boils, and hath the brook by him, and sometimes angles for a little fish. So he continueth burning and hewing, until he hath, in ten or twelve days, finished, and getting hands, launched his boat.

Beverly, in his history of Virginia, gives a similar account of the manner of making canoes, by the Indians, in that part of America. Page 108.

with a fire under it. Their fire was made by the side of the kettle, and a number of small stones were heated. The kettle being filled with water, and the food placed in it, the hot stones were put in, one after another, and by a dextrous repetition of this process, the meat or fish was boiled.

Of arrow-heads there is found a greater number than of any other instrument; and they are of all sizes from one to five inches in length; pointed and jagged, with a notch on each side, at the lower end, to bind them to the shaft, the end of which was split to let in the head. Children were early taught the use of the bow, and many of the arrow-heads which are found, seem to have been fit only for their use.

Another implement of stone is found, the use of which is to us undetermined. It is shaped like a pear, with a neck, and was probably suspended by a string. Some suppose it was hung to a net, and that many of them placed at the lower edge served the purpose of weights to sink it.

Some specimens of sculpture have been found, but they are not common. In the museum of the Academy of Arts and Sciences, there is an imitation of the head of a serpent, at the end of a long stone pestle, found at Wells, in the county of York. There is, in the possession of a gentleman in New-Hampshire, a piece of bone, on which is engraven the bust of a man, apparently in the agonies of death. The countenance is savage, and the work is well executed. This bone, with the figure on it, was found at the shore of the little bay, in the river Pascataqua.

In the places of their habitations are sometimes found circular hearths of flat stones, which were laid in the middle of their wigwams. Their mode of lodging was with their feet to the fire. This custom is adopted by people who lie abroad in the woods, and by others at home. It is accounted both a preventive and a remedy for a cold.

The cellars in which they preserved their corn, are sometimes discovered in their new settlements, and their graves are frequently seen. Most of the skeletons appear to be in a sitting posture, and some remains of the instruments which were supposed necessary to their subsistence, ornament or defence in the "country of souls," are found with them; particularly the stone-pipe for smoking tobacco, of which there are several varieties. In a piece of intervale land near the Ossage ponds, is a *tumulus* or mound of earth, overgrown with pine, in which, at the depth of two feet, several skeletons have been discovered, buried with the face downward. At Exeter, about two years ago, the remains of an infant skeleton were dug up. It was in a perpendicular position, and had been inclosed with a hollow log. Some strings of wampum were found near it, and several spoons, apparently of European manufacture.

The remains of their fields are still visible in many places; these were not extensive, and the hills which they made about their corn-stalks were small. Some pieces of baked earthen-ware have been found at Sanborn-town and Goff's-town, from which it is supposed that the Indians had learned the potter's art; but of what antiquity

these remnants are, and whether manufactured by them or not, is uncertain.

The paths which served them for carrying places between rivers, or different parts of the same river, are frequently discovered, in the cutting of roads, or laying out of new town-ships. Probably some hints might be taken from this circumstance, to expedite and facilitate our inland navigation.

In their capital fishing places, particularly in great Ossagey and Winipiseogee rivers, are the remains of their weirs, constructed with very large stones. At Sanborn-town there is the appearance of a fortress, consisting of five distinct walls, one within the other, and at Hinsdale there is something of the same kind; but these are vastly inferior, both in design and execution, to the military works found in the country of the Senecas and in the neighbourhood of the Ohio.

I have heard of two specimens of an Indian *Gazette*, found in New-Hampshire. One was a pine tree, on the shore of Winipiseogee river, on which was depicted a canoe, with two men in it. This is supposed to have been a mark of direction to those who might come after. The other was a tree in Moultonborough, standing by a carrying place, between two ponds. On this tree was carved the history of one of their expeditions. The number of the killed and prisoners, was represented by so many human figures; the former were marked with the stroke of a knife, across their throats, and even the distinction between the males and females was preserved.

Some of their modes and customs have been learned by our own people, and are still retained. In the river Piscataqua, lobsters and flat-fish are struck with a spear; and the best time for this kind of fishing is the night. A lighted pitch-knot is placed on the outside of a canoe, which not only attracts the fish, but gives the fishermen direction where to strike. The river is sometimes illuminated, by a multitude of these floating lights. The Indian scoop-net is shaped like a pocket; the edge of which is fastened to a wooden bow, at the end of a long pole. With these are caught salmon, shad, alewives, smelts and lampreys. Frost-fish are taken with wooden tongs, and black eels in cylindrical baskets, with a hole, resembling mouse-traps made of wire.

The *culheag* or log-trap, is used for taking wolves, bears and martins. Its size varies, according to the bulk or strength of the animal. It is a forceps, composed of two long sticks, one lying on the other, connected at one end, and open at the other. Near the open end is made a semicircular, covered enclosure, with short stakes, driven into the ground on one side of the logs, which are firmly secured by another stake, on the opposite side. In this enclosure is placed the bait, fastened to a round stick, which lies across the lower log, the upper log resting on the end of a perpendicular pointed stick, the other end of which is set on the round stick. The animal having scented the bait, finds no way to come at it, but by putting his head between the logs. As soon as he touches the bait, the round stick, on which it is fastened, rolls; the perpendicular gives way; the upper log falls, and crushes him to death in an instant, without injuring his skin.

To take martins, the hunters make a great number of these traps, at the distance of about a quarter or half a mile from each other; they scent the whole space between the traps, by drawing a piece of raw flesh on the ground; this scent guides the animal to the trap, which is baited with the same. The hunters visit the traps once in a day, and retire to their camp with the prey. There are two seasons for this species of hunting, namely, in December and March.

Beavers are taken in iron spring traps. The Indians have learned to use these traps, in preference to their own.

The use of snow-shoes was learned at first from them. The shape and construction of them are well known. The stick which projects behind acts as a spring, and sets the man forward at every step; by which means, one who is used to this mode of travelling, can walk on the snow, more expeditiously than on the ground.

We are indebted to them, for the method of preserving the flesh of animals in snow. This is very useful to people who raise or buy large quantities of poultry for the market. They fill the hollow parts, and pack them in a cask with snow; which, whilst it remains undissolved, preserves the flesh in its original sweetness. The Indians had another way of preserving flesh, by cutting it from the bone, and drying it in smoke; but this is now seldom used, unless the meat has been previously cured with salt, the use of which, was unknown to the savages.

Their mode of catching ducks, is still used in those places where this species of game abounds. In the month of August, the old ducks shed their feathers, and the young, being unfledged, are not able to fly. During this period they swim on the water, and may be driven into small creeks, whence they cannot escape. They are then easily caught in great numbers, and preserved for winter by salt or smoke.

We have also learned from the natives, to dress leather with the brains of the animal, which render it extremely soft and pliable. They have an art of dying hair in various colours, which are bright and permanent. I know not whether they have communicated this knowledge.

Some of their modes of cookery have been adopted, and are retained. Their roasted and boiled ears of green corn, their *samp* and *homony*, which consist of corn bruised and soaked or boiled, their *nok-hike*, which is corn parched and pounded, their *suckataish*, which is a mixture of corn and beans boiled, are much used, and very palatable. One of the most delicate of their dishes was the *upaquontop*, or the head of a bass boiled, and the broth thickened with homony. The lip of a moose, and the tail of a beaver, prepared in this manner, were among their greatest luxuries.

Their cultivation was extremely imperfect. The only objects of it were corn, beans, pumpkins and squashes, which were planted by their women, with the aid of no instruments but stones and clamshells; and no manure but fish. Yet, their judgment of the proper season for planting, cannot be amended. It was when the leaves of the white oak are as big as the ear of a mouse. Their method of girdling trees to kill them, that the land might be opened for plant-

ing, is used by some people in their first essays of husbandry. It is not only a lazy fashion and quite inexcusable where axes may be had, but the ground needs clearing as often as the trees or branches are broken off by the wind.

The virtues of many herbs, roots and barks, with which the country abounds, were well known to the natives, and some traditional knowledge of this kind has been preserved, though much is lost for want of a more certain mode of preservation than human memory. Some of their medicinal operations are still practised; but most of them are disused, being superseded by professional improvements. They raised a blister by burning punk or touchwood on the skin. They applied roots boiled soft, in the form of a poultice to the throat or other parts, when swelled or inflamed. They relieved a person chilled with cold, by pouring warm water down the throat. They attempted the cure of fevers by sweating in a covered hut, with the steam of water poured on hot stones, and then plunging into cold water. For pains in the limbs they had another mode of sweating. A number of fods were heated, and the patient, wrapped in a mat, was laid on some and covered with others, till the heat of the turf was supposed to have extracted the pain. The offices of physician and priest were united in the same person, and a variety of mysterious rites accompanied his operations.

They had a knowledge of poisons and antidotes, and could so prepare themselves, that the most venomous serpents would avoid them, or prove harmless in their hands. This knowledge has seldom been communicated, and is always treated as mysterious.

I wish it could not be said, that some of their superstitious notions have been transferred and propagated. The idea that lonely mountains and rocks are inhabited by departed spirits, and other invisible and imaginary beings, is not yet worn out. Certain charms and spells, which are supposed to be effectual preservatives, or cures in cases of witchcraft, are still in use among the vulgar, though perhaps some of these traditions may owe their origin to the superstition of our European ancestors, descended from the remoter savages of Britain, Ireland, and Germany. These notions, however pitied by some, and ridiculed by others, are still deeply engraven on the minds of many, and are maintained with an inflexibility which would do them honour if the cause were worthy of defence. So strong are these impressions, that the same persons, whose intrepidity in scenes of real danger is unquestionable, often render themselves miserable by the apprehension of evils which exist only in their imagination.

Before midnight, the vapours of a total darkness as can be conceived.

the vapours did not rise so high as they were wont to do, and were seen in no other part of the sky after several days after clouds of smoke were seen in no other part of the sky.

An EXTRAORDINARY PHENOMENON accounted for.

[From the same.]

IN the spring, the trees which have been felled the preceding year, are byrred in the new plantations. If the season be dry, the flames spread in the woods, and a large extent of the forest is

sometimes on fire at once. Fences and buildings are often destroyed by these raging conflagrations; but the only effectual way to prevent the spreading of such a fire, is to kindle another at a distance, and to drive the flame along through the bushes, or dry grass, to meet the greater fire, that all the fuel may be consumed. This operation requires a large number of people, and no small degree of dexterity and resolution. In swamps, a fire has been known to penetrate several feet under the ground, and consume the roots of trees. When a fire has raged to this degree, nothing can extinguish it, but a heavy rain.

From these numerous fires arise immense clouds of smoke, mingled with the burnt leaves of the trees, which are carried to great distances by the wind. These clouds meeting with other vapours in the atmosphere, sometimes produce very singular appearances. The unusual darkness of the nineteenth of May, 1780, was caused by such a combination of vapours.

Fires had spread very extensively in the woods, and the westerly wind had driven the smoke all over the country. It was so thick near the horizon, for several preceding days, that the sun disappeared half an hour before its setting; and in the low grounds, it was almost suffocating. The morning of the nineteenth was cloudy, with some rain; and a black cloud appeared in the southwest, from which thunder was heard. The rain water, and the surface of rivers, was covered with a foamy scum. The remains of a snow drift, which had been raked clean the preceding day, became black. Several small birds flew into the houses, and others were found dead abroad, being suffocated. About an hour before noon the clouds assumed a brassy appearance; after which their colour became a dusky grey; at one hour after noon it was necessary to light candles.

At the time of the greatest obscuration, the smoke of a chimney was observed to rise perpendicularly, and then incline to the west. A thick fog, which came in from the sea, moved along the hill tops in the same direction. The place where these observations were made, was at Dover, fifteen miles distant from the sea. A light gleam was seen in the north. The extent of this darkness, was more than two hundred miles, from north to south. To the westward, it reached beyond Albany, and it was observed, by a vessel at sea, fifteen leagues eastward of Cape-Anne.

The darkness varied its appearance, in some places, through the afternoon; but in the maritime parts of New-Hampshire, there was no cessation or interruption of it; and the evening presented a complete specimen of as total darkness as can be conceived. Before midnight, the vapours dispersed, and the next morning there was no appearance of them; but for several days after, clouds of smoke were seen in motion, and the burnt leaves of trees were wafted abroad by the wind.

[From the same.]

In the spring, the trees which have been felled the preceding year, are buried in the new plantations. If the forest be dry, the flames spread in the woods, and a large extent of the forest is

ON SENSIBILITY.

An exalted understanding, and a feeling heart, are the rarely united qualities which form a great soul. We consider the former as the more noble, and are generally at some pains, by study and experience, to acquire it; to use endeavours for acquiring the latter is thought needless, or absurd and impossible; but if we reflect seriously, we shall perhaps find, that it is almost equally valuable, and may be obtained with much less difficulty.

Our passions are no less essential and necessary to our nature than our reason; and whatever may be the boasts of philosophy, they have, for the most part, a greater influence over all our actions.—Many more are honest, generous, and magnanimous, from a happy natural disposition, than from reasoning and principle: and, wherever the former is wanting, reason will have much more difficulty to bring the actions under her direction and control.—The pleasures which our understanding can afford, of itself, however pure and abstracted they may be, are at best both few and insipid; the heart and affections only can produce those delicate and exquisite gratifications which deserve the name of pleasure.—It is therefore somewhat astonishing, to look round and see, how many of our species are almost, or entirely destitute, of the main organs of our happiness.—To suppose that the feelings of humanity were a gift of nature peculiar to a few, were absurd; and facts shew, that this is not the case; and that, whatever difference the constitution of our bodies may occasion in the nature and strength of our affections, still the deplorable callousness and insensibility of most, is more owing to education and habit, than to any natural cause whatever.

Stoics, indeed, have boasted of their insensibility, and extolled it as the most perfect and useful kind of philosophy; by which, if we lose some pleasures, we are strangers to numberless pains, and are enabled to bear those hardships with indifference, which others can hardly suffer with patience.—But be it so, who would not choose rather to possess all his members in their natural state, liable as they are to many pains and troubles, than, by a palsy, to lose at once all sense of pain and of delight?—The gratifications which our senses administer to us, compensate abundantly for the disagreeable sensations they sometimes present; and we should justly conclude that man to be mad, who should put out his eyes, because he must sometimes see an unwelcome object.—Not less mad are they, who argue in favour of stoical apathy; and a disregard or contempt of the inward and mental senses are so much the more foolish, as the happiness we lose thereby is more exquisite than any which the external senses can furnish.

But stoics in principle are not so frequent in the world as those who are practically so. There are not, indeed, many so perfectly callous, as not to be often touched with their own sufferings; but they have lost the finer feelings, and are incapable of distinguishing between those circumstances which, in more elegant souls, produce the highest pleasure, or the severest misery; and, even in those affairs which do affect them, they only look at things which are the most inconsidera-

ble, and least worthy of their regard. Their avarice, their appetites, or their sensuality, are only consulted; as these are gratified or disappointed, they remain pleased or dissatisfied. To shed a tear for a neighbour's woe—to feel the raptures of benevolence, in relieving the distressed—to share the joy of the joyful, and sympathize with the wretched, are pleasures unknown, or ridiculed by the insensible; yet, as of all others, these are the pleasures most unalloyed and divine. The most desirable sweets of society are no less strangers to the unfeeling heart. They cannot experience that ardent love of their country, which inspires the breast of the patriot—they are incapable of a true and refined paternal, or filial affection—far less can they taste the delights of genuine love, or exalted friendship. In all these cases, they can only embrace appearances, while at bottom they possess little more than those appetites which they have in common with the brute creation.

But it were needless to declaim after this manner, if it is not in our power to mend or improve our feelings more than to enlarge the stature of our bodies. But I observed already, that a want of these is oftener the effect of habit than any deficiency in our nature. To resist the influence of such a habit should be our care, though we see many around us disregard, or ridicule sensibility of heart, perhaps account it a disease or weakness; far from adopting their sentiments, we ought to pity and condemn their ignorance. Nevertheless it requires the strictest attention, to defend ourselves against the almost universal contagion: when one is engaged in the pursuits of ambition or interest, and beset with persons blind to every other consideration, it will be found extremely difficult to preserve all that delicacy of soul which might be natural to him. Even in our childhood, our feelings begin to suffer and to be impaired, while they are yet but in a manner beginning to dawn. We are early taught the rudiments of cruelty, and the seeds of compassion are eradicated from our breasts, by being often severely treated ourselves, but especially by being taught to make a sport of the misery of our neighbours, or of the inferior animals. No less pains are taken by example, and by precept, to persuade us, that to be rich, to be fine, to eat and drink, are the chief ends and happiness of our being: these notions continue to be inculcated upon us as we grow up, and at last too often absorb all our faculties, and efface more than half our feelings. Besides, the many crosses and disappointments we meet with in life, must of necessity somewhat sour the finest temper, and deaden the highest sensibility. In opposition to all these circumstances, which conspire to destroy our natural elegance of soul, our most effectual antidote is frequently and freely to indulge our feelings.—The world of fancy and of life do both furnish many objects, well calculated for such a purpose. To persons of taste and refinement, the polite arts will always prove a source of the most agreeable amusement, while many of them are nobly fitted to awaken and exercise every power and feeling of the soul.—Poetry, history, music, and painting, have all directed us to warm and interest our affections. When our emotions are extended, we ought to be very cautious of stifling them. *When our emotions are extended, we ought to be very cautious of stifling them.*

of observation, that the affections are generally on the side of virtue and our duty; at least while they are unseduced by the mistakes and prejudices of our reason, or the corrupt examples of others.

In fact, most of our feelings may be reduced under the head of conscience, or the moral sense; which acts by many different methods, always to the same purpose, namely, to shew us the laws of nature and propriety. So far as our lesser feelings are blunted or impaired, so far our delicacy in matters of right and wrong will be lessened.

Finally, the highest sensibility of soul is no ways incompatible with the greatest wisdom and prudence: but, on the contrary, those who have been most remarkable for an eminent share of sense and discretion, who have raised themselves to the highest stations in life, and passed through it with the greatest applause, have frequently been no less distinguished by the amiable and manly quality of a *feeling heart*.

A M E R I C A N U S .

F O R T H E U N I V E R S A L A S Y L U M .

E U G E N I A . — O r t h e C O Q U E T T E . — A t r u e s t o r y .

EUGENIA is still possessed of wit, wealth, and beauty. For her wit she was admired in her youth; for her wealth she is still apparently respected; but for her beauty she was adored by several. When, obedient to her ancient parents' commands, she traversed the market, or visited the shop, whether she lent her hand to a true admirer, when in the exercise of those duties, or presented it to a sop, *Eugenia* was still respectable. Grace was in every motion; humility seemed to triumph in her eyes; but pride, predominant pride, presided over her heart.

But be it demanded, whence did this pride proceed? was she not fostered with it in her cradle? was she not lulled by it to sleep, at a more advanced period? Did example deter her from vice, or lead her to virtue?—Alas! *Eugenia's* parents were dissipated and luxurious; they looked forward to immense wealth; and, whilst they courted, they bestowed adulation. Pride, pomp, and luxury dazzled their eyes. Without a particle of principle, her father countenanced British depredation, at a time when the hirelings of tyranny were not sparing in the arts of devastation.

A youth admired her—a foreigner—sent for education to a certain feminary in one of the then American provinces. Spending his time between New-York and Philadelphia, when vacation was permitted to him, he saw—and being a youth, admired her beauty. As possessed of sentiment he acknowledged many other charms in her, but she soon displayed the character of the jilt. It must be owned he was also possessed of many personal graces. Manly, yet endued with softness, he was welcome to the society of well-educated men; and was equally endeared to the conversation of ladies of vivacity.—He is now settled in his native land, possessed of a woman, who boasts on

ly those real charms, (and how amiable are they?) which constitute the perfect wife. His children are like olive-branches around his table. The true friend of his bosom, convinced of his various virtues, displays all the delicacy of conjugal affection. He acknowledges her's with ardour in return. They both confess the bounty of heaven; and as she never experienced the deceit of a fop, so he congratulates himself, that he has escaped from the smiles of a coquette.

—○○○○○○○○○○—

An ESSAY in PRAISE of the FIRESIDE.

THE ancient poets, who are generally supposed to be the greatest masters of thought, attributed their happy exercise of it to their great patron the sun; and that they might enjoy its kind influences with more purity, we find them quitting the smoke and riches of the city, for some country retirement, where they might temper the directer rays with cooling breezes, shady groves, purling streams, and melody of birds; where they might behold nature without disguise, and copy her without interruption; where they might at once earn their laurels and gather them.

Our northern poets think themselves warranted to follow those great originals, who yet, from the difference of climate, &c. seem to stand in little need of such cooling refreshments.—It would make one smile to see them, beyond even poetical fiction, invoking even the gentle gales, while they are shivering under the bleak northeast, or at best, when

Lull'd by zephyrs thro' a broken pane,

I have often wondered why our writers should not sometimes lay the scene of their poems, where in reality they took their rise.—The fire-side is surely capable of the most surprising imagery, by being diversified (if the poet pleases) with serpents, crackers, rockets, and the like short-lived gay creation of combustibles.—These, Mr. Addison has somewhere observed, are abundantly capable of fable and design, and to our modern poets no less full of moral.—Those that have not Italian fancy for fine prospects, and latent ruins, may by this means perpetuate their names (like the wiser Dutch) in some over-glowing night-piece: I myself, methinks, am enamoured with my subject, and ready, with Sir John Denham, to make it an example of just writing as well as the theme:—For lo! my chimney affords me

A happy temperature of heat and light,

Warm without rage, and, without glaring, bright.

But I confine not my observations to the poets alone, I appeal to composers of all denominations whether a brisk fire, and a clean swept hearth, has not brightened their imaginations, produced ideas, like a kind of hot-bed, and made them amazed at their own fecundity.

The robust, the busy, or unthinking part of the world, perhaps are little sensible of the attractives of the hearth; but the men of speculation, the only men of authority in the point before us, look upon it as their most comfortable retreat: Wearied with the fatigues, or, what is worse, the impertinences of the day, they retire to their own home, as the mind does into her own breast, and solace themselves in the most cheerful part of it.—Disguise and restraint are here laid aside, and the soul, as well as the body, appears the more beautiful for its dishabille. That quintessence of earthly happiness, which in warmer climates was expressed by sitting under ones own vine, is with us more sensibly felt by ones own fire-side.

But the fire-side is not only a friend to a bachelor in solitude; it is noted to a proverb to be always in company; it brings us to a nearer converse with one another, by which means it promotes reconciliation between enemies, and mirth and society between friends. There is a sort of fullness in the tempers of the Americans, which the fire softens, as it does metals, and renders them fit for use.—How often has there been a room full of visitants, who could not furnish out an hour's conversation, for no other reason but because they were at too great a distance from one another? The same assembly, brought into closer order, has proved excellent company; it has reminded me of the dogs in a chase, (I hope I shall be pardoned the comparison) who open with less frequency when they spread round the field at first setting out, but when the game is started, and they have all one point in view, they run united in full cry. While I am speaking in praise of a sedentary life, I am not afraid to draw comparisons from the pleasures of the most active. The fire-side dispels the gloominess of the brow, and throws upon the countenance not only the ruddiness of youth, but its cheerfulness. Here I have seen a gay semicircle of ladies resemble the beauties of the rainbow without its tears; and at other times a galaxy of white aprons more enlivening than all the blue in the brightest sky.—United with that sex by the fire-side, how serene are our pleasures, and how innocent; we have laughter without folly, and mirth without noise: Thereby, reflecting the beams of the *sinny bank* before us, we make the chimney-corner, I will not say, in Cicero's expression, the *forge* of wit; but in our modern philosophical term, the *focus* of it.

RECIPE for a LADY'S DRESS.

LET simplicity be your white, chastity your vermilion; dress your eyebrows with modesty, and your lips with reservedness. Let instruction be your ear-rings, and good-humour the front-pin on your head. Submission to your husband, is your best ornament. Employ your hands in house-wifery, and keep your feet within your own doors. Let your garments be made of the linn of probity, the fine linn of sanctity, and the purple of chastity.

T H E

Columbian Parnassiad.

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.
 Our SAVIOUR'S CURING the two blind MEN.
 [By CHARLES CRAWFORD, Esq.]
 AND as he travel'd o'er the favor'd
 land,
 Dispensing blessings with a liberal hand,
 Behold, two men, who were depriv'd of
 sight,
 Cried, give, great son of David, give us
 light.
 And when he sees their piteous state he
 saith,
 Have ye a lively and a settled faith,
 That I at once can this relief afford?
 Yea this, they said, we firmly think, dear
 Lord!
 Though dark without, depriv'd of nat'ral
 sight,
 Yet on their minds had beam'd celestial
 light.
 For him they knew, whom not the eagle-
 eye
 Of worldly penetration could desery.
 Straight at his high invincible command,
 As on their eyes he put his sacred hand,
 The darken'd orbs let in the beamy day,
 And mercy soften'd its unusual ray.
 O light! fair blessing of indulgent hea-
 ven,
 Among the sweetest that to man are giv'n;
 For we enjoy through thy propitious
 mean,
 The bliss that flows from many an earth-
 ly scene:
 Of friendship and of virtuous love the
 smile,
 Which stern despair to comfort can be-
 guile:

The cheering splendor of the glorious
 sun,
 Rising, or when he near his course hath
 run;
 The milder beauties of the sober night,
 When the pale moon emits her silver
 light;
 Or when the stars dispense a feeble day,
 Scatter'd, or crowded in the milky way;
 All that the seasons different disclose,
 The vernal blossom, and the summer rose,
 The varied leaf of the autumnal grove,
 And winter's river which forgets to move;
 The dawn of morning, and the close of
 ev'n,
 With all the fair magnificence of heav'n
 To him that's blind, ah what afflictions
 flow!
 Ah! pleasure, how incapable to know!
 To him to wander o'er the summer fields,
 Nature no heart-felt satisfaction yields;
 For at each slow and trembling step he
 takes,
 A thousand horrid fears suspicion wakes,
 Lest he should tumble headlong in a pit,
 Or aught his poor unguarded head should
 hit.
 Idle at home, unnumber'd woes await
 His helpless, child-like, melancholy state;
 At home, as well as every where abroad,
 Subject to ceaseless wrong, abuse, and
 fraud.
 Ah! when thou see'st the beggar want-
 ing eyes,
 Let gen'rous pity in thy bosom rise;
 And, cheerful, something to the wretch
 dispense,
 That thou superfluous hast from Provi-
 dence.

Note—At Liverpool, (for some good can come out of Liverpool) they have lately established a plan for the relief of the indigent blind, which in many particulars is deserving of high admiration. A sketch of the plan is to be seen in the Edinburgh magazine for March 1792. Forty-three blind poor were some time ago engaged at Liverpool, in different branches of manufacture, such as spinning linen yarn and reeling it, making baskets and bampers, &c. &c. and earned weekly from thence to six shillings sterling each. They became happy, it is said, not merely by being relieved from poverty, but by enjoying some society. It was proposed also to instruct the blind in the principles of christianity, which might afford them consolation. If Liverpool, which has been the seminary of that abomination, the slave-trade, should continue in these acts of charity, and should relinquish the slave-trade, she may, with repentance, make her sins, which have been as scarlet, white as snow, and, after all, not vengeance of heaven may render her desolate.

November, 1792.

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

The CLAIMS of AMBITION, AVARICE, and ENVY.

SATAN, on his infernal throne,
Surrounded by his nobles, shone.
Around, inferior fiends appear,
Resolved his mandates to revere.
Applause they shout—the horrid yell
Shook the vast hall, and spread thro' hell.

“Stand forth, ye candidates for fame,
He cried, “let each prefer his claim.
“No partial judge ye here shall find;
“Firm is the temper of my mind.
“He who can best to sin entice
“The heir of (once) our Paradise,
“Viceroy of hell, shall proclaim—
“Second alone to us in fame.

Like thunder, dormant in a cloud,
A solemn silence hush'd the crowd,
Till, conscious of superior worth,
Enraged AMBITION faltered forth.

“Monarch of Hell, he cried, “canst
“they
“Delay my merits to allow?
“Each page my glorious deeds relates—
“Have I not crush'd both thrones and
“states?

“See! to my power the virtuous yield;
“I load with death the ensanguined field;
“Doubly augment terrestrial woes,
“Till earth a scene of slaughter glows.
“From haughty Nimrod, down to Clive,
“Continued triumphs I derive;
“And still on earth maintain my sway,
“Where cruel despots slaves obey.
“Why are infernal deeds confessed?
“Did I not fire thy gallant breast,
“Jehovah's lofty throne to gain,
“Or, missing that, in hell to reign?”

He ceased—acknowledging his cause,
His furious party roared applause.

With steady step, and artful mien,
Now cautious AVARICE is seen.
Not even prodigal of words,
Scarce elocution he affords;
But in his hand a purse displays,
At which all envious with rapture gaze.---

“Satan! Ambition's claim reject;
“And my superior deeds respect.
“Through reason's glais my worth be-
“hold.
“And know, that Rage oft yields to
“Gold.

“Whether his arts inflame the great,
“Or upstarts seize the helm of state,
“Know, that to me his efforts tend,
“Riches his object and his end.”---

Well-pleas'd, his words his party hear;
But from intemperate joy forbear.

Cunning and malice in her eyes,
ENVY's dire frame is fren to rise,
Her heart a stranger was to rest,
And serpents twined around her breast.

“Ruler of Hell! attend to me!
“From envy Satan is not free.
“In Heaven that fury I inspired,
“Which thy all-grasping spirit fired
“To meditate unheard-of things;
“And e'en dethrone the King of kings.
“To vie with Avarice I disdain;
“Ambition must confess my reign.
“What though in thee he claims a part;
“Chiefly I sway'd thy restless heart;
“And bade thee seek the glorious prize,
“Owning no equal in the skies.

“Intent thy orders to obey,
“To hapless man extends my sway.
“The filial and parental breast
“Alike my fury have confessed;
“Empire I claim beneath the skies,
“Bursting asunder human ties;
“Tho' oft Ambition's haughty claim
“Deprives me of my well-earn'd fame,
In former days admired, beloved;
His speech by Satan was approved.---

“Envy! at fate no more repine;
“My delegate henceforward shine;
(The demon spoke) “nor hiss at me,
“Condemned to greater woes than thee.
“Thou canst no more advance in evils,
“If envious of the chief of devils.”

Philadelphia, Nov. 1792.

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

SONNET.

BRIGHT were my prospects as you
beaming sun,
My breast was like the cloudless heavens
serene;

Young, vigorous, volatile,--I seem'd to
shun
Misfortune's deadly encraving mien.

But, dare I name :--the idea rends my
heart!
Dispair's grim aspect stares me in the face;

None whom I ask a solace can impart,
 Now grief doth all my former blifs deface:
 Gone, with my parents, are my hopes---
 Now joy, once rais'd to ecstasy, is ever fled!
 They, who for me did all their time employ
 Are now, alas, both numbered with the
 dead!
 On thee, sole-ruling Sire! on thee I call,
 Who ne'er forsook the humblest of us all.

H. K—, jun.

Nov. 6, 1792.

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

ADDRESS to MODESTY.

[Occasioned by reading an elegant essay on Modesty, in the last month's Asylum.]

MILD is thy aspect, gentle is thy air;
 Tho' unassuming, not devoid of
 care;
 Easy, yet graceful, unaffected, kind,
 Meek, and ne'er anxious to display thy
 mind:
 Image of innocence! 'tis thou dost grace
 The soft engaging beauties of the face;
 Tho' all reserve, still do thy looks impart,
 A good, a noble, and a feeling heart!

H. K—, jun.

Nov. 6, 1792.

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

STANZAS.

SWEET is the breath of rosy morn,
 And bright the dew on yonder thorn;
 But sweeter, brighter far her charms,
 Whose every smile my bosom warms.

Tho' lightnings flash, or thunders roll,
 She whispers comfort to my soul,
 Restrains impetuous wrath and grief,
 And e'en in death shall yield relief.

Methinks I hear the curious cry,
 "Repeat her name, for whom you sigh."
 Her name with candour I declare;
 'Tis CONSCIENCE, ever mild and fair.

Not all the rage of cruel war,
 Nor poverty, which most abhor,

Nor other ills, which man infest,
 Shall tear her from my peaceful breast,
 Philadelphia, Nov. 1792.

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

S O N G.

WHEN the ready pen I seize,
 And each couplet flows with ease,
 Deaf to fame, to fortune blind,
 Youth and beauty cheer my mind.

Happy in my humble lot,
 Wealth and grandeur are forgot,
 Clara's form delights my eyes;
 Clara's worth excites my sighs.

Cynics, then, no more upbraid
 Homage thus to merit paid---
 In her placid, beauteous mind
 E'en the grave might solace find.

Tho' upon a distant shore,
 I her beauties would adore,
 Who then can my flame upbraid,
 Since I daily see the maid?

Philadelphia, Nov. 1792.

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

THE PROGRESS OF FOLLY.

AS he who, standing on a height,
 To various scenes extends his sight;
 Beneath him sees the river flow;
 Above him hears the tempest blow---
 Meads, hills, and vales enchant his eyes,
 Whilst culture bids the harvest rise---
 Thus I, life's middle state obtain'd,
 (Much has been lost, though something
 gain'd)

Survey what has been pass'd, and view,
 With fancy's eyes, what may ensue.

Sweet state of child-hood!---none des-
 pise
 The music of the infant's cries;
 Or call that infant knave or duce,
 Since we ourselves were children once.
 Thus sympathy prevails, and all
 Pay homage to the scream and squawl,
 Th' apothecary's charge dispense,
 And owe due deference to the nurse,
 The nurse, sole-mistress of debate,
 Rules, the chief minister of fate.

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

HISTORICAL SKETCH of the PROCEEDINGS of CONGRESS, in the Session which commenced, at Philadelphia, on the 24th of October, 1791.

(Continued from page 281.)

MR. FINDLEY—I object to the resolution for calling upon the secretary to report upon the ways and means, as contrary to the principles of the government, and inconsistent with the purity and independence of the house of representatives, whose duty it is, exclusively, to prepare or originate revenue laws.

I consider this mode as a transfer of legislative authority. It is a serious question, if legislative authority can be transferred by the constitutional representatives of the people? if it can, how far? If any part of the constitutional legislative trust can be transferred, may not all or any part thereof be so? The opinion I have received, and in which I am firmly persuaded, is, that neither the legislature, nor any branch thereof, can do any part of legislation by proxy—the members only are responsible for the discharge of that trust; they are the official judges of the principles and objects of legislation.

The house of representatives are peculiarly intrusted with the authority of digesting fiscal arrangements and principles; of saying what shall be a subject of taxation, to what amount, and the uses to which it shall be applied—this power is supposed, by the constitution of the united states, and by the constitutions of most or all of the separate states, to be a most important and influential part of legislative authority; hence the senates, though they are also the people's representatives, and are, in other respects, vested with equal legislative authority, are not permitted to prepare revenue systems; their attempting to do it, would be an unconstitutional usurpation of legislative power.

The method of transferring a power to the secretary, to digest the principles of money-bills, and report them officially to the house, accompanied with his arguments in support of the principles and arrangements contained in his report; which has been sanctioned by congress, and is now about to be repeated by the resolution before you, I consider as a method of originating money-bills highly improper in itself, and which hath a dangerous tendency.

But a worthy member informs us, in defence of the resolution, that the secretary can prepare a revenue system with more consistency, with respect to the existing revenue laws, and better calculated to support public credit---that it will pass with greater facility through the house---that the members are unequal to the business---that the members do not possess sufficient information, to enable them to originate the business---that the secretary only is possessed of the information competent to it---that we can judge of his systems when they are laid before us---as there will be always some to find out his defects and expose them. All these arguments, respecting the incompetency of the members for the business, and the superior fitness of the secretary, apply against the government itself; if the constitution vests this house with a trust which it is not qualified to discharge, it is time to change it, and adopt a more simple form. It is much better to have a minister responsible to the people, for the revenue systems they introduce, than to have his responsibility lost in the legislature---If the members of this house are only to give a sanction to the minister's systems, it is better to dispense with that sanction. I have no doubt but that the secretary of the treasury is very capable of discharging this duty; and if he was a member of this house, would be fit for his part of that trust---but this is not the place for panegyric---The minister's eminent abilities, or his want of them, are all one to me on this subject---The modelary of gentlemen, who declare themselves unfit, is not very honourable to the house, nor easy to be credited. Let the house fix its own principles, judge for themselves the proper sources of revenue, and the uses to which it ought to be applied; and capacity and information will grow out of the investigation. If the members differ in opinion, as may be expected, they will propose different systems; and, by comparison and discussion, they will become the better acquainted with the subject. If the members stand in need of that information, which arises from the operation of existing laws,

of the efficiency of operating revenues, the president has a constitutional power to call upon the heads of departments for the information, and communicate it to the legislature; and the house, by its own authority, has a right to call for information from any officer or department, upon any subject respecting which it may originate laws--this is a power incidental to legislation. But with respect to the general interests of the community, the knowledge of which must grow out of a representation of all the local interests, this can only be found among the members of this house, and if the representation was more numerous, and more equal, that kind of information would be still more perfect--certainly this house contains in itself more extensive knowledge of the people's wants and pressures, of their situation and prepossessions, and of their resources, than the most enlightened minister can possibly do; especially when it is considered, that all the documents locked up in the minister's office are at their command--The practice of the house, in depending on the minister to originate principles, and to furnish the house with volumes of arguments in favour of those principles, and the custom of members having recourse to those arguments, as authorities, has done more to dishonour congress, and lessen the members in the public esteem, since the change of the government, than any other part of their conduct. How can congress be respectable, if they spend long sessions, at a great expense, on the most inconsequential parts of legislation, only to give a sanction to ministerial systems; or, at best, only to criticize and correct them.

If, as it is alleged, the secretary's framing revenue systems, is better calculated to support public credit, and gives the business a greater facility in its passage through the house--I say, if this is true, it proves the influence to be dangerous in a high degree--Certainly, public credit and the means of supporting it, ought to depend only on the will of the legislature, and neither on the wisdom nor the caprice of a minister; indeed, if it stands upon any other authority or influence, it is not fixed upon stable ground--for the legislature may, and will, some time or other, act upon its own principles, and in this case the change of systems may be the more sensible.

Gentlemen say, that it is proper the secretary should be permitted to accompany his report with arguments, in order to explain the principles thereof, and state the facts with which it is connected. I wholly object to a minister's dictating or proposing revenue systems, and still more, to his supporting them with arguments; as it is carrying the influence of the executive administration to a still greater extent--the president has a constitutional right to communicate information, to recommend such business as he may think expedient, and to exercise a limited negative after the bills have passed both houses--but if the president was to claim a right to originate a money-bill, it would be judged contrary to the principles of the government, and dangerous to liberty. How much more dangerous, and I had almost said degrading, is it, to transfer that power to a temporary minister, not chosen by the people, nor responsible to them.

But one gentleman says, that this is made the secretary's duty, by the law which constitutes his office--that it is made his duty by law, is a sufficient apology for him in undertaking and discharging it, but not for the house in transferring it to him. I deny that the house can be bound by a law, with respect to its powers and duties; this house is as free to originate money-bills as the last house was, and any future house will be as free as this; the constitution is the only law whereby the powers and duties of this house can be governed, nor can we either decline a duty or transfer a trust, which has been specially bound on us by it. Nor will I agree with the gentlemen, that if it is an evil it arises from necessity; certainly, if we are capable of altering, amending, or changing the principles of the secretary's reports altogether, as is granted, we must be capable, with due industry and attention, to originate them ourselves.

But we are further told, in defence of referring to the secretary, that if we do not do it ourselves, the committee employed, or some of the members, will have recourse to the secretary for assistance, and that, in this way, his principles and arguments will be introduced, with equal influence, secretly; and that it is better to face it openly, and for all the members to have equal advantages from it.

This argument is plausible indeed, but will not bear examination: so far is the method contended for from preventing private influence, that it produces it in a much greater degree; from the nature of the case, we may conclude, that a minister will not suggest a revenue system, without adapting it to the views and interests of a number of

influential members, who will assist him in preparing it, and in influencing others to support it, when introduced; indeed it gives the greatest possible stimulus to private influence; for it not only combines an influential private interest to support it, but the minister's character, and the character of his friends, are much higher pledged for its success, than if the influence was private: Thus, I apprehend, this method is not only objectionable on account of the ministerial systems and arguments which the members receive in this house, and peruse in their closets; but also, on account of the greater inducement it must give to a more dangerous private influence, and, in time, to corruption.

But it is said, that we may, upon the same grounds, object to the president's address, recommending business to the legislature; and that myself and others, who oppose the reference in question, very lately advocated a report of the secretary of war, by carrying the substance of which into a law, we have saddled the government with a debt, for which we are now about to provide.

I have observed already, that the president has a right, created by the constitution, to recommend business to the legislature, as well as to give information of the state of the union; in consequence of this trust, he, by a report of his secretary, gave us information of the state and misfortunes of the Indian war, and his opinion of the force and expence that he judged necessary, to enable him to bring it to a happy and speedy conclusion; this information was constitutional and necessary; well knowing that an inadequate force, and the short enlistments, rendered the two last campaigns disgraceful, and increased the strength and irritation of the enemy, I voted for the increase of the army, and for longer enlistments; but I voted for higher wages than was reported, and we shall yet regret that this was not agreed to; and, I think, in doing so I was promoting the best interests of the country, and countenancing no unconstitutional influence. Surely, if the gentleman would reflect for a moment, he would not quote this as a precedent, to justify this house in voting a transfer of the peculiar and exclusive constitutional privileges, and unalienable trust of this house, to originate or digest the principles of revenue systems, to an executive officer, not known in the constitution, nor appointed by, or dependent on this house.

It has also been observed, that there is independence and good sense enough in this house, to examine, to alter, or reject a report of the secretary, notwithstanding his arguments which accompany it—and that we have done so in various instances. This I freely grant; nay I advocate more than this; I believe there is good sense and independence enough in this house, to digest and originate revenue systems, without the secretary's doing it for us. But what does this argument amount to? Why it amounts to giving the peculiar trust of originating to the secretary, and reserving that power to ourselves which the constitution vests in the other branch; the senate cannot prepare a money-bill, but they may alter, amend, or reject such as we prepare and transmit to them; and they have done so: is not this giving the power and influence in a great degree to the secretary, which the constitution gives to us? It is not in fact giving up the point? The senate are not permitted to digest their arguments, and transmit them to us, in support of business which they prepare; neither are we permitted to do so with them: Nay, it is unparliamentary to mention what we think would be agreeable to the senate, or the president, in our arguments on the floor, lest it should have the appearance of influencing the measure: The one branch cannot call upon the other officially to originate business; how unreasonable then is it, to refer the most important business to the secretary, to digest and prepare; and also to digest arguments for us, which we order to be printed, and put into every member's hand.

But this method is highly objectionable on another ground; it is putting the power of the business out of our own hands, with respect to the time of our deliberation; it is certainly more than we are authorized to do, or can be accountable for to our constituents—if this practice becomes established, I shall not be surpris'd to find a minister, in connection with his friends in the house, delaying to report on the most important business till near the end of the session, when many of the members are gone home, or so anxious to get home, that there will not be a sufficient opportunity for deliberation—such things are not usually attempted in public bodies, without the aid of a minister; in this house, I have heard the close of a session mentioned, as an apology for the passing of an improper law—it is not necessary to create new matters for the deliberations of the house. Before I had the honor of a seat in this house, I was informed of this method of originating revenue laws, and I always thought it wrong.

I am not confident the opposition to it will succeed at this time; the session is drawing near a close, and the opposition of members, who advocate the proposed reference, may delay the business, if originated in a way disagreeable to them; these reasons may induce some members to vote for it now, that would not do so in other circumstances—however, if it is carried, I hope the precedent will not be strengthened by a large majority. For my part, I pledge myself to persevere in opposition thereto; and have no doubt, but when a more equal and more numerous representation occupies this floor, this unwarrantable practice, of transferring so influential a part of the legislative trust, will be changed.

The question being put on the motion before the house—viz.—“Resolved, that the secretary of the treasury be directed to report to this house his opinion of the best mode for raising the additional supplies requisite for the ensuing year”—the same was carried—*Yeas 31—Nays 27.*

Yeas. Ames, Barnwell, Benson, S. Bourne, B. Bourne, Gerry, Gilman, Goodhue, Gordon, Hillhouse, Huger, Jacobs, Kitchell, Laurance, Learned, Livermore, Murray, Schoonmaker, Sedgwick, Seney, W. Smith, Steele, Sterrett, Sturges, Silvester, Thatcher, Tucker, Vining, Wadsworth, Ward, and Wayne.

Nays. Ashe, Baldwin, Brown, Clarke, Findley, Fitzsimons, Giles, Gregg, Griffin, Grove, Heister, Key, Kittera, Lee, Macon, Madison, Mercer, Moore, Mühlenberg, Niles Page, Parker, Tredwell, Venable, White, Williamson, and Willis.

In pursuance of this resolution of the house, the secretary, on the 17th of March, reported his opinion of the best method of raising the additional supplies. The deficiency to be provided for was estimated at 525,950 dollars; which he proposed to raise by additional duties on sundry imported articles. Before he proceeded to an enumeration of the articles, he stated the reasons which induced him to prefer this mode of raising the required sum.

“Three expedients occur to the option of the government for providing this sum.—*One*, to dispose of the interest, to which the united states are entitled in the bank of the united states. This, at the present market price of bank stock, would yield a clear gain to the government, much more than adequate to the sum required. *Another*, to borrow the money, upon an establishment of funds either merely commensurate with the interest to be paid, or affording a surplus which will discharge the principal by instalments within a short term. The *third* is, to raise the amount by taxes.

“The *first* of these three expedients appears to the secretary altogether unadvisable. First—It is his present opinion, that it will be found, in various respects, permanently the interest of the united states to retain the interest to which they are entitled in the bank. But, secondly—If this opinion should not be well founded, it will be improvident to dispose of it at the present juncture, since upon a comprehensive view of the subject, it can hardly admit of a doubt, that its future value, at a period not very distant, will be considerably greater than its present—While the government will enjoy the benefit of whatever dividends shall be declared in the interval. And, thirdly—Whether it shall be deemed proper to retain or dispose of this interest, the most useful application of the proceeds will be as a fund for extinguishing the public debt. A necessity of applying it to any different object, if it should be found to exist, would be matter of serious regret.

“The *second* expedient would, in the judgment of the secretary, be preferable to the first. For this the following reasons, if there were no other, is presumed to be conclusive—namely, That the probable increase of the value of the stock may itself be estimated as a considerable, if not a sufficient fund, for the repayment of the sum which might be borrowed. If the measure of a loan should be thought eligible, it is submitted as most advisable to accompany it with a provision, sufficient not only to pay the interest, but to discharge the principal within a short period. This will, at least, mitigate the inconvenience of making an addition to the public debt.

“But the result of mature reflection is, in the mind of the secretary, a strong conviction, that the *last* of the three expedients, which have been mentioned, is to be preferred to the other two.

“Nothing can more interest the national credit and prosperity, than a constant and systematic attention to husband all the means we possess for extinguishing the present debt, and to avoid, as much as possible, the incurring of any new debt. Necessity alone therefore can justify the application of any of the public property, other than the annual revenues, to the current service, or the temporary and casual ex-

agencies of the country—or the contracting of an additional debt, by loans, to provide for those exigencies. Great emergencies indeed might exist, in which loans would be indispensable. But the occasions which will justify them must be truly of that description. The present is not of such a nature. The sum to be provided is not of magnitude enough to furnish the plea of necessity.

"Taxes are never welcome to a community. They seldom fail to excite uneasy sensations, more or less extensive. Hence a too strong propensity, in the governments of nations, to anticipate and mortgage the resources of posterity, rather than encounter the inconveniencies of a present increase of taxes. But this policy, when not dictated by very peculiar circumstances, is of the worst kind. Its obvious tendency is, by enhancing the permanent burthens of the people, to produce lasting distress, and its natural issue is in national bankruptcy. It will be happy, if the councils of this country, sanctioned by the voice of an enlightened community, shall be able to pursue a different course.

"Yielding to this impression, the secretary proceeds to state for the consideration of the house, the objects which have occurred to him as most proper to be referred to for raising the requisite sum by taxes.

"From the most careful view which he is able to take of all the circumstances, that at the present juncture naturally enter into consideration, he is led to conclude, that the most eligible mode, in which the necessary provision can at this time be made, is by some additional duties on imported articles. This conclusion is made with reluctance, for reasons which were noticed upon a former occasion, and from the reflection, that frequent and unexpected alterations in the rates of duties, on the objects of trade, by inducing uncertainty in mercantile speculations and calculations, are really injurious to commerce, and hurtful to the interests of those who carry it on. The stability of the duties to be paid by the merchants is in fact of more consequence to them than their quantum, if within reasonable bounds. It were therefore much to have been wished, that so early a resort to new demands on that class of citizens could have been avoided, and especially that they could have been deferred until a general tariff could have been maturely digested, upon principles, which might, with propriety, render it essentially stationary.

"But while there are these motives to regret, there are others of a consoling tendency, some of which indicate, that an augmentation of duties, at the present juncture, may have the effect of lessening some public evils, and producing some public benefits.

"It is a pleasing fact, if the information of the secretary be not very erroneous, that the improved state of the credit of this country enables our merchants to procure the supplies which they import from abroad upon much more cheap and advantageous terms than heretofore, a circumstance which must alleviate to them the pressure of somewhat higher rates of duty, and must contribute, at the same time, to reconcile them to burthens, which, being connected with an efficacious discharge of the duty of government, are of a nature to give solidity and permanency to the advantages they enjoy under it. It is certain also, that a spirit of manufacturing prevails at this time in a greater degree, than it has done at any antecedent period, and as far as an increase of duties shall tend to second and aid this spirit, they will serve to promote essentially the industry, the wealth, the strength, the independence, and the substantial prosperity of the country.

"The returns for one year, ending the thirtieth of September last, evince a much increased importation, during that year, greater far than can be referred to a naturally increasing demand from the progress of population; and announce a probability of a more than a proportional increase of consumption; there being no appearance of an extraordinary abundance of goods in the market. If, happily, an extension of the duties shall operate as a restraint upon excessive consumption, it will be a salutary mean of preserving the community from future embarrassment, public and private. But if this should not be the case, it is at least prudent in the government, to extract from it the resources necessary for current exigencies, rather than postpone the burthen to a period, when that very circumstance may cause it to be more grievously felt.

"The different considerations unite with others, which will suggest themselves, to induce, in the present state of things, a preference of taxes on imported articles, to any other mode of raising the sum required."

These remarks were followed by an enumeration of the articles, on which he recommended the additional duties to be laid. He proposed that the existing duties on those articles should be repealed, and increased duties laid in their stead.

This report underwent a tedious discussion, first in a committee of the whole, and afterwards in the house. The proposal for laying additional duties on imports was most strenuously opposed, on a variety of principles.—It was said that the existing duties were sufficiently heavy, without imposing others still more burthenfome and oppressive to commerce; that the proposed duties would, in all probability, tend to a diminution, instead of an augmentation of the revenue, by affording a strong temptation to smuggling; that our extended coast, abounding with harbours, was peculiarly favourable to such illicit practices, which could not be prevented by all the cutters government might employ; that it would be both impolitic and tyrannical to alienate the affections of a respectable part of the community, from the government, by first laying an oppressive tax, and afterwards harrassing them into submission, by a number of cutters, employed for that sole purpose, at an enormous expense; that the secretary himself, in his report of the 17th of December 1790, had entered into a lengthy train of arguments, to show that no additional duties on imports could with safety be laid, at that time; that there did not appear any reasons for changing his opinion, to suit the present occasion, unless his assertion, that “foreign commodities are imported on more advantageous terms than heretofore,” and consequently that those commodities would bear an additional burthen, on their arrival here—but so far was this assertion from being verified by facts, that the reverse was more true, many imported articles having been lately raised to a higher price than they formerly bore, in foreign markets; that this hypothesis of a more advantageous importation than heretofore, was not more fallacious, than the visionary project of encouraging manufactures by an impolitic sacrifice of the interests of commerce; and indeed that every attempt to establish manufactures, by such partial measures, must be as unsuccessful as it was unjust, nothing being more evident, than that the advancement of manufactures, must be ultimately regulated by other circumstances.

The plan of ways and means proposed by the secretary was defended, chiefly on the grounds of there being a necessity to raise the money in some way, and of that recommended by the secretary being preferable to any other that had been mentioned. It was also said, that the gentlemen who displayed so much ability in objecting to this plan of ways and means, had not proposed any other in its stead.

The members who were against the secretary's plan, replied, that the *second* mode stated in the report had been mentioned by a member, before the secretary had reported on the subject, yet no further mention was now made of it, but the plan recommended by the secretary was embraced, without hesitation, as if it were because he said it was the best they could adopt. The second plan, viz. to borrow the money, was said to be greatly preferable, as, in this way, moderate taxes would answer the purposes of paying the interest, and of discharging the principal by instalments. At any rate, the mode of raising the acquired supply might, it was presumed, be advantageously varied. An additional duty on the tonnage of vessels belonging to nations not in alliance with us, while it contributed to the revenue, might induce those nations to seek commercial treaties with us; to this duty might be added, if necessary, the money arising from a sale of the western lands. But no part of the plan was more bitterly inveighed against than the establishment of a permanent revenue, when the ostensible and necessary object was, to raise money, for a temporary purpose. There was surely no just reason for repealing permanent duties, appropriated to a permanent object, for the purpose of laying heavier permanent duties to answer the purposes of a campaign. But advantage was artfully taken of a momentary necessity to establish revenues, that would continue to be raised, long after the object for which they had been established ceased to exist. It was therefore moved to amend the bill, by limiting the time for which the proposed duties were to continue; after which the duties heretofore established should again take place, and be appropriated in the same manner as they would have been, had the proposed act never been passed.—Against this amendment it was said, that it was impossible to say how long the war might continue; and that any or every future congress would be as good judges as the present, at what time the whole, or any part of the additional duties ought to be repealed, which they would not fail to do, as soon as such a measure appeared safe and necessary. On taking the question, there was a very remarkable division—there being in favour of the amend-

ment 32, and against it 31---the speaker voted with the latter; so that the house was equally divided, and consequently the amendment was lost.

Yeas. Ashe, Baldwin, Brown, Findley, Giles, Gregg, Griffin, Grove, Heister, Jacobs, Lee, Macon, Madison, Mercer, Moore, Niles, Page, Parker, Schoonmaker, Sevier, Sheredine, J. Smith, I. Smith, Steele, Sturges, Sumpter, Tredwell, Tucker, Venable, White, Williamson, and Willis.

Nays. Trumbull, (speaker) Ames, Barnwell, Benson, Boudinot, S. Bourne, E. Bourne, Clarke, Dayton, Fitzsimons, Gerry, Gilman, Goodhue, Gordon, Hartley, Hillhouse, Huger, Key, Kitchell, Kittera, Lurance, Learned, Livermore, Muhlberg, Murray, W. Smith, Sterret, Silvester, Thatcher, Vining, Wadsworth, and Ward.

The bill was finally passed, by a large majority.---*Yeas* 37; *Nays* 20.



POLITICAL REGISTER.

SPEECH of the PRESIDENT of the UNITED STATES to both HOUSES of CONGRESS, at the opening of the present Session.

Yellow-Citizens of the Senate, and of the House of Representatives,

IT is some abatement of the satisfaction, with which I meet you on the present occasion, that in felicitating you on a continuance of the national prosperity, generally, I am not able to add to it information that the Indian hostilities, which have, for some time past, distressed our north-western frontier, have terminated.

You will, I am persuaded, learn, with no less concern than I communicate it, that reiterated endeavours, towards effecting a pacification, have hitherto issued only in new and outrageous proofs of persevering hostility on the part of the tribes with whom we are in contest. An earnest desire to procure tranquility to the frontier---to stop the further effusion of blood---to arrest the progress of expense---to forward the prevalent wish of the nation, for peace, has led to strenuous efforts, through various channels, to accomplish these desirable purposes:---in making which efforts, I consult less my own anticipations of the event, or the scruples which some considerations were calculated to inspire, than the wish to find the object attainable; or if not attainable, to ascertain, unequivocally, that such is the case.

A detail of the measures which have been pursued, and of their consequences, which will be laid before you, while it will confirm to you the want of success, thus far, will, I trust, evince that means, as proper and as efficacious as could have been devised, have been employed. The issue of some of them, indeed, is still depending; but a favourable one, though not to be despaired of, is not promised by any thing that has yet happened.

In the course of the attempts which have been made, some valuable citizens have fallen victims to their zeal for the public service.---A sanction commonly respected, even among savages, has been found, in this instance, insufficient to protect from massacre, the emissaries of peace: it will, I presume, be duly considered, whether the occasion does not call for an exercise of liberality towards the families of the deceased.

It must add to your concern, to be informed, that besides the continuation of hostile appearances among the tribes north of the Ohio, some threatening symptoms have of late been revived among some of those south of it.

A part of the Cherokees, known by the name of Chickamagas, inhabiting five villages on the Tennesse river, have long been in the practice of committing depredations on the neighbouring settlements.

It was hoped that the treaty of Holston, made with the Cherokee nation, in July, 1792, would have prevented a repetition of such depredations. But the event has not

answered this hope. The Chickamagas, aided by some bands of another tribe in their vicinity, have recently perpetrated wanton and unprovoked hostilities upon the citizens of the united states in that quarter. The information which has been received on this subject will be laid before you. Hitherto defensive precautions, only, have been strictly enjoined and observed.

It is not understood that any breach of treaty, or aggression whatsoever, on the part of the united states, or their citizens, is even alleged, as a pretext for the spirit of hostility in this quarrel.

I have reason to believe, that every practicable exertion has been made (pursuant to the provision by law for that purpose) to be prepared for the alternative of a prosecution of the war, in the event of a failure of pacific overtures. A large proportion of the troops authorized to be raised, have been recruited, though the number is still incomplete. And pains have been taken to discipline, and put them in condition for the particular kind of service to be performed. A delay of operations (besides being dictated by the measures which were pursuing towards a pacific termination of the war) has been in itself deemed preferable to immature efforts. A statement, from the proper department, with regard to the number of troops raised, and some other points which have been suggested, will afford more precise information, as a guide to the legislative consultations, and, among other things will enable congress to judge whether some additional stimulus to the recruiting service may not be advisable.

In looking forward to the future expense of the operations, which may be found inevitable, I derive consolation from the information I receive, that the product of the revenue for the present year, is likely to supersede the necessity of additional burdens on the community, for the service of the ensuing year. This, however, will be better ascertained in the course of the session; and it is proper to add, that the information alluded to proceeds from the supposition of no material extension of the spirit of hostilities.

I cannot dismiss the subject of Indian affairs, without again recommending to your consideration the expediency of more adequate provision for giving energy to the laws throughout our interior frontier; and for restraining the commission of outrages upon the Indians; without which all pacific plans must prove nugatory. — To enable, by competent rewards, the employment of qualified and trusty persons to reside amongst them, as agents, would also contribute to the preservation of peace and good neighborhood. In addition to these expedients, an eligible plan could be devised for promoting civilization among the friendly tribes, and for carrying on trade with them upon a scale equal to their wants, and under regulations calculated to protect them from imposition and extortion, its influence in cementing their interests with ours could not but be considerable.

The prosperous state of our revenue has been intimated. — This would be still more the case, were it not for the impediments which in some places continue to embarrass the collection of the duties on spirits distilled within the united states. These impediments have lessened, and are lessening in local extent; and as applied to the community at large, the contentment with the law appears to be progressive.

But symptoms of increased opposition, having lately manifested themselves in certain quarters, I judged special interposition on my part, proper and advisable, and, under this impression, have issued a proclamation, warning against all unlawful combinations and proceedings, having for their object, or tending to obstruct the operation of the law in question, and announcing that all lawful ways and means would be strictly put in execution, for bringing to justice the infractors thereof and securing obedience thereto.

Measures have also been taken for the prosecution of offenders. And congress may be assured, that nothing within constitutional and legal limits, which may depend on me, shall be wanting to assert and maintain the full authority of the laws. — In fulfilling this trust, I shall count entirely upon the full co-operation of the other departments of the government, and upon the zealous support of all good citizens.

I cannot forbear to bring again to the view of the legislature the subject of a revision of the judiciary system. A representation from the judges of the supreme court, which will be laid before you, points out some of the inconveniences that are experienced, in the course of the execution of the laws, considerations rise out of the structure of that system, which, unless they be relieved, will tend to relax their efficacy. As connected with this subject, provisions to facilitate the taking of bail upon processes out of the

courts of the united states, and a supplementary definition of offences against the constitution and laws of the union, and of the punishment for such offences, will, it is presumed, be found worthy of particular attention.

Observations on the value of peace with other nations are unnecessary. It would be wise, however, by timely provisions, to guard against those acts of our own citizens, which might tend to disturb it, and to put ourselves in a condition to give that satisfaction to foreign nations, which we may sometime have occasion to require from them. I particularly recommend to your consideration the means of preventing those aggressions by our citizens on the territory of other nations, and other infractions of the law of nations, which furnishing just subject of complaint, might endanger our peace with them. And, in general, the maintenance of a friendly intercourse with foreign powers will be presented to your attention by the expiration of the law for that purpose, which takes place, if not renewed, at the close of the present session.

In execution of the authority given by the legislature, measures have been taken for engaging some artists from abroad to aid in the establishment of our mint; others have been employed at home. Provision has been made of the requisite buildings, and these are now putting into proper condition for the purposes of the establishment. There has also been a small beginning in the coinage of half-dimes; and the want of small coins in circulation calling the first attention to them.

The regulation of foreign coins, in correspondency with the principles of our national coinage, as being essential to their due operation, and to order in our money concerns, will, I doubt not, be resumed and completed.

It is represented that some provisions in the law which establishes the post-office operate, in experiment, against the transmission of newspapers to distant parts of the country.—Should this, upon due enquiry, be found to be the fact, a full conviction of the importance of facilitating the circulation of political intelligence and information, will, I doubt not, lead to the application of a remedy.

The adoption of a constitution for the state of Kentucky, has been notified to me. The legislature will share with me in the satisfaction which arises from an event interesting to the happiness of the part of the nation to which it relates, and conducive to the general order.

It is proper likewise to inform you, that since my last communication on the subject, and in further execution of the acts, severally making provision for the public debt, and for the reduction thereof, three new loans have been effected, each for three millions of florins,—one at Antwerp, at the annual interest of four and one half per cent. with an allowance of four per cent in lieu of all charges, and the other two at Amsterdam, at the annual interest of four per centum, with an allowance of five and one-half per centum in one case, and of five per centum in the other, in lieu of all charges.—The rates of these loans, and the circumstances under which they have been made, are confirmations of the high state of our credit abroad.

Among the objects to which these funds have been directed to be applied, the payment of the debts due to certain foreign officers, according to the provision made during the last session, has been embraced.

Gentlemen of the house of representatives,
I entertain a strong hope, that the state of the national finances is now sufficiently matured, to enable you to enter upon a systematic and effectual arrangement for the regular redemption and discharge of the public debt, according to the right which has been reserved to the government—no measure can be more desirable, whether viewed with an eye to its intrinsic importance, or to the general sentiment and wish of the nation.

Provision is likewise requisite for the reimbursement of the loan which has been made of the bank of the united states, pursuant to the eleventh section of the act by which it is incorporated. In fulfilling the public stipulations, in this particular, it is expected a valuable saving will be made.

Appropriations for the current service of the ensuing year, and for such extraordinary as may require provision, will, demand, and, I doubt not, will engage your early attention.

Gentlemen of the senate and house of representatives,
I content myself with recalling your attention, generally to such objects, not particularized in my present, as have been suggested in my former communications to

Various temporary laws will expire during the present session. Among these that which regulates trade and intercourse with the Indian tribes will merit particular notice.

The results of your common deliberations hitherto, will, I trust, be productive of solid and durable advantages to our constituents—such as, by conciliating more and more their ultimate suffrage, will tend to strengthen and confirm their attachment to that constitution of government, upon which, under divine providence, materially depend their union, their safety, and their happiness.

Still further to promote and secure these inestimable ends, there is nothing which can have a more powerful tendency, than the careful cultivation of harmony, combined with a due regard to stability in the public councils.

G. WASHINGTON.

United States, November 6. 1792.

ADDRESS from the SENATE, in answer to the PRESIDENT'S SPEECH.

ACCEPT, sir, our grateful acknowledgements for your address at the opening of the present session. We participate with you in the satisfaction arising from the continuance of the general prosperity of the nation; but it is not without the most sincere concern that we are informed, that the reiterated efforts which have been made to establish peace with the hostile Indians have hitherto failed to accomplish that desired object: hoping that the measures still depending may prove more successful than those which have preceded them, we shall nevertheless concur in every necessary preparation for the alternative; and should the Indians on either side of the Ohio persist in their hostilities, fidelity to the union, as well as affection for our fellow-citizens on the frontiers, will insure our decided co-operation in every measure, which shall be deemed requisite for their protection and safety.

At the same time that we avow the obligation of the government to afford its protection to every part of the union—we cannot refrain from expressing our regret that even a small portion of our fellow-citizens in any quarter of it, should have combined to oppose the operation of the law for the collection of duties on spirits distilled within the united states; a law repeatedly sanctioned by the authority of the nation, and at this juncture materially connected with the safety and protection of those who oppose it.—Should the means already adopted fail in securing obedience to this law such further measures as may be thought necessary to carry the same into complete operation, cannot fail to receive the approbation of the legislature, and the support of every patriotic citizen.

It yields us particular pleasure to learn that the productiveness of the revenue of the present year will probably supersede the necessity of any additional tax for the service of the next.

The organization of the government of the state of Kentucky, being an event peculiarly interesting to a part of our fellow-citizens, and conducive to the general order, affords us particular satisfaction.

We are happy to learn that the high state of our credit abroad, has been evinced by the terms on which the new loans have been negotiated.

In the course of the session we shall proceed to take into consideration the several objects which you have been pleased to recommend to our attention; and keeping in view the importance of union and stability in the public councils, we shall labour to render our decisions conducive to the safety and happiness of our country.

We repeat with pleasure our assurances of confidence in your administration, and our ardent wish that your unabated zeal for the public good, may be rewarded by the durable prosperity of the nation, and every ingredient of personal happiness.

JOHN LANGDON, President
pro temp. of the Senate.

I DERIVE much pleasure, gentlemen, from your very satisfactory address. The renewed assurances of your confidence in my administration, and the expression of your wish for my personal happiness, claim and receive my particular acknowledge-

ments. In my future endeavours for the public welfare, to which my duty may call, I shall not cease to count upon the firm, enlightened, and patriotic support of the senate.

G. WASHINGTON.

ADDRESS from the HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, in Answer to the PRESIDENT'S SPEECH.

SIR,

THE house of representatives, who always feel a satisfaction in meeting you, are much concerned, that the occasion for mutual felicitation afforded by the circumstances favourable to the national prosperity, should be abated by a continuance of the hostile spirit of many of the Indian tribes; and particularly that the reiterated efforts for effecting a general pacification with them, should have issued in new proofs of their persevering enmity, and the barbarous sacrifices of citizens, who, as the messengers of peace, were distinguishing themselves by their zeal for the public service. In our deliberations on this important department of our affairs, we shall be disposed to pursue every measure that may be dictated by the sincerest desire, on one hand, of cultivating peace, and manifesting, by every practical regulation, our benevolent regard for the welfare of these misguided people; and by the duty we feel, on the other, to provide effectually for the safety and protection of our fellow-citizens.

While with regret, we learn, that symptoms of opposition to the law imposing duties on spirits distilled within the united states, have manifested themselves, we reflect with consolation, that they are confined to a small portion of our fellow-citizens. It is not more essential to the preservation of true liberty, that a government should be always ready to listen to the representations of its constituents, and to accommodate its measures to the sentiments and wishes of every part of them, as far as will conflict with the good of the whole, than it is, that the just distribution of the laws should be steadfastly maintained.

Under this impression, every department of government, and all good citizens must approve of the measures you have taken, and the purpose you have formed to execute this part of your trust with firmness and energy; and be assured, sir, of every constitutional aid and co-operation which may become requisite on our part; and we hope, that while the progress of contentment, under the law in question, is as obvious as it is rational, no particular part of the community may be permitted to withdraw from the general burthens of the country, by a conduct as irreconcilable with national justice, as it is inconsistent with public decency.

The productive state of the public revenue and the confirmation of the credit of the united states abroad, evinced by the loans at Antwerp and Amsterdam, are communications the more gratifying, as they enforce the obligation to enter on systematic and effectual arrangements for discharging the public debt, as fast as the conditions of it will permit; and we take pleasure in the opportunity to assure you of our entire concurrence in the opinion, that no measure can be more desirable, whether viewed with an eye to the urgent wish of the community, or the intrinsic importance of promoting to happy a change in our situation.

The adoption of a constitution for the state of Kentucky, is an event, in which we join in all the satisfaction you have expressed; it may be considered as particularly interesting, since, besides the immediate business resulting from it, it is another auspicious demonstration of the facility and success, with which an enlightened people is capable of providing, by free and deliberate plans of government, for their own safety and happiness.

The operation of the law establishing the post-office, as it relates to the transmission of newspapers, will merit our particular inquiry and attention; the circulation of political intelligence through these vehicles, being justly reckoned among the surest means of preventing the degeneracy of a free government, as well as of recommending every salutary public measure to the confidence and co-operation of all virtuous citizens.

The several other matters which you have communicated and recommended will in their order receive the attention due to them. And our discussions will in all cases, we trust, be guided by a proper respect for harmony and stability in the public councils; and a desire to conciliate, more and more, the attachments of our constituents to the constitution, by measures accommodated to the true ends for which it was established.

By order of the house,

JONA. TRUMBULL, speaker.

GENTLEMEN

It gives me pleasure to express to you the satisfaction which your address affords me. I feel, as I ought, the approbation you manifest of the measures I have taken, and the purpose I have formed to maintain, pursuant to the trust reposed in me by the constitution, the respect which is due to the laws, and the assurance which you at the same time give me of every constitutional aid and co-operation, that may become requisite to your part.

This is a new proof of that enlightened solicitude for the establishment and confirmation of public order, which, embracing a zealous regard for the principles of true liberty, has guided the deliberations of the house of representatives:—a perseverance in which can alone secure, under the divine blessing, the real and permanent felicity of our common country.

G. WASHINGTON.

EXPOSITION of the Motives on which the FRENCH NATIONAL ASSEMBLY have pronounced the Convocation of a National Convention, and pronounced the Suspension of the Executive Power in the hands of the King.

THE national assembly owe to the nation, to Europe, and to posterity, a rigorous account of the motives which have determined their late resolutions.

Placed between the duty of remaining faithful to their oaths, and that of saving their country, they wished to fulfil both at the same time, and to do all that the public safety required, without usurping the powers with which the people had not entrusted them.

At the opening of their session, an assemblage of emigrants, formed on the frontiers, kept up a correspondence with all the enemies of liberty that were still to be found in the departments; or among the troops of the line; and fanatical priests, infusing trouble into superstitious minds, sought to persuade those deluded citizens that the constitution wounded the rights of conscience, and that the law had confided the fabrications of religion to schismatical and sacrilegious persons.

Finally, a league formed among powerful kings, menaced the liberty of France; they fancied they had a right to fix to what degree the interest of their despotism permitted us to be free, and flattered themselves that they should see the sovereignty of the people, and the independence of the French empire, fall down before the arms of their slaves.

Thus every thing announced a civil and religious war, of which a foreign war would soon increase the danger.

The national assembly thought it their duty to repress the emigrants, and to restrain the factious priests by severe decrees; and the king, employed against these decrees the suspensive refusal of sanction which the constitution granted him. In the mean time those emigrants and those priests were busily acting in the name of the king, it was to re-establish him in what they called his lawful authority, that the former had taken up arms, and the latter were preaching assassination and treason. These emigrants were the brothers of the king, his relations, his former body guards. And while the correspondence of these facts with the conduct of the king authorized, nay, employed distrust, this refusal of the sanction applied to decrees that could not be sus-

ended without being annihilated, shewed clearly how the veto, suspensive according to the law, rendered definitive by the manner of employing it, gave to the king the unlimited and arbitrary power of rendering null all the measures which the legislative body might think necessary for maintaining liberty.

From that moment, from one end of the kingdom to the other, the people shewed those gloomy discontents that announced storms, and the suspicions which accused the executive powers displayed themselves with energy.

The national assembly were not discouraged. Princes who professed themselves the allies of France, had given to the emigrants, not an asylum, but the liberty of arming, of forming themselves into military bodies, of levying soldiers, of providing military stores; and the king was invited, by a solemn message, to break, on this violation of the rights of nations, a silence that had been kept but too long. He seemed to yield to the national wish; preparations for war were ordered; but it was soon perceived, that the negotiations conducted by a ministry, weak or treacherous, were confined to obtaining vain promises, which remained unexecuted, could not but be regarded as a snare or an insult. The league of kings assumed, in the mean time, a new activity; and at the head of this league, appeared the emperor, brother-in-law to the king of the French, united to the nation by a treaty useful to him alone, which the constituting assembly, deceived by the ministry, had maintained by sacrificing to preserve the hope at that time well founded, of an alliance with the house of Brandenburg.

The national assembly thought that it was necessary for the safety of France, to oblige the emperor to declare, whether he would be her ally or her enemy, and to pronounce between two contradictory treaties, of which the one bound him to give succours to France, and the other engaged him to attack her, treaties which he could not reconcile, without avowing the intention of separating the king from the nation, and of representing a war against the French people, as succours granted to his ally. The emperor's answer augmented the distrust which this combination of circumstances rendered so natural. In it he repeated the absurd charges against the assembly of the representatives of the French people, against the popular societies established in our cities, with which the partizans of the French ministry had long wearied the counter-revolution presses. He made protestations of his desire to continue the ally of the king, and he had just signed a new league against France, in favour of the authority of the king of the French.

These leagues, these treaties, the intrigues of the emigrants, who had solicited them in the name of the king, had been concealed by the ministers from the representatives of the people. No public disavowal of these intrigues, no effort to prevent or dissolve this conspiracy of monarchs, had shewn either to the citizens of France, or the nations of Europe, that the king had sincerely united his own cause to that of the nation.

This apparent connivance between the cabinet of the Thuilleries and that of Vienna, struck every mind; the national assembly thought it their duty to examine with vigor the conduct of the minister for foreign affairs; and a decree of accusation was the result of this examination. His colleagues disappeared with him, and the king's council was formed of patriot ministers.

The successor of Leopold followed the course of his father. He thought proper to require for the princes, formerly possessing feifs in Alsace, indemnifications incompatible with the French constitution, and derogatory to the independence of the nation. He wanted France to betray the confidence, and violate the rights of the people of Avignon. At length he announced other causes of complaint, which could not, he said, be discussed, before having tried the force of arms.

The king seemed to feel that this provocation to war could not be borne patiently, without betraying a shameful weakness; he seemed to feel, how perfidious was this language of an enemy who pretended to take an interest in his fate, and to desire his alliance, for no purpose but to sow seeds of discord between him and his people, calculated to enervate our forces, and to stop or disconcert their motions, he proposed war by the unanimous voice of his council, and war was decreed.

By protecting the assemblages of the emigrants, by permitting them to menace our frontiers, by shewing troops in readiness to second them on the first success, by preparing a retreat for them, by persisting in a threatening league, the king of Hungary obliged France to make preparations for defence, injurious in their expense, and which her finances, encouraged the audacity of the conspirators dispersed through the depart-

ments, excited uneasiness among the citizens, and thus fomented in them and perpetuated trouble. Never did hostilities more really justify war, and to declare was only to repel it.

The national assembly were then able to judge to what degree, notwithstanding promises so often repeated, all the preparations of defence had been neglected. Nevertheless their uneasiness, their distrust, still rested on the former ministers, on the secret councils of the king; but they soon saw the patriotic ministers crossed in their operations, attacked with rancour by the partizans of the royal authority, by those who made a parade of personal attachment to the king.

Our armies were tormented with political divisions; discord was sown among the commanders of the troops, as between the generals and the ministry. Attempts were made to transform into the instruments of party, which concealed not its desire of substituting its will for that of the representatives of the nation, those very armies that were destined to the external defence of the French territory, and to maintaining the national independence.

The machinations of the priests, become more active in the moment of war, made a restraining law indispensable; one was passed.

The formation of a camp between Paris and the frontiers, was a disposition happily calculated for external defence, while at the same time it served to give security to the internal departments, and to prevent the troubles which their inquietudes might have produced; the formation of such a camp was ordered; but these two decrees were rejected by the king, and the patriotic ministers were dismissed.

The constitution had granted to the king a guard of 180 men, and this guard audaciously manifested a contempt of civic duties, which inspired the citizens with indignation, or with terror, hatred of the constitution, and above all, of liberty and equality, were the best titles for being admitted into it.

The assembly was forced to dissolve this guard, to prevent both the troubles which it could not fail soon to occasion, and the plots of counter revolution, of which too many indications were already manifest. The decree was sanctioned; but a proclamation by the king bestowed praises on those very men, whose dismissal from his service he had just pronounced, on those whom he had admitted to be men justly accused of being the enemies of liberty.

The new ministers excited well-founded distrust, and as this distrust could not stop at them, it fell on the king himself.

The application of the refusal of sanction to decrees rendered necessary by circumstances, of which the execution ought to have been prompt, and mult. stop with the decrees, was regarded in the general opinion, as an interpretation of the constitutional act, contrary to liberty, and even to the spirit of the constitution.—The agitation of the people of Paris became extremely an immense crowd of citizens joined to form a petition in it; they solicited the recal of the patriotic ministers, and the retraction of the refusal to sanction the decrees in favour of which the public opinion had been loudly declared. They desired leave to pass in arms before the national assembly; after their deputies had read their petition. This leave, which other armed bodies had before obtained, was granted them. They desired to present the same petition to the king, and to present it under the forms established by law; but at the moment when municipal officers were coming to inform them, that their deputies, who had been refused at first, were going to be admitted, the gate was opened, and the crowd rushed into the palace. The zeal of the mayor of Paris, the ascendancy which his virtues and his patriotism gave him over the minds of the citizens, the presence of the representatives of the people, of whom successive deputations constantly surrounded the king, prevented all serious disorders, and few assemblages so numerous ever gave occasion to less disorder of any kind.

The king had mounted the ensigns of liberty, he had done justice to the citizens by declaring that he thought himself in safety in the midst of them; the day of the dedication was approaching; citizens from all the departments were to repair to Paris, there to swear to maintain that liberty for which they were going to fight on the frontiers; and all might still have been repaired. But the ministers saw nothing in the events of the twentieth of June, but a favourable occasion for sowing division between the inhabitants of Paris, and those of the departments, between the people and the army, between the several portions of the national guard, between the citizens who remained at their homes and those who were flying to the defence of the

state. The very next day the king changed his language, a proclamation, full of calumny, was profusely distributed among the armies; one of their generals came in the name of that which he commanded, to demand vengeance, and to point out his victims. A considerable number of directors of department by unconstitutional resolutions disclosed the plan they had long before formed, of raising themselves into a sort of intermediate power between the people and their representatives; between the national assembly and the king. Justice of the peace commenced, in the very palace of the Thuilleries, a dark procedure, in which it was hoped to involve those of the patriots, whose vigilance and whose talents were the most dreaded. Already one of those justices had attempted to infringe the inviolability of the representatives of the people, and every thing announced a plan, dextrously concerted for, finding in the judicial order, the means of giving an arbitrary extension to the royal authority. Letters were found from the minister for the home department, directing the employing of force against the federates, who might wish to take at Paris the oath to fight for liberty, and it required all the activity of the national assembly, all the patriotism of the army, all the zeal of the enlightened citizens, to prevent the fatal effects of this plan of disorganization, which might have lighted up the flames of civil war. An emotion of patriotism had extinguished in fraternal union, the divisions that had appeared but too often in the national assembly, and from this also the means of safety might have sprung. The prosecutions commenced by the king's order, at the instance of the intendant of the civil list, might have been stopped: the virtuous Pétion punished by an unjust suspension, for having spared the blood of the people, might have been reinstated by the king; and it was possible, that this long series of faults and treasons, might have fallen again entirely upon those perfidious counsellors, to whom a confiding people had long the habit of attributing all the crimes of our kings.

The national assembly then saw, that the safety of the country required extraordinary measures.

They opened a discussion on the means of saving their country; they instituted a commission charged to consider of and prepare a plan of these means.

The declaration that the country is in danger, called all the citizens to the common defence, all persons in public trust to their posts, and yet in the midst of complaints unceasingly repeated of the inaction of government, on the neglect, or ill management of the preparations for war, on the useless or dangerous motions of the armies, the avowed object of which was to favour the political plans of one of the generals, ministers unknown or suspected, were seen to succeed one another rapidly, and to present, under new names, the same inactivity, and the same principles.

A declaration of the general of the army, which doomed to death all freemen, and promised to cowards and traitors his disgraceful protection, could not but add to these suspicions. In it the enemy of France seemed to attend to nothing but the defence of the king of the French. Twenty-six millions of men were nothing in his estimation, in comparison of a privileged family; their blood must wet the earth to avenge the slightest insult; and the king, instead of expressing his indignation against a manifesto intended to take from him the confidence of the people, seemed to oppose to it, and that reluctantly, a cold and timid disavowal.

Who then can be astonished that distrust in the supreme head of the executive power should inspire citizens with the desire of no longer seeing the forces intended for the common defence at the disposition of a king, in whose name France was attacked, and the care of maintaining her internal tranquility, confided to him, whose interests were the pretext of all her troubles? To these motives, common to all France, were joined others, peculiar to the inhabitants of Paris. They saw the families of the conspirators at Coblenz, forming the habitual society of the king and his family.

Writers paid by the civil list, endeavoured, by base calumnies, to render the Parisians odious or suspected in the eyes of the rest of France. Attempts were made to sow division between the poor citizens and the rich; the national guard was agitated by perfidious manoeuvres, in order to form in it a party of royalists. In fine, the enemies of liberty seemed to be divided between Paris and Coblenz, and their audacity increased with their number. The weakness of the twentieth of June, the attempt of the 20th of July, the constitution, enjoined the king to give notice of imminent hostilities to the national assembly; and long sollicitations were necessary to obtain from the ministry the speedy information of the march of the Prussian troops. The constitution pronounced

abdication against the king if he did not, by some formal act, declare his opposition to enterprises undertaken in his name against the nation, and the emigrant princes had opened public loans in the king's name, had hired foreign troops in his name, had levied French regiments in his name, had formed a military household for him out of France; and these facts were known for more than six months before the king, whose public declarations, whose remonstrances with foreign powers might have hindered the success of these measures had discharged the duties imposed upon him by the constitution.

It was on motives thus powerful that numerous petitions, sent from a great number of the departments, the wish of the several sections of Paris, followed by the general expression of the wish of the whole commons, solicited the forfeiture of the king, or the suspension of the royal power, and the national assembly could no longer shrink from the examination of this grand question.

It was their duty not to decide but after a mature and well-considered examination; after a solemn discussion, after having heard and weighed all opinions. But the patience of the people was exhausted; all at once, they appeared united as one man in the same will; they marched towards the place of the king's residence, and the king came to seek an asylum in the assembly of the representatives of the people, whose defeat he knew that the fraternal union of the inhabitants of Paris, with the citizens of the departments, would always render an asylum inviolable and sacred.

National guards had been charged with defending the residence which the king had abandoned, but with them Swiss soldiers were stationed. The people had long risen with painful surprize, Swis battalions sharing the guard of the king, although this constitution did not allow him to have a foreign guard. It had long been easy to foresee that this direct violation of the law, which by its nature constantly obtruded itself on every eye, would sooner or later occasion great misfortunes. The national assembly had neglected nothing to prevent them. Reports, discussions, motions several months before of the necessity of dismissing from about his person men, whom every where else the French always regarded as friends and brothers, but whom they could not see retained about a constitutional king, in direct contradiction to the constitution, without suspecting that they had become the instruments of the enemies of their liberty.

A decree had ordered their removal: their commander, supported by the ministry, demanded changes in the decree: the national assembly consented to those changes.

A part of the soldiers was to remain near Paris, but without doing any duty that might renew disquiets; and it was contrary to the sense of the national assembly, contrary to the law, that on the 10th of August they were employed on a service, from which every motive of humanity and of prudence ought to have kept them away, they received orders to fire on the armed citizens, at the instant when the latter were inviting them to peace—when unequivocal signs of fraternity announced that peace was going to be accepted—at the instant when a deputation of the national assembly was seen advancing in the midst of arms, to speed the words of peace and conciliation, and to prevent carnage. Then nothing could stop the vengeance of the people, who had thus proof of a new act of treachery, at the very moment they were coming to complain of those of which they had long been the victims.

In the midst of these disasters, the national assembly, afflicted but calm, took the oath to maintain equality and liberty, or to die at their post, they took the oath to save France, and they fought for the means.

They saw but one, which was that of recurring to the will supreme of the people, and inviting them to exercise immediately their unalienable right of sovereignty, which the constitution has recognised, and which it could not subject to any restriction. The public interest required that the people should manifest their will by the sense of a national convention, formed of representatives invested by them with unlimited powers; it required no less than that the members of this convention should be elected in each department in a uniform manner, and according to a regular mode. But the national assembly could not restrain the powers of the sovereign people, from whom alone the members of that assembly held all the powers they possess. They were bound to confine themselves to conjuring the people, in the name of their country, to follow the simpler regulation traced out for them. In these, the forms instituted for elections were respected, because the establishment of new forms, even sup-

posing them to have been better, would have been a source of delay, perhaps of division. They preserved in them, none of the conditions of eligibility, none of the limitations of the right of electing or being elected, established by the former laws, because these laws, which are so many restrictions on the right of sovereignty, are not applicable to a national convention, in which this right ought to be exercised with complete independence. The distinction of active citizens appears not in these regulations, because it is also a restriction of the law. The only conditions required are those which nature had prescribed, such as the necessity of being connected, by a fixed residence, with the territory, for which the right of citizenship is exercised, of having attained the age at which men are held by the laws of the nation of which they make a part, to be in a condition to exercise their personal rights; finally, of having preserved absolute independence of will.

But to assemble new representatives of the people required time; and although the national assembly have made as short as possible the periods of the operations which the convention made necessary; although they accelerated the period at which they must cease to bear the burden of the public weal, in such a manner as to avoid the least suspicion of ambitious views; the term of 40 days would still have exposed the country to great misfortunes, and the people to dangerous commotions, if to the king had been left the exercise of the powers conferred upon him by the constitution; and the suspension of these powers appeared to the representatives of the people, the only means of saving France and liberty.

In pronouncing this necessary suspension, the assembly have not exceeded their powers. The constitution authorizes them, to pronounce it, in the case of the absence of the king, when the term at which this absence incurs a legal abdication is not yet arrived; that is to say, in the case in which there is not yet ground for a definitive resolution, but in which a provisional act of rigour is evidently necessary, in which it would be absurd to leave the power in hands, which could no longer make a free and beneficial use of it. In the present instance, then, these conditions are as evidently united as in the case provided for by the constitution, and in conducting ourselves by the principle which the constitution has pointed out, we have obeyed it—far from having infringed it contrary to our oaths.

The constitution forefaw, that all accumulation of powers was dangerous, and might change into tyrants of the people, those who ought to be only their representatives; but it judged also, that this danger supposed a long exercise of this extraordinary power, and the term of two months is that which is fixed for all cases in which it permits this union of powers, which in all other cases it has so rigorously prescribed.

The national assembly, far from extending this term, has reduced it to forty days only; and far from exceeding the period fixed by law on the plea of necessity, they have brought themselves within the narrowest limits.

When the power of sanctioning the laws is suspended, the constitution has pronounced, that the decrees of the legislative body shall have of themselves the character and authority of laws, and since he to whom the constitution gave the choice of ministers, could no longer exercise his functions, it was necessary that a new law should put the choice into other hands. The assembly conferred the right on themselves, because this right could not be given but to electors who belonged to the whole nation, and because they alone have that character at present. But they were careful to avoid giving ground for the suspicion that, in conferring this power on themselves, they sought to gratify ambitious personal views; they decreed, that the election should be made aloud, that each of them should pronounce his choice in presence of the national representation, in presence of the numerous citizens who attend their sittings. They took care that each of their own body should have his colleagues for his judges, the public for a witness, and should answer for his choice to the whole nation.

Frenchmen, let us unite all our forces against the foreign tyranny which dares to threaten with its vengeance twenty-six millions of freemen. Within six weeks a power, which every citizen acknowledges, will pronounce on our division; woe to the man who listening, during this short interval, to personal sentiments, that he may vote himself wholly to the common defence, who shall not see, that at the instant when the sovereign Will of the people is about to speak, we have no enemies but the conspirators of Mainz, and their accomplices.

in the midst of a foreign war, at the moment when numerous armies are preparing for a formidable invasion, that we call upon the citizens to discuss in a peaceable assembly, the rights of liberty. That which would have appeared rash among any other people, seemed to us not above the courage and the patriotism of the French; and undoubtedly we shall not have the misfortune of finding ourselves deceived in judging you worthy to forget every other interest, but that of liberty, of sacrificing every other sentiment to the love of our country.

Citizens, it is for you to judge, if your representatives have exercised for your good the powers you have confided to them, if they have acted according to your wishes, in making a use of their powers, which neither they nor you could foresee to be necessary. For us, we have discharged our duty in seizing with courage on the only means of preserving liberty, that occurred to our consideration. Ready to die for it, at the post in which you have placed us, we shall carry with us, at least, on quitting that post, the consolation of having maintained it faithfully.

Whatever judgment our contemporaries or posterity may pass upon us, we shall not have to dread that of our consciences; to whatever danger we may be exposed, the happiness will remain to us of having spared the torrents of French blood, which a conquest more weak would have made to flow; we shall be spared remorse at least; nor shall we have to reproach ourselves with having seen a means of saving our country; and not having dared to embrace it.

(Signed) **GUADERE**, President.
Goujou, G. Romme, Marans, Crestin, Arena Lecointre Puiravaux,
 Secretaries.

Paris, August 20, 1792.

The CHRONICLE.

FRANCE.

FROM the confused, contradictory, and evidently erroneous accounts, which have been received in the course of the present month, respecting the affairs of France, little can with certainty be collected. It does not appear, that the operations of the armies have been productive of any very important or decisive event. In a London paper of the 2d of October, there is an extract of a letter from Ostend, dated the 29th of September, in which it is said, that the duke of Brunswick took possession of Chalons on the 22nd, and of Rheims on the 24th of that month; and that his advanced guard was at Meaux, about twelve leagues from Paris—the letter-writer adds, that Dumourier's army, consisting of 25,000 men, had been surrounded by the Austrians, and obliged to surrender prisoners at discretion—This intelligence wears a very suspicious appearance; as Paris accounts, to the 30th of September, received at London, took no notice of any such events.—It is worthy of remark, that in the sitting of the 29th of September, a letter from the commissioners to the northern army, dated *Chalons, Sept. 27th*, was read in the national convention, in which they mention that “the situation of the enemy was such as to give them great hopes.”—French accounts state, that volunteers continue to flock to their armies, which however are not well supplied with military stores; that their enemies are reduced to the greatest straits, from a scarcity of provisions, and that numbers desert daily to the standard of liberty.—M. Montcalm has over-run almost the whole duchy of Savoy, and taken possession of Chambéry, the capital. He was every where well received by the inhabitants, who seem to have a relish for the principles of French liberty.

On the twenty-first of September the national assembly was dissolved, by the meeting of the convention on that day. The national convention, having chosen M. Peron president, immediately proceeded to business. The following decree was passed on the morning of their meeting, and received with loud and long-continued applause.—The national convention decrees, that royalty is abolished in France. A com-

mittee of twelve has been appointed to prepare the plan of a constitution; which is to be published "for the examination of all free and enlightened men in France and Europe," and is not to be discussed until two months shall have elapsed, from the time of its being presented. Mr. Paine and Dr. Priestly were elected members of the convention; the former took his seat, but the latter declined serving.

P H I L A D E L P H I A, *on* November 10.

ACCORDING to a letter from Louisville, in Kentucky, (dated October 14) "A treaty was opened on the 24th of Sept. at Post Vincennes, with seven nations of Indians, viz. The Belrivers, Weachteon, Piankshaws, Potawathemas, Kickapooos, Kickaskias, and Musketoes. The treaty was concluded on the 27th of the same month. These nations have buried the hatchet, and are now entirely broke off from the league of the war nations." It is added, that the principal chiefs of these nations, sixteen in number, are now on their way to this city.

The town of Fayetteville, in North-Carolina, suffered a very considerable loss by fire, on the evening of the 23d of October. About forty tenantable dwelling houses and stores were consumed, in spite of every exertion, and twenty-eight buildings of other descriptions. The whole loss in buildings is said to amount to 30,000!—no estimate is yet formed of the loss in goods and household furniture, but it is thought to be considerably less than that in buildings.

The troops at and about Pittsburgh are shortly to move into winter quarters. The place fixed on for this purpose is said to be on the Ohio river near Log's Town, where the soldiers are to erect huts, to shelter themselves during the ensuing winter.

Extract of a letter from Holland.

"You have already been informed that our government has prohibited the importation of tea, coming from your ports, and now has laid an additional duty of one per cent on all American imports, and an half per cent on exports for your continent. This measure has been taken to counterbalance the prohibition lately made on your side, of Holland gin in casks; which article was one of the few we were able to furnish you with, in return for your cargoes of tobacco, rice, &c. As, by this innovation, your trade is to suffer much more than ours, your rulers may, of course, be convinced of the truth of that French adage, "*Qui trop embrasse, mal etreint.*"

Learn this short lesson from the Dutch,

That "*they lose all who grasp too much.*"

17th. On the 30th of October last, a violent gale from the eastward did some damage to the shipping in the harbour of Charleston, S.C. fortunately, it being low water on the bar, during the height of the gale, the shipping did not suffer so much as might have been otherwise expected. Some wooden buildings were blown down.

Letter from James Seagrove, Esq. (agent for Indian affairs in the southern department of the united states) to the citizens of the state of Georgia.

"It being (in my opinion) of some consequence to the citizens of Georgia to know the disposition of the Creek Indians towards them at this time, I have therefore taken this mode of assuring them, that, from the whole of my late communications, and the investigation of matters, I do not find any disposition in the chiefs of the Creek nation, to be unfriendly to any part of the united states. On the contrary, I have reason to think it the wish of nine tenths of that nation, to be in strict friendship with us.

Many and base have been the attempts of late to mislead those unfortunate people, notwithstanding which, I will venture to assure the citizens of this country of a continuance of peace, and a friendly intercourse between them and the Creek nation, unless the restless, vicious disposition of some of the white people among us, should oblige the Indians to adopt a different line of conduct.

All attempts from any foreign quarter to mislead them, I consider of little or no consequence; much more mischief is to be dreaded from the ill-disposed among ourselves. It therefore becomes incumbent on every good man in this country, as he values peace, and the prosperity of Georgia, to use every exertion to prevent any outrage or injury being committed on the Indians, or their property. Herewith I send, for immediate publication in the Gazette, three talks which I received a few days past from chiefs who are well known to be of the first consequence in the nation. I am in possession of many other strong proofs, that we stand well with the southern tribes, but those I now send will serve to convey the wishes of the Creeks."

T H E

UNIVERSAL ASYLUM,

A N D

Columbian Magazine,

FOR DECEMBER, 1792.

BY A SOCIETY OF GENTLEMEN.

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P H I L A D E L P H I A:

PRINTED FOR THE PROPRIETORS, BY WILLIAM YOUNG, BOOKSELLER, N^o 52, SECOND-STREET, THE CORNER OF CHESNUT-STREET.

TO THE PUBLIC.

SINCE the Universal Asylum and Columbian Magazine came into the hands of its present proprietors, their utmost endeavours have been exerted, to render it worthy of that liberal patronage, with which it has been honoured, in almost every part of the united states. But while they gratefully acknowledge, that public approbation has kept ample pace with their endeavours to deserve it, they are under the necessity of announcing the discontinuance of this publication. A brief statement of the motives which have led to this determination, is a tribute of respect, which the proprietors owe to the numerous and respectable patrons of their past labours.

The principal motive, then, is to be sought for in the present law respecting the establishment of the post-office, which totally prohibits the circulation of *monthly* publications, through that channel, on any other terms than that of paying the highest postage on private letters or packages; a prohibition as injurious in its consequences, as the principles on which it is founded are partial and oppressive.—In Great-Britain, custom immemorial has insured to *magazines, as well as newspapers*, a safe and cheap conveyance to country subscribers, through the medium of the post-office. While these states were colonies of Great-Britain, *the people* enjoyed that privilege in a still greater extent, by having both newspapers and magazines conveyed to them, without any charge whatever. For some years after the revolution, this privilege was continued to the citizens of these states; and its salutary effects were apparent, in the political, and other useful information which was thus diffused among the people, of every description, and in every part of our country.

That this ancient and inestimable privilege of American citizens, derived to them from their British ancestors, should be wrested from them, so soon after their struggle for liberty and equal rights, by the very men whom they had appointed to watch over the liberties and welfare of their country, is at once a subject of astonishment and regret.—Of *astonishment*, that a legislature, in a country calling itself *republican*, should arbitrarily abridge the people of a right, which is not only enjoyed by the domestic subjects of a European monarchy, but is also extended to Nova-Scotia, and other foreign dependencies of that monarchy—and of *regret*, that we should so soon lose sight of those republican principles, on which the American revolution was founded, as to adopt a measure calculated to destroy the means of political information, and to involve the people in *more than monarchical ignorance*.

The public will doubtless be astonished to hear, that, on a motion made, in the house of representatives of the united states, by Mr. Smith, of South-Carolina, to place *monthly* publications on the same footing as *daily, weekly*, or other newspapers, no more than *seventeen* members rose in favour of the motion.

The operation of this *unequal and oppressive* law having rendered it impossible for the proprietors to convey this miscellany to their numerous subscribers in the interior parts of the country, but at the expence of losing a great proportion of them through a bad conveyance, they have determined to relinquish their undertaking; and to employ their time and capital, in a way which may be more conducive to their private interest.

* * Should any person be disposed to continue this work, under the discouragement above stated, he may be informed of the present state of the subscription list, and of any other circumstance respecting it, by applying to William Young.

N. B. Subscribers that have not been supplied with numbers for those lost, will be supplied so long as the proprietors have any unappropriated.

† *THOSE* who have accounts against the Asylum are desired to present them for immediate payment; and those in arrears are requested to make payment, to William Young, who will furnish receipts in behalf of the proprietors.

T H E
UNIVERSAL ASYLUM,

A N D

Columbian Magazine,

FOR DECEMBER, 1792.

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

HONORIA: *Or the MOURNER comforted.*

MR. EDITOR,

HAVING perceived, that your compilation is truly miscellaneous, and that you publish pieces, which you conceive may conduce to public utility, I flatter myself, that you will not reject the history of Honoria, although written by herself, and consequently in a style far from being elegant. But the matter, I trust, will atone for every other deficiency; and in that confidence I begin my narrative.

I was born in —, in the year 1769. My parents possessed that reputation, which invariably results from industry and probity. He cultivated his farm with unceasing assiduity, whilst she superintended the internal concerns of the family with equal application. They were not rich, but they were possessed of competence; and I was their only child; the pleasing source of their happiness for some years; but afterwards, the bitter fountain of their sorrows. At fifteen (such had been the care and bounty of my parents) I was accounted the best instructed maiden in the county, and was indulged in such apparel, as more frequently excites reprehensible vanity, than laudable pride. No amusement was denied me. The sleigh in winter was ever at my call, and my excursions during the rest of the year were so frequent as to excite envy and provoke calumny. But I smiled at envy; and, as I was innocent, I despised calumny.

Hitherto I had been a stranger to love; for my mind had not been affected by novels. But the period approached, when I was doomed to experience that passion, attended with many of its horrors. Sylvanus, the son of a respected neighbour, frequented my father's house. His repeated visits to the capital of the state had given him an air, a manner, and a style of conversation, superior to the youth of his age in the neighbourhood. He was at first distant and polite. With my father he conversed on politics, agriculture, commerce, &c. but his

eyes declared, that I was the object of his visits. So acceptable was his company to all the family, that, on the appearance of bad weather in the evening, he was as sure of a bed at our house as at his own abode. Sylvanus, however, was absent about a week. This circumstance excited our wonder; but how extreme was our sorrow, when we were informed, that a fever had hurried him from this vale of woe! Mild youth! the comfort of your parents! and honoured by your acquaintance! surely virtue will excuse the sensibility of Honorina, as she silently drops the tear, sacred to the memory of thy virtues.

And now, sir, my sufferings commenced. His frequent visits had been remarked; and I was too artless to disguise my sorrow. Reports injurious to my reputation, prevailed. When they were communicated to me, I fainted; and this proof of mental delicacy was misconstrued into guilt. A fever ensued, which supplied malevolence with a new topic for scandal. But youth, temperance, and a good constitution preserved me from the grave, that I might encounter still greater misfortunes. The calumny, which I had survived, proved fatal to my parents. They knew my innocence; but, unable to stem the torrent of obloquy, yielded to its violence. I shed the tears of filial piety over their graves; and, after a few weeks, confiding my small inheritance to the care of a worthy magistrate, quitted the scene of misery, and repaired to Philadelphia, with all my clothes, and a small supply of money. On my arrival, I met with Cleander, an old neighbour, at the house where I lodged. He had heard of the aspersions thrown on my character, and delicately hinted his conviction, that they had originated in malice. He even proceeded so far as to propose marriage to me. "No! Cleander! said I, although you are assured of my unjust sufferings, others ought to be equally convinced: It does not become a youth of character to marry a suspected woman." The tears trickled down his cheeks, and in silent agony he departed, after having deposited on the table a sum of money, which I caused to be carefully returned to him. This circumstance infused some consolation into my bosom. A man of merit had acknowledged my virtue, and had even offered me his hand in marriage.

The mistress of the boarding-house, whose temper was truly amiable, after many expressions of sympathy (for she often found me in tears) inquired into the nature of my situation. I freely communicated it to her with every material circumstance of my life. "Stay with me," she said, whilst the tears of pity trickled down her cheeks, "stay with me, till you can be better provided. You shall want for nothing, which you can in reason require. Your assistance will be of service to me; and your labour shall be light." What must have been my feelings, Mr. Editor, when I thus found at once compassion and a home! I was happy to find, that her husband was equally well-disposed towards me; and, discharging the duties of a house-keeper, I conciliated the regard of both family and customers. Yet I must confess, that some transient visitors were too often troublesome. My delicacy was frequently hurt; but my resolution to continue in the paths of industry and virtue continued firm and unshaken.

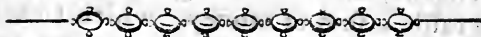
After remaining in this truly hospitable abode about six months, I received a visit from Cleander. His appearance renewed my former feelings, and the blushes of shame were diffused over my cheeks. "Innocence is at length made manifest, exclaimed the youth, and the tongue of malevolence is silenced. Thou much injured woman! peruse this note; and let peace be no longer a stranger to thy bosom." I sighed, and opened it, with trembling hands; but, on perceiving the name of Sylvanus subscribed to it, I dropped it with trepidation and horror. He took it up, and read it. It was replete with every respectful sentiment, which virtuous love and esteem could dictate; mentioned his intention of proposing marriage to me, and enjoined his heir at Law to pay me, should his disorder prove mortal, the sum of five hundred pounds. This paper, written during the remission of his fever, was carelessly thrown amongst other writings: but discovered by Cleander, whom Sylvanus had appointed his executor.

Ye, who have endured the malice of calumny, reflect on my feelings at this juncture. Although in the presence of Cleander, with streaming eyes I blessed my creator, and expressed my gratitude, almost prostrate on the floor. He raised me in the most affectionate manner; and retired, in order to summon the landlady to my assistance. I was conveyed to bed, and tenderly attended. After a few days my agitation of mind subsided; and I paid due attention to the addresses of Cleander. We were married, sir, under the roof of my once mistress and mistress. Every day increases my love for my husband, who convinces his regard for me, when misery seemed to be my lasting portion.

Let those, who peruse my history, console themselves with reflecting, that injured virtue is often triumphant even in this world; but at all events will find its due reward in heaven.

Yours, &c.

HONORIA.



FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

On MODERN EDUCATION.

Multa tulit, fecitque puer.—

HORACE.

SO much has been written on education, that I almost despair of being capable of throwing any new light on the subject. It is certain, that instruction was intended for our improvement; but how has it been abused? From the nursery to the senate of a nation, each disciple has been taught to err; and, what is worse, to err systematically. Paying due deference to the authority of antiquity (liable, however, to many exceptions) I mean to enter upon a liberal discussion of what I have advanced.

The right of exposing children to death; by cold, famine, or the fury of wild beasts, was frequently practised by the Grecians, and

other people. With respect to "passing through the fire to Moloch," I shall only say, that, if it was not attended with death, it must have been a severe law in the code of institution. The rites of public initiation, which maidens sustained in honour of a certain reputed goddess, must have been terrible in the opinion of some, altho' to others it might have appeared by no means repugnant to reason. By moderns, however, it universally reprobated, the *polished* natives of Otaheite excepted. The Orgies of Bacchus, although not unknown at present, are certainly not practised from religious motives; and the disciples of the huntress Diana, would meet with but little applause in these days.

Not adverting to Roman education, and passing over the middle ages, as we would traverse a torrent, let us advert to times (not far remote from the present æra) acknowledged by some to have been enlightened by true reason. And here, sir, be it recollected, that children then were educated nearly as parrots are now. They were flung into a partial knowledge of dead languages; and consequently understood them like parrots. When of mature age they were taught to heap syllogism on syllogism, like Pelion on Assa. Metaphysics supplied mountains, by which they hoped to ascend the summit of knowledge; but, like their prototypes, the fabled giants, they were overpowered by the thunder of truth, and sunk into the abyss of contempt. It is acknowledged, that too much of this system still continues. Ancient languages are still too highly valued, and the precepts of Aristotle are not as yet consigned to oblivion, with the other rubbish of the pagan schools.

But it is evident, that education begins to assume a more pleasing demeanour, and to exhibit rules tending to more general utility. Science, untrammelled by the restraints of logic, pursues her course with bolder steps. The natural and moral world are submitted to her inspection. Lightning has been brought from the clouds by the art of man. Manufactures have been advanced, and the general good of the species promoted.

Yet, we cannot but grieve, at finding, that too much of the old Leaven of education still continues. Of what avail is it to the cause of science, that boys should be flagellated into a knowledge of dead languages, which, since translations of all the useful authors can be obtained with ease, are become altogether useless. Is language principally our object? or is science ultimately our end? If the former, with respect to education, claims the preference, words will be chiefly attended to, not things. The reverse will be the consequence, if science be duly attended to.

In every country an adequate knowledge of the force, elegance and perspicuity of the language, generally spoken in it, will be sufficient for the reception and conveyance of ideas, whether originating in nature, or communicated by art. To the cultivation of that language, therefore, due attention should be paid; and since commerce, as well as true learning, demands a knowledge of some foreign tongues, the acquisition of such knowledge ought not to be neglected. But it must be insisted on, that, if the present track of instruction is

blindly followed, the meaning of my motto will be, viz. — Much has the boy endured, and much performed — And let me add, — Frequently to no good purpose whatever.

H. F. W.

—●●●●●●●●●●—
FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

An ACCOUNT of the late DR. GEORGE GLENTWORTH.

THE profession of medicine embraces so many objects and duties, and unfolds such a variety in the human character, that the lives of eminent physicians have ever been considered as a very interesting branch of biography. There appears to be a peculiar latitude of merit in the gentlemen who have been distinguished in this profession, above all others. While some of its members—such as Boerhave, Haller, and Cullen are born to dazzle and enlighten the world by the splendor of their talents, there are others such as Rutherford, Plummer, and Hope, who seem destined to adorn it by the solidity of their judgements and the amiableness of their virtues; Both are equally necessary to the advancement and reputation of medicine. Of the latter class of physicians was the late Dr. *George Glentworth*.

He was born in the city of Philadelphia on the 22nd of July 1735, and after passing through a course of academical education he served a regular apprenticeship to the late Dr. Peter Solamans who was at that time in very extensive business as a physician and surgeon in the city of Philadelphia.

After the expiration of his apprenticeship he entered the British army as a junior surgeon where he not only acquired a large stock of practical knowledge in his profession, but such a knowledge of men and things as afterwards furnished him with many of those useful and pleasant anecdotes with which he often rendered his conversation both instructive and agreeable.

In the year 1755 he went to Europe where he spent three years in attending publick lectures on medicine, and in visiting different hospitals. He received the degree of Doctor of medicine in the year 1758, after having first composed and defended a thesis on the pulmonary consumption. He was a cotemporary as a student in Edinburgh with the present illustrious professor of anatomy Dr. Monroe, with whom he contracted such an intimacy that the doctor continued for many years afterwards to speak of him with great kindness and respect.

Upon his return to his native country, his old preceptor in medicine took him into partnership with him, by which means he was suddenly introduced into extensive and profitable business.

In the year 1760 Dr. Stork, a celebrated oculist visited this city. Dr. Glentworth attached himself to him in such a manner as to be

present at all his operations, and by which means he became ever afterwards eminent for his knowledge of the diseases of the eyes, and was oftner consulted in them than any of his brethren in the city.

In the great struggle for American liberty and independence he took a decided part.—He was a genuine whig, and in 1777, he evinced the sincerity of his principles, by turning his back upon his business in the city, and accepting of an appointment, first of a regimental surgeon, and afterwards as a senior surgeon in the military hospitals of the American army in which capacity he remained until 1780.—His experience acquired in the British hospitals during the last French war in America qualified him to be eminently useful in the hospitals of the united states. He was systematic and faithful in everything he did. The soldiers loved him like a father; and it was in consequence of his uncommon attention to them that he caught the hospital fever which had nearly cost him his life.

After the year 1780, he returned to private life and resumed his former business in Philadelphia.

It might afford some instruction to students of medicine to point out the circumstances which create and support a reputation in medicine. In the present instance it will be sufficient to observe that the business and reputation of the late Dr. Glentworth were derived in the first place from his regular education in medicine, and his great familiarity with diseases in the early part of his life. *Secondly*, from his fondness for reading new publications of every kind of medicine. *Thirdly*, from his great humanity to his poor, and his disinterestedness in his attendance upon his rich patients, and *Lastly*, from his uncommon good temper which in no one instance perhaps, in the course of his life was ever ruffled in a sick room. This last circumstance does equal honour to the good sense and spirit of a physician, for none but a coward could resent that petulance which sickness and pain sometimes produce even in the best of men.

The disease which put an end to the inoffensive and useful life of Dr. Glentworth was supposed to be a misplaced gout. He died without a sigh or groan on the 4th of Nov. 1792.

The following tribute was paid to his memory from the pulpit the Sunday following his interment by the rev. Dr. Magaw. "Thy fellow-citizens, thy neighbourhood, thy family, thy church, miss thee, venerable man! *Glentworth!* the faithful, experienced, able, successful, physician, whose pleasing, unwearied task it was, by day and night, to soften and relieve the ills of sickly human nature! *Glentworth!* the mild, the sociable, the friendly, the intelligent, the patriotic citizen! *Glentworth!* the amiable pattern of sweet domestic attention, worth, and respectability! The testimony to thy virtues, given in this solemn place, is *short*: not so shall be the remembrance of them."

RULES for forming a JUST and ELEGANT STYLE.

(Continued from our last—page 296.)

THERE is another extreme in obscure writers; not much taken notice of, which some empty conceited heads are apt to run into, out of a prodigality of words, and a want of sense. This is the extravagance of your copious writers, who lose their meaning in the multitude of words, and bury their sense under heaps of phrases. Their understanding is rather rarified than condensed: their meaning, we cannot say, is dark and thick; it is too light and subtle to be discerned; it is spread so thin, and diffused so wide, that it is hard to be collected. Two lines would express all they say in two pages: it is nothing but whipt syllabub and froth, a little varnish and gilding, without any solidity or substance.

The deepest rivers have the plainest surface, and the purest waters are always clearest. Crystal is not the less solid for being transparent; the value of a style rises like the value of precious stones. If it be dark and cloudy, it is in vain to polish it; it bears its worth in its native looks, and the same art which enhances its price when it is clear, only debases it if it be dull.

You see I have borrowed some metaphors to explain my thoughts; and it is, I believe, impossible to describe the plainness and clearness of style, without some expression clearer than the terms I am otherwise bound up to use.

You must give me leave to go on with you to the decorations and ornaments of style: there is no inconsistency between the plainness and perspicuity, and the ornament of writing. A style resembleth beauty, where the face is clear and plain, as to symmetry and proportion, but is capable of wonderful improvements, as to features and complexion. If I may transgress in too frequent allusions, because I would make every thing plain to you, I would pass on from painters to statuary, whose excellence it is at first to form true and just proportions, and afterwards to give them that softness, that expression, that strength and delicacy, which make them almost breathe and live.

The decorations of style are formed out of those several schemes and figures, which are contrived to express the passions and motions of our minds in our speech; to give life and ornament, grace and beauty, to our expressions. I shall not undertake the rhetorician's province, in giving you an account of all the figures they have invented, and those several ornaments of writing, whose grace and commendation lie in being used with judgment and propriety. It were endless to pursue this subject through all the schemes and illustrations of speech: but there are some common forms, which every writer upon every subject may use, to enliven and adorn his work.

These are metaphor and similitude; and those images and representations that are drawn in the strongest and most lively colours, to imprint what the writer would have his readers conceive, more deeply on their minds. In the choice, and in the use of these, your

ordinary writers are most apt to offend. Images are very sparingly to be introduced: their proper place is in poems and orations; and their use is to move pity or terror, admiration, compassion, danger, and resentment, by representing something very affectionate, or very dreadfully, very astonishing, very miserable, or very provoking, to our thoughts. If they give a wonderful force and beauty, to the subject, where they are painted by a masterly hand; but if they are either weakly drawn, or unskilfully placed, they raise no passion but indignation in the reader.

The most common ornaments are metaphor and similitude. One is an allusion to words, the other to things; and both have their beauties, if properly applied.

Similitudes ought to be drawn from the most familiar and best known particulars in the world; if any thing is dark and obscure in them, the purpose of using them is defeated; and that which is not clear itself, can never give light to any thing that wants it. It is the idle fancy of some poor brains, to run out perpetually into a course of similitudes, confounding their subject by the multitudes of likenesses; and making it like so many things, that it is like nothing at all. This trifling humour is good for nothing, but to convince us, that the author is in the dark himself; and, while he is likening his subject to every thing, he knoweth not what it is like.

There is another tedious fault in some simile men; which is, drawing their comparisons into a great length and minute particulars, where it is of no importance whether the resemblance holds or not. But the true art of illustrating any subject by similitude, is, first to pitch on such a resemblance as all the world will agree in: and then, without being careful to have it run on all fours, to touch it only in the strongest lines, and the nearest likeness. And this will secure us from all stiffness and formality in similitude; and deliver us from the nauseous repetition of *as* and *so*; which some so so writers, if I may beg leave to call them so, are continually sounding in our ears.

I have nothing to say to those gentlemen who bring similitudes and forget the resemblance. All the pleasure we can take, when we meet these promising sparks, is in the disappointment, where we find their fancy is so like their subject, that it is not like it at all.

Metaphors require great judgment and consideration in the use of them. They are a shorter similitude, where the likeness is rather implied than expressed. The signification of one word, in metaphors, is transferred to another, and we talk of one thing in the terms and propriety of another. But there must be a common resemblance, some original likeness in nature, some correspondence and easy transition; or metaphors are shocking and confused. The beauty of them displays itself in their easiness and propriety, where they are naturally introduced: but where they are forced and crowded, too frequent and various, and do not raise out of the course of thought, but are constrained and pressed into the service, instead of making the discourse more lively and cheerful, they make it sullen, dull, and gloomy.

You must form your judgment upon the best models, and the most celebrated pens, where you will find the metaphor in all its grace and

strength, shedding a lustre and beauty on the work. For it ought never to be used but when it gives greater force to the sentence, an illustration to the thought, and insinuates a silent argument in the allusion. The use of metaphors is not only to convey the thought in a more pleasing manner, but to give it a stronger impression, and enforce it on the mind. Where this is not regarded, they are vain and trifling trash; and in a due observance of this, in a pure, chaste, natural expression, consist the justness, beauty and delicacy of style.

I have said nothing of epithets. Their business is to express the nature of the things they are applied to; and the choice of them depends upon a good judgment, to distinguish what are the most proper titles to be given on all occasions, and a complete knowledge in the accidents, qualities, and affections of every thing in the world. They are of most ornament when they are of use: they are to determine the character of every person, and decide the merits of every case; conscience and justice are to be regarded, and great skill and exactness are required in the use of them. For it is of great importance to call things by their right names: the points of satire, and strains of compliment, depend upon it; otherways we may make an ass of a lion, commend a man in satire, and lampoon him in panegyric. Here also there is room for genius: common justice and judgment should direct us to say what is proper at least; but it is parts and fire that will prompt us to the most lively and most forcible epithets that can be applied: and it is in their energy and propriety their beauty lies. Of Allegories I need not mention, because they are not so much an ornament of style, as an artful way of recommending truth to the world in a borrowed shape, and a dress more agreeably to the fancy, than naked truth herself can be. Truth is ever most beautiful and evident in her native dress: and the arts that are used to convey her to our minds, are no argument that she is deficient, but so many testimonies of the corruption of our nature, when truth of all things the plainest and sincerest, is forced to gain admittance to us in disguise, and court us in masquerade.

There is one ingredient more required to the perfection of style, which I have partly mentioned already, in speaking of the suitableness of the thoughts to the subject, and of the words to the thoughts; but you will give me leave to consider it in another light, with regard to the majesty and dignity of the subject.

It is fit, as we have said already, that the thoughts and expressions should be suited to the matter on all occasions; but in nobler and greater subjects, especially where the theme is sacred and divine, it must be our care to think and write up to the dignity and majesty of the things we presume to treat of: nothing little, mean, or low, no childish thoughts; or boyish expressions, will be endured: all must be awful and grave, and great and solemn. The noblest sentiments must be conveyed in the weightiest words: all ornaments and illustrations must be borrowed from the richest parts of universal nature; and in divine subjects, especially when we attempt to speak of God, of his wisdom, goodness, and power, of his mercy and justice, of his dispensations and providence, (by all which he is pleased to manifest himself to the sons of men) we must raise our thoughts, and enlarge our minds,

and search all the treasures of knowledge for every thing that is great, wonderful, and magnificent: we can only express our thoughts of the Creator in the works of his creation; and the brightest of these can only give us some faint shadows of his greatness and his glory. The strongest figures are too weak, the most exalted language too low, to express his ineffable excellence. No hyperbole can be brought to heighten our thoughts; for in so sublime a theme, nothing can be hyperbolic. The riches of imagination are poor, and all the rivers of eloquence are dry, in supplying thought on an infinite subject. Flow poor and mean, how base and grovelling, are the heathen conceptions of the Deity! something sublime and noble must needs be said on so great an occasion; but in this great article, the most celebrated of the heathen pens seem to flag and sink; they bear up in no proportion to the dignity of the theme, as if they were depressed by the weight, and dazzled with the splendour of the subject. We have no instances, to produce of any writers that rise at all to the majesty and dignity of the Divine Attributes except the sacred penmen. No less than Divine inspiration could enable men to write worthily of God, and none but the Spirit of God knew how to express his greatness, and display his glory: in comparison of these divine writers, the greatest geniuses, the noblest wits of the heathen world, are low and dull. The sublime majesty and royal magnificence of the scripture poems are above the reach, and beyond the power of all mortal wit. Take the best and liveliest poems of antiquity, and read them as we do the scriptures, in a prose translation, and they are flat and poor. Horace, and Virgil, and Homer, lose their spirits and their strength in the transfusion, to that degree, that we have hardly patience to read them. But the sacred writings, even in our translation, preserve their majesty and their glory, and very far surpass the brightest and noblest compositions of Greece and Rome. And this is not owing to the richness and solemnity of the eastern eloquence (for it holds in no other instance) but to the divine direction and assistance of the holy writers. For, let me only make this remark, that the most literal translation of the scriptures, in the most natural signification of the words, is generally the best; and the same punctuality, which debases other writings, preserves the spirit and majesty of the sacred text: it can suffer no improvement from human wit; and we may observe, that those who have presumed to heighten the expressions by a poetical translation or paraphrase, have sunk in the attempt; and all the decorations of their verse, whether Greek or Latin, have not been able to reach the dignity, the majesty, and solemnity of our prose; so that the prose of scripture cannot be improved by verse, and even the divine poetry is most like itself in prose. One observation more I would leave with you: Milton himself, as great a genius as he was, owes his superiority over Homer and Virgil, in majesty of thought and splendour of expression, to the scriptures: they are the fountain from which he derived his light; the sacred treasure that enriched his fancy, and furnished him with all the truth and wonders of God and his creation, of angels and men, which no mortal brain was able either to discover or conceive: and in him, of

all human writers, you will meet all his sentiments and words raised and suited to the greatness and dignity of the subject.

I have detained you the longer on this majesty of style, being perhaps myself carried away with the greatness and pleasure of the contemplation. What I have dwelt so much on with respect to divine subjects, is more easily to be observed with reference to human: for in all things below divinity, we are rather able to exceed than fall short; and in adorning all other subjects, our words and sentiments may rise in a just proportion to them: nothing is above the reach of man, but heaven; and the same wit can raise a human subject, that only debases a divine.

After all these excellencies of style, in purity, in plainness and perspicuity, in ornament and majesty, are considered, a finished piece of what kind soever must shine in the order and proportion of the whole; for light rises out of order, and beauty from proportion. In architecture and painting, these fill and relieve the eye. A just disposition gives us a clear view of the whole at once; and the due symmetry and proportion of every part in itself, and of all together, leave no vacancy in our thoughts or eyes: nothing is wanting, every thing is complete, and we are satisfied in beholding.

But when I speak of order and proportion, I do not intend any stiff and formal method, but only a proper distribution of the parts in general, where they follow in a natural course, and are not confounded with one another. Laying down a scheme, and marking out the divisions and sub-divisions of a discourse, are only necessary in systems, and some pieces of controversy and argumentation: you see, however, that I have ventured to write without any declared order; and this is allowable, where the method opens as you read, and the order discovers itself in the progress of the subject: but certainly, of all pieces that were ever written in a professed and stated method, and distinguished by the number and succession of their parts, our English sermons are the completest in order and proportion; the method is so easy and natural, the parts bear so just a proportion to one another, that among many others, this may pass for a peculiar commendation of them: for those divisions and particulars which obscure and perplex other writings, give a clearer light to ours. All that I would insinuate, therefore, is only this, that it is not necessary to lay the method we use before the reader, only to write, and then he will read, in order.

But it requires a full command of the subject, a distinct view, to keep it always in sight, or else, without some method first designed, we should be in danger of losing it, and wandering after it, till we have lost ourselves, and bewildered the reader.

A prescribed method is necessary for weaker heads, but the beauty of order is its freedom and unconstraint: it must be dispersed and shine in all the parts through the whole performance; but there is no necessity of writing in trammels, when we can move more at ease without them: neither is the proportion of writing to be measured out like the proportions of a horse, where every part must be drawn in the minutest respect to the size and bigness of the rest: but it is to be taken by the mind, and formed upon a general view and consider-

ation of the whole. The statuary that carves Hercules in stone, or casts him in brass, may be obliged to take his dimensions from his foot; but the poet that describes him is not bound up to the geometer's rule: nor is an author under any obligation to write by the scale.

These hints will serve to give you some notion of order and proportion; and I must not dwell too long upon them, lest I transgress the rules I am laying down.

A perfect mastery and elegance of style is to be learned from the common rules, but must be improved by reading the orators and poets, and the celebrated masters in every kind; this will give you a right taste, and a true relish; and when you can distinguish the beauties of every finished piece, you will write yourself with equal commendation.

I do not assert that every good writer must have a genius for poetry; I know Tully is an undeniable exception: but I will venture to affirm, that a soul that is not moved with poetry, and has no taste that way, is too dull and lumpish ever to write with any prospect of being read. It is a fatal mistake, and simple superstition, to discourage youth from poetry, and endeavour to prejudice them against it; if they are of a poetical genius, there is no restraining them: Ovid, you know, was deaf to his father's frequent admonitions. But if they are not quite smitten and bewitched with love of verse, they should be trained to it, to make them masters of every kind of poetry, that by learning to imitate the originals, they may arrive at a right conception, and a true taste of their authors: and being able to write in verse upon occasion, I can assure you is no disadvantage to prose; for without relishing the one, a man must never pretend to any taste of the other.

Taste is a metaphor, borrowed from the palate, by which we approve or dislike what we eat and drink, from the agreeableness or disagreeableness of the relish in our mouth. Nature directs us in the common use, and every body can tell sweet from bitter, what is sharp or sour, or vapid, or nauseous; but it requires senses more refined and exercised, to discover every taste that is most perfect in its kind; every palate is not a judge of that, and yet drinking is more used than reading. All that I pretend to know of the matter, is, that wine should be, like a style, clear, deep, bright, and strong, sincere and pure, sound and dry (as our advertisements do well express it) which last is a commendable term, that contains the juice of the richest spirits, and only keeps out all cold and dampness.

It is common to commend a man for an ear to music, and a taste of painting; which are nothing but a just discernment of what is excellent and most perfect in them. The first depends entirely on the ear; a man can never expect to be a master, that has not an ear tuned and set to music; and you can no more sing an ode without an ear, than without a genius you can write one. Painting, we should think, requires some understanding in the art, and exact knowledge of the best masters' manner, to be a judge of it; but this faculty, like the rest, is founded in nature: knowledge in the art, and frequent conversations with the best originals, will certainly perfect a man's judgment, but if there is not a natural sagacity and aptness, experience will be of no

great service. A good taste is an argument of a great soul, as well as a lively wit. It is the infirmity of poor spirits to be taken with every appearance, and dazzled by every thing that sparkles: but to pass by what the generality of the world admires, and to be detained with nothing but what is most perfect and excellent in its kind, speaks a superior genius, and a true discernment; a new picture by some meaner hand, where the colours are fresh and lively, will engage the eye, but the pleasure goes off with looking, and what we ran to at first with eagerness, we presently leave with indifference: but the old pieces of Raphael, Michael Angelo, Tintoret, and Titian, though not so inviting as first, open to the eye by degrees: and the longer and oftener we look, we still discover new beauties and find new pleasure. I am not a man of so much severity in my temper as to allow you to be pleased with nothing but what is in the last perfection; for then, possibly, so many are the infirmities of writing, beyond other arts, you could never be pleased. There is a wide difference in being nice to judge of every degree of perfection, and rigid in refusing whatever is deficient in any point. This would only be weakness of stomach, not any commendation of a good palate; a true taste judges of defects as well as perfections, and the best judges are always the persons of the greatest candour. They will find none but real faults, and whatever they commend, the praise is justly due.

I have intimated already, that a good taste is to be formed by reading the best authors; and when you shall be able to point out their beauties, to discern the brightest passages, the strength and elegance of their language, you will always write yourself, and read others by that standard, and must therefore necessarily excel.

I shall make no formal recapitulation of what I have delivered. Out of all these rules together, rise a just style, and a perfect composition. All the latitude that can be admitted, is in the ornament of writing; we do not require every author to shine in gold and jewels: there is a moderation to be used in the pomp and trappings of a discourse: it is not necessary that every part should be embellished and adorned; but the decoration should be skilfully distributed through the whole: too full and glaring a light is offensive, and confounds the eyes: in heaven itself there are vacancies and spaces between the stars; and the day is not less beautiful for being interspersed with clouds; they only moderate the brightness of the sun, and, without diminishing from his splendour, gild and adorn themselves with his rays. But to descend from the skies: It is in writing as in dress; the richest habits are not always the completest, and a gentleman may make a better figure in a plain suit than in an embroidered coat: the dress depends upon the imagination, but must be adjusted by the judgment, contrary to the opinion of the ladies, who value nothing but a good fancy in the choice of their clothes. The first excellence is to write in purity, plainly, and clearly; there is no dispensation from these: but afterwards you have your choice of colours, and may enliven, adorn, and paint your subject as you please.

In writing, the rules have a relation and dependence on one another. They are held in one social bond, and joined, like the moral virtues, and liberal arts, in a sort of harmony and concord. He

that cannot write pure, plain English, must never pretend to write at all; it is in vain for him, to dress and adorn his discourse; the finer he endeavours to make it, he makes it only the more ridiculous. And on the other side, let a man write in the exactest purity and propriety of language, if he has not life and fire, to give his work some force and spirit, it is nothing but a mere corpse, and a lumpish, unwieldy mass of matter. But every true genius, who is perfect master of the language he writes in, will let no fitting ornaments and decorations be wanting. His fancy flows in the richest vein, and gives his pieces such lively colours, and so beautiful a complexion, that you would almost say his own blood and spirits were transfused into the work.

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BENEVOLENCE *not to be* DISCOURAGED.

NOTHING more benumbs the exertions of ardent youthful virtue, than the cruel sneer which worldly prudence bestows on active goodness; and the cool derision it expresses at the defeat of a benevolent scheme, of which malice, rather than penetration, had foreseen the failure. Alas; there is little need of any such discouragements. The world is a climate which too naturally chills a glowing generosity, and contracts an expanded heart. The zeal of the most sanguine is but too apt to cool, and the activity of the most diligent, to slacken of itself: and the disappointments which benevolence encounters in the failure of her best concerted projects, and the frequent depravity of the most chosen objects of her bounty, would soon dry up the amplest streams of charity, were they not fed by the living fountain of religious principle.

I cannot dismiss this part of my subject without animadverting on the too prompt alacrity, even of worthy people, to disseminate, in public and general conversation, instances of their unsuccessful attempts to do good, I never hear a charity story begun to be related in mixed company, that I do not tremble for the catastrophe, lest it should exhibit some mortifying disappointment, which may deter the inexperienced from running any generous hazards, and excite harsh suspicions, at an age, when it is less dishonourable to meet with a few casual hurts, and transient injuries, than to go cased in the cumbersome and impenetrable armour of distrust. The liberal should be particularly cautious how they furnish the avaricious with credible pretences for saving their money, as all the instances of the mortification of the humane are added to the armoury of the covetous man's arguments, and produced, as defensive weapons, upon every fresh attack on his heart or his purse.

He who is once convinced that he is to assist his fellow creatures, because it is the will of God, and one of the conditions of obtaining his favour, will soon get above all uneasiness when the consequence does not answer his expectation. He will soon become only anxious to do his duty, humbly committing events, to higher hands. Disappointments will then only serve to refine his motives, and purify his virtue. His charity will then become a sacrifice less unworthy of the

altar on which it is offered. His affections will be more spiritualized, and his devotions more intense. Nothing short of such a courageous piety can preserve a heart hackneyed in the world from relaxed diligence, or criminal despair.

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OBSERVATIONS made in a JOURNEY through SPAIN.

I SHALL devote the first part of this letter to the design of entertaining you with a concise account of the principal diversions at Madrid. One of them is as remarkably singular, as another is common to all the nations of Europe. The peculiar amusement I mean is their bull-feast; the universal one, card-playing or gaming. I have lately assisted at both, and shall in the first place give you the particulars of the bull-feasts, which are regular combats, or duels, if you please, between men and bulls. The ceremonial of opening a bull-feast at Madrid is much more solemn and important than that of declaring war against France or England.

A vast theatre is prepared upon the Place Major, or grand square, for the accommodation of all persons of rank of both sexes. The royal family are always present, the king and queen arriving most pompously attended in grand procession, and all the grandees have seats near the throne, according to their quality and state offices. The first animal, whose death is to commence the diversion, cannot perish but by a royal decree; the king signs an act to slaughter him. The butchers for the day are all knights, or gentlemen of illustrious families. Some are on foot, and others on horse-back, and they pass for men of approved valour, when they have plunged their spears into the bodies of a number of these animals, though there is not the least peril in these rencounters, nor the smallest degree of personal courage. They rehearse their bloody performances for a long time before they execute them in public, and they will not enter the lists till they are sure of acquiring Spanish glory, which consists in the applauses of the ladies. On the defeat of each animal, the loudest acclamations are heard from all the spectators, so that a stranger must naturally conclude, that the death of each bull augments the renown and strength of this ancient kingdom. Nothing more need be said on this savage entertainment, which has filled so many pages to little purpose in many books of travels, for it is the same dull scene it ever was, without variation, and will so continue till it is abolished; and of this there is a faint rumour, since the accession of the present king, who is more of the Frenchman than the Spaniard.

After the bull-feast, I was invited to pass the evening at the hotel of a lady, who had a public card assembly. This recreation, innocent and trifling when first invented, is become a regular profession in France and Spain. This vile method of subsisting on the folly of mankind, is confined in Spain to the nobility; none but women of quality are permitted to hold banks, and there are many whose Pharoah banks bring them in a clear income of one thousand guineas per

annum. The lady to whom I was introduced is an old countess, who has lived near thirty years on the profits of the card tables in her house. They are frequented every day, and though both natives and foreigners are duped of large sums by her and her cabinet junto, yet it is the greatest house of resort in all Madrid: she goes to court, visits people of the first fashion, and is received with as much respect and veneration, as if she exercised the most sacred functions of a divine profession. Almost all the widows of great men keep gaming-houses, and live splendidly on the vices of mankind. If you are not disposed to be either a sharper or a dupe, you cannot be admitted a second time to these assemblies. I was no sooner presented to the lady before-mentioned, than she offered me cards; and on my excusing myself, because I really could not play, having never been able to reconcile myself to the needless study of learning any one game on the cards, she made a wry face, turned from me, and said to another lady in my hearing, she wondered any foreigner should have the impudence to come to her house, for no other purpose but to make an apology for not playing. My Spanish conductor, unfortunately for him, had not the same apology; he played and lost his money, two circumstances which constantly follow one another in these houses.

While my friend was thus playing the fool, I attentively watched the countenance and motions of the lady of the house. Her anxiety, address, and assiduity, was equal to that of some skilful female shop-keeper, who has a certain attraction to engage all to buy, and a diligence to take care that none shall escape the net. I found out all her privy counsellors, by the arrangement of her parties at the different tables; and wherever she shewed an extraordinary eagerness to fix one particular person with a stranger, the game was always decided the same way, and her good friend was sure to win the money. In short, it is hardly possible to see good company at Madrid, without you resolve to leave a purse of gold at the card assemblies of their nobility. I have therefore taken the pains to write to you expressly on this subject, that when you arrive here on your proposed tour of Europe, you may be apprised of the custom, which, if I am rightly informed, begins to take place at London.

It has always been my custom, when I saw any fashionable vice predominant with people of high rank in any country, to endeavour to counterbalance it by some favourite virtue equally in vogue. Thus in England you may balance scandal or defamation, a reigning vice, by charity, which is in no country so much in fashion as it is among the British people of quality, who are all patrons of some charitable institution or other, for the relief of the indigent, the sick, the lame, and the insane; but at Madrid the most fashionable article, next to gaming, is religion; it is however very far from counterpoising the evil of card-playing, for I cannot find that the morals of these people are in the least affected by it.

You may think it a paradox, but I assure you the devotions of these people borders upon irreligion, for they believe in every thing but God. A revolution must take place in heaven to rectify religion in Spain. There are too many saints in the Spanish paradise. The prayers they address to the celestial throne are intercepted half way

by a cloud of supposed delegates of the Supreme Being. No terms can be sufficiently ridiculous to express the contemptible ideas of the Spaniards in their devotions. The Holy Virgin, as she is stiled here, is the principal object of divine worship, because she gave birth to Christ; and if it were not for the mother, the son would not be held in any degree of veneration.

Religion, which should enlighten the understanding, and render men happy, serves here only to obscure their genius, and distract their imaginations. Superstition, the daughter of despotism and ignorance, keeps their senses enslaved. Before the common people will labour for their own subsistence, or the good of the community, they must observe the festival of their saints. Above one hundred and fifty days are employed in invoking the aid of their idols, for success to their industry the remainder of the year: during all these holidays the state languishes, and the government is inactive. What shall we say of a people, over whom false devotion has such an influence, that it impoverishes the commonwealth, and cuts the nerves of political power?

I have said there are other causes of their decline besides superstition, and I shall now recite them.

There are no laws in Spain to prevent idleness. The employment of its citizens does not enter into the plan of government. Individuals may be lost, dead to the community, forty years before they are buried, because a man may be a subject of Spain, without exercising any profession or trade whatever. Inaction is not reckoned a vice in this country: on the contrary, it is a virtue, or at least a title to honours and high offices in the state. When a man can prove six hundred years of idleness in his family, descending from father to son, he acquires nobility, with all the privileges annexed to it. A poor man of quality, who should take it in his head to leave the path of his ancestors, and employ himself in some work of industry or ingenuity, would be immediately degraded in the eyes of his countrymen: it would be stiled a degeneracy; and though he should acquire an immense fortune by his industry, neither himself nor his children could recover the rank of his forefathers; and this is the true reason why the Spanish nobility will prefer begging or starving to trade or commerce.

The king of Spain has three hundred thousand subjects shut up in cloisters; fifty thousand who have nothing to do but to ground their firelocks, then shoulder them, and finally to repose themselves and their arms, daily, after an hour's parade; and twenty thousand idle nobility and gentry, who retain forty thousand domestics to support their laziness.

As soon as a citizen of Madrid has gained a yearly income of one hundred ounces of silver (under thirty pounds sterling) by his industry, he quits his vocation to be a gentleman, and to have the privilege of being idle from morning to night.

A people, my dear friends, who are industrious, because it is one principle of the government they live under to promote and reward it, must be a great and flourishing nation, while such as Spain gradually falls into contempt and indigence. The contrast between Hol-

land (which country I propose very soon to visit, and on which you shall have my free thoughts) and Spain, is a full proof of what I have asserted:

I shall now recapitulate, in a few words, all the grievances of this government, which is the most feeble and languishing of any in Europe.

An iniquitous tribunal, misnamed the holy office, or inquisition, under the veil of religion, destroys the civil virtues of social life, and fills the state with cowardly, superstitious souls. An innumerable host of lazy bigots, living in a state of celibacy, continually diminishes population. Fictitious riches prevent real opulence. A vast accessory dominion, separated by immense oceans, absorbs the principal. Agriculture abandoned, traffic destroyed, idleness established, manufactures discouraged, and gaming pursued eagerly, must in time produce a dissolution of the Spanish government.

To you, however, I will communicate the means of rendering this monarchy flourishing and powerful; my maxims may serve you for political reflections on this country, but you need not apprehend they will be put in practice here, for there are too many people interested in the present system of administration.

1. Abolish the inquisition.
2. Diminish the priests, friars, and nuns, two thirds at least.
3. Shut up the gold and silver mines.
4. Desert America.
5. Cultivate the lands in Old Spain.
6. Encourage industry.
7. Revive the polite and liberal arts.
8. Augment manufactures.
9. Ennoble commerce, in imitation of the Chinese, by making merchants grantees of Spain.

ENQUIRY into the CHARACTER of COLUMBUS.

THE character of Columbus stands very high in the estimation of mankind; he is venerated not only as a man possessing superior fortitude, and such a steady perseverance as no impediments, dangers, or sufferings could shake, but as equally distinguished for piety and virtue: His second son Ferdinand, who wrote the life of his father, apologizes for his severity toward the natives, on account of the distressed state into which the colony was brought: The change of climates, and the insupportable labours which were required of men unaccustomed to any exertions, had swept away great numbers of the new settlers; and the survivors were declining daily; whilst such was the irreconcilable enmity of the natives, that the most kind and circum-spect conduct on the part of the Spaniards would not have been effectual to regain their good will. This apology seems to have been generally admitted; for all modern writers have bestowed upon the discoverer of the new world the warmest commendation, unmix'd with censure. It is an unpleasant task to derogate from exalted me-

rit, and to impute a deliberate plan of cruelty and extirpation to a man revered for moral worth; but although a pert affectation of novel opinions can only originate in weak minds, and can only be countenanced by such, yet a free and unreserved scrutiny into facts can alone separate truth from error, and apportion the just and intrinsic degree of merit belonging to any character — That Columbus had formed a design of waging offensive war against the Indians, and reducing them to slavery, before he entered upon his second voyage, and, consequently, before he was apprized of the destruction of the people whom he had left upon the island of Hispaniola, may be inferred from his providing himself with such a number of fierce and powerful dogs. Having found the inhabitants peaceable and well disposed, he had no reason to apprehend that they would commence unprovoked hostilities: The cavalry which he took over, whilst it tended to impress those people with the deepest awe and veneration, was fully sufficient for the security of the new colony, if the friendship of the natives had been sincerely meant to be cultivated by a kind and equitable deportment; but to treat them as a free people was inconsistent with the views which led to planting a colony; for, as the grand incentive to undertake these distant voyages was the hope of acquiring gold, so, as Columbus had seen some worn as ornaments by the natives, and had been informed that the mountainous parts of the country yielded that precious metal, he had excited expectations in his employers, and in the nation at large, which both his interest and ambition compelled him as far as possible to realize. The Spaniards could not obtain gold without the assistance of the natives; and those were so constitutionally indolent, that no allurements of presents or gratifications could excite them to labour. — To rescue himself, therefore, from disgrace, and secure future support, he seems deliberately to have devoted a harmless race of men to slaughter or slavery. Such as survived the massacre of that dreadful day, and preserved their freedom, fled into the mountains and inaccessible parts of the island, which not yielding them sufficient means of subsistence, they were compelled to obtain a portion of food from their cruel pursuers, by procuring gold dust, in order to support life; a tribute being imposed upon them, which was most rigorously exacted. These wretched remains of a free people, thus driven from fruitfulness and amenity, compelled to labour for the support of life, a prey to despondency, which the recollection of their former happiness sharpened, and which their hopeless situation rendered insupportable, died in great numbers, the innocent, but unrevenged victims of European avarice. Such are the facts which have ever been admitted; yet, strange contradiction! Columbus is celebrated for his humanity and goodness: But should he not rather be considered as a most consummate dilemmer, professing moderation whilst he meditated subversion? and, like most of the heroes and conquerors whom history records, renouncing every principle of justice and humanity, when they stopped the career of his ambition? Ferdinand Columbus, his son and Biographer, has with great address covered the name of his father, with the admiring world has been little disposed to censure a man, the splendor of whose actions so powerfully fascinates and dazzles.

THE LIFE OF CERVANTES*.

MICHAEL de Cervantes Saavedra, whose writings have given celebrity to Spain, amused all Europe, and improved the age in which he lived.—himself dragged on a miserable existence,—and died scarcely regretted.

It is but very lately that the place of his birth has been ascertained. Madrid, Seville, Luchen, and Alcala, have severally laid claim to him. Cervantes, (as well as Homer, Camoens, and other illustrious men) has, since his death, been held in the highest estimation, though he lived almost in want of common necessaries.

The Spanish academy, under the patronage of the king, has at length thought proper to pay—to the memory of Cervantes—those honours which were so justly his due. An edition of ‘Don Quixote,’ of unparalleled typographical splendour, has been newly published. The editors, having their national honour at heart, seem, by the extraordinary care and expence bestowed upon the work, desirous to atone for the stupid, and almost criminal neglect of the author.

Materials for Cervantes’s life have been very sedulously collected, and wrought up by a distinguished member of the academy: from which it appears he was of a gentleman’s family; being son of Roderick de Cervantes and Leonora de Cortinas. He was born at Alcala de Henares, a town in New-Castle, the 9th day of October, 1547, in the reign of Charles V.

From his earliest infancy he was fond of books. He studied at Madrid under a very eminent professor; and soon distinguished himself from the rest of his school-fellows by his superior genius.

A proficiency in the Latin language, and an insight into theology, made up the learning of those days. His parents intended him either for physic or the church; those two being the only lucrative professions then followed in Spain: But, Cervantes had this in common with many celebrated poets—he made verses in spite of his parents.

An elegy on the death of queen Isabella of Valois,—several sonnets—and a poem entitled *Filena*, were his first productions. The indifferent reception, these met with, seemed to our young author such flagrant injustice, that he thereupon took the resolution of quitting his native country, and went to settle at Rome. There penury constrained him to enter into the service of Cardinal Aquaviva, in the humble capacity of valet de chambre.

Disgusted very soon with an employ so little suited to the ardor of his disposition, he quitted it to enlist for a soldier: and distinguished himself for his bravery at the famed battle of Lepanto, won by Don Juan of Austria. It was there he received a musket shot in his left hand, which deprived him for ever of the use of it. The only recompence he got for his maimed limb, and the display of extraordinary personal valour, was that of being sent, along with his wounded companions, to the hospital at Messina.

* Prefixed to a late splendid edition of Don Quixote, published by the Spanish Academy.

Little as he had reaped by his first campaign, the trade of a soldier, with all its ills, seemed to Cervantes preferable to that of a neglected poet. As soon as he was cured of his wounds, he enlisted anew, and served three years in garrison at Naples.

As he was returning, after that, to his own country, aboard a vessel belonging to his sovereign, Philip II. he was captured by Miami, the most formidable pirate of those times, and was carried to Algiers.

Though fortune seemed to persecute Cervantes with her utmost malice, she could not break his enterprising spirit. Become a slave,—and that to a cruel master;—almost certain of being put to the torture,—and not improbably—to death,—if he made any attempt to gain his liberty;—he had the hardiness to concert, with fourteen other captive Spaniards, upon the means of escape.

The plan agreed upon was this. One of them was to be redeemed at their general expence; was to go straight to Spain, and procure a vessel, to return in as soon as possible to Algiers; and carry off, under favour of night, his captive countrymen.

To put such a scheme in execution was no very easy matter. In the first place, they had to scrape together a sum of money sufficient to ransom the adventurer; and then they had to effect their escape from their respective masters; and to find out a convenient place for a rendezvous, where they could remain concealed until the day of their liberated fellow's return: nor was it to be supposed but he would have many difficulties to encounter on his part.

In short, the obstacles were so many and great, that it was next to an impossibility to effect their purpose. But,—what will not the love of liberty incite us to?

One of the Spaniards happening to serve in the capacity of a gardener, was of most essential use; for, having to cultivate a very extensive piece of ground which lay along the sea-shore, he undertook to dig, in a part of it little frequented, a cavern large enough to contain them all. As he could only work at it by stealth, it took him up no less than two years to complete it.

In the mean time, what with the money collected by alms, and what they earned by dint of labour, they had amassed a sum sufficient to ransom one Viano, a Majorcan; whom they pitched upon for the arduous undertaking, as well on account of his intimate knowledge of the coast of barbary, as for the implicit confidence which they all reposed in him.

Although the redemption-money was ready, and the cavern completed, six other months elapsed before all the captives found means to effect their escape. At length, however, they were assembled: Viano was ransomed, and parted; first solemnly pledging himself to use all possible dispatch in procuring a vessel, and to return and liberate his countrymen.

As Cervantes had all along been the soul of the undertaking, his ardor is no wise abated now. He took upon himself the greatest trouble, and ran the greatest risk. Every night, as soon as it was dark, he ventured out to purchase provisions; taking care always to be back before break of day.

The gardener was the only one of the confederated slaves that had not eloped; and for the very obvious reason, that he could best serve the common interest by remaining as he was. The appointment of any other to his place would, in all probability, have led to a discovery of the cave. So long as he continued in place, he might be considered as a centinel on duty in a watch-tower, from whence to give alarm to the little garrison in case of any enemy's approach; or, which was of equal importance, to apprise them of the coming of auxiliary troops. In other words, from the nature of his employ and his situation, he was best enabled to regulate their movements; and at the same time he could keep a constant look out for the anxiously expected Majorcan.

Viano kept his word. He had no sooner arrived at Majorca, than he waited on the viceroy; made him acquainted with his countrymen's situation; and demanded (as it was a national concern) his assistance. The Viceroy forthwith furnished him with a sloop; and Viano joyfully set sail for the coast of Barbary.

He arrived at Algiers on the 28th day of September, 1577; exactly one month from the day he quitted it. He had taken such very accurate note of the quarter where the garden was situated, that he contrived, as had been concerted, to stand in for it at the close of day.

The gardener, who had some time perceived the vessel making for land, flattered himself that it might possibly be Viano's. He kept his eyes fixed stedfastly upon it; his mind, the while, suspended betwixt anxious hope and fearful disappointment. But when the vessel drew in so near that he could descry the agreed-on signal flying at the mast-head, how extravagant was his joy! He hastened to his fellows to communicate the felicitous tidings.

Delicious moment! What a transition from despondency to joy! The care-worn wretches have already forgot their sufferings. They congratulate, they embrace each other; they shed even tears of joy; and in wild tumultuous ecstacy hurry headlong out of their cavern.

It is even so;—the gardener has not deceived them:—It is; it can be no other than Viano's bark. And, look! the very signal. Nearer,—and yet a little nearer,—and they descry Viano himself standing at the helm. With what emotion they beheld him! they uplift their hands, and with one general voice, hail him their deliverer.

Now the vessel's keel is ploughing up the shore, and the mariners are letting down a ladder to facilitate their embarkation;—when,—ah! sad chance! a party of moors at the very instant appear, and seeing so many christians assembled about a bark, give the alarm, shouting, 'To arms!—to arms!' Viano put to sea again; and his miserable compatriots fled back with precipitation to their hiding place: there to bewail their cruel disappointment.

Cervantes did every thing in his power to cheer his drooping companions. He bade them hope Viano would return; for so he either really thought or affected to think.—But Viano was never more heard of.

As their minds grew more and more despondent, their bodies kept pace in sufferance. From the dampness of their subterraneous habitation, and for want of air and exercise, the major part of them fell

dangerously ill. So long as Cervantes had strength sufficient left, he ministered to their wants; procured them proper aliment; tended upon, and comforted them; but at length falling sick himself, he was obliged to have recourse to others. He instructed one of his companions, who was yet well, where he was to go, and how he was to conduct himself, in order to procure provisions.

As if the measure of their griefs was not yet full, this man, on whom their security, and very existence depended, proved a traitor. He went straight to Azan the king, and made discovery of the whole—and having, the better to secure his pardon, turned Mahometan, the infamous wretch unhesitatingly conducted a party of soldiers to the spot where his countrymen lay concealed.

The wretched Spaniards were immediately seized and put in irons; and carried to the palace to receive sentence. When they came into the king's presence, he promised them pardon, if they would discover their ringleader.—‘That am I, (exclaimed Cervantes;)—save my innocent companions, and lead me to death.’—The king, struck with his magnanimity, remitted him his crime, and delivered him to his master Mami, with strict injunctions not to inflict punishment on so brave a fellow. The rest too were pardoned, except the poor gardener, who was executed upon the spot.

Cervantes, hardly dealt with by fortune,—betrayed by a countryman, his friend too and companion,—one like himself, in misery, and reduced again to the condition of a slave,—instead of giving way to despondency, did but so much the more impatiently strive to regain his liberty. Four several times he attempted it, but still without success. His last scheme was worthy of a daring mind: it was no less than to cause a general revolt of the slaves of whatsoever nation—to overpower the barbarians, and make himself master of the city.

The conspiracy was discovered; and Cervantes, though known to be the author of it, again escaped punishment. So true is it, that undaunted courage forces respect even from our enemies.

It is probable Cervantes meant to speak of himself, when, in the story of ‘The Slave,’ (one of the most interesting episodes in ‘Don Quixote,’) he says,—‘The cruel Azan king of Algiers, never showed any mercy, except to one Saavedra, a Spanish soldier; who often times, at hazard of his life, formed enterprises of so daring a nature, that the infidels are not likely soon to forget them.’

Though Azan spared Cervantes's life, he did not choose to trust so formidable a captive in other hands than his own; and therefore purchased him of his master Mami, and caused him to be watched very narrowly.

Not long after he was in his possession, the king was obliged to go to Constantinople, but was willing to be rid first of a person whom he considered in so dangerous a light: he therefore gave intimation to Cervantes's relations of his captive state; in order that they might, if they thought proper, redeem him.

Cervantes's mother, who was still living, a widow, and very poor, disposed of what few valuables she had, and hastened with the product, about three hundred ducats of silver, to the Trinity fathers at

December, 1792.

Madrid; whose particular business it was to negotiate for the ransom of Spanish captives. This sum, though the widow's all, was not deemed adequate. The king insisted upon five hundred golden crowns. The holy fathers,—for such, in this instance, they may be truly called,—compassionating the widow's distress, made up, with their own money, the sums required; and Cervantes was redeemed on the 25th of September, 1580, after a captivity of five years.

Upon his return to his native land, Cervantes, out of love with a military life, resolved to devote himself to letters. He settled in lodgings with his mother; and indulged the pleasing hope, that by his labours he should be able to procure her a comfortable subsistence.

He was then three and thirty years of age. His first publication was 'Galatea,' of which he gave only six books; but never finished it, although it met with a tolerable reception.

This same year Cervantes married Donna Catharina de Pelacios: a lady of good family, and doubtless of great personal merit,—for he had no fortune with her. To support his family, he took to writing for the stage; and he assures us, with very good success. Nevertheless, he soon quitted his theatrical concerns for an employ obtained at Seville, where he went to reside. It was there he wrote his 'Novels,' in which he has so well pourtrayed the manners and vices of that great city.

Cervantes was in his fiftieth year, when business called him to La Mancha. The inhabitants of an inconsiderable village, called *Argamuzilla*, upon some frivolous pretext quarrelled with him, and dragged him to prison; where he was a considerable time confined. It was in that very prison he began his incomparable 'Don Quixote.' He thought to revenge himself for the ill treatment he met with, by laying the first scenes of this hero's extravagancies in that neighbourhood; though he forebore mentioning the name of that particular village throughout the whole romance.

He began with publishing only the 'First Part of Don Quixote,' which not meeting with its deserved success, Cervantes, who knew thoroughly the disposition of mankind, immediately wrote a little piece, which he entitled 'The Serpent.' This pamphlet, which is now where to be met with now, (not even in Spain) seemed, on the face of it, to be a criticism on 'Don Quixote'; but was in effect a cutting satire upon the blockheads who detracted from the merit of that excellent work. Every body read the satire; and 'Don Quixote' thereby gained a reputation which its own intrinsic merit ought rather to have procured it.

Hereupon all the wittings in Spain combined against the author. Tho' living themselves in a state of warfare and hatred one of another, they were not so occupied but they could observe the hasty strides which our literary giant was making towards the temple of Fame; and they were sensible that, he having once gained admission, the doors would be shut against them forever. For this reason, they agreed for the present to lay aside their animosities; and not only patched up a truce amongst themselves, but entered into a league against their formidable rival. Against him they drew up all their forces; against him pointed their envenomed shafts, and directed all

their artillery: but not in the way of honest open enemies; not by boldly facing him in the field, but by harrassing him on his march. They attacked him, not as grammarians and philologists, but as quibblers, cavillers; not with arguments, but insults: nor blasted they even to add the grossest calumny to the most malicious criticism. In fine, Cervantes's growing fame proved more fatal to him than the neglect he formerly experienced.

Whether from the tyranny of the kings of Spain, or her sub-tyrants the priests (be it remembered that it is still an absolute monarchy, and the inquisition subsists in full force)—that nation has been justly reproached with being very far behind the rest of Europe in learning. At the time, in particular, in which Cervantes lived, men of real knowledge and sound judgment were very rare. So few indeed were they who had taste enough to relish the humour, or discern the beauties of his writing, that, overawed by the host of scribblers in combination against him, he durst not for many years put any thing to press. His means of support thus cut off, he fell into extreme indigence.

Happily for him, the Count de Lemos and the Cardinal of Toledo were not insensible of his worth, and occasionally relieved him. Their patronage and bounty, which Cervantes's grateful nature infinitely magnified, were continued to him to his death; but were neither proportioned to their rank and ability, nor to his penury and merit.

Cervantes eagerly embraced the first occasion which presented of testifying his sense of the Count's favours, by dedicating to him his 'Novels;' a work which made its appearance about eight years after the 'First Part of Don Quixote.' The year following he published his 'Journey to Parnassus.' Neither of these productions turned to much profit: and the Count's pecuniary assistance was so very trifling, that to keep his family from starving, he was constrained to publish 'Eight Plays' which had been refused at the theatre.

It was Cervantes's hard lot to suffer great humiliation as well as great misery. An Arragonian, who called himself *Avellaneda*, had the impudence to publish, during our author's life, 'A Continuation of Don Quixote.' A most wretched performance it was said to be; wholly devoid of wit, spirit, or taste: but it abounded in scurrility and personal abuse of poor Cervantes. This circumstance alone, which ought to have rendered Avellaneda and his work together odious, brought them both into repute.

Our author answered this unmerited abuse, as all abuse is best answered, by taking no manner of notice of it; but contented himself with publishing 'A Second Part of Don Quixote,' more excellent, if possible, than the 'First.'

Every one was now convinced of Cervantes's superior talents; and yet,—(how unjust mankind are!)—the more reason they had to be satisfied with our author's worth, the less they seemed disposed to pass censure on his execrable rival. Spain is not the only country in the world where malice is let loose to hunt down real merit, and detraction is taken into favour. As long as Cervantes lived, Avellaneda was talked of: as soon as he was dead, Avellaneda was forgotten.

The 'Second Part of *Don Quixote*' was the last of our author's writings published in his life-time. He was at work upon his '*Perfiles* and *Sigismunda*,' when he was attacked by a dropy, of which he died. As he was sensible how small was his chance of cure, he grew very anxious to complete the work, and by too constant application, aggravated his disorder, and thereby accelerated his death.

As Cervantes his whole life thro' had borne up manfully against the heaviest pressure of misfortunes, his fortitude did not at the last forsake him. Four days only before he died, he ordered his romance, '*Perfiles*,' to be brought him; and in his then weak state, and with a feeble hand, traced out the Epistle dedicatory to the Count de Lemos. This Dedication is too remarkable to stand in need of apology for inserting it here.

To Don PEDRO FERNANDES DE CASTRO, Count of LEMOS, &c. &c.

"We have an old Spanish Romance, the beginning of which is but too applicable to my present condition.—

Death has fast hold of me; yet I

Should write to you before I die.

This is exactly my case. Yesterday I received extreme unction; to day I am at the point of death; and am sorry that I cannot therefore properly express to you my congratulations upon your safe return to Spain. The pleasure that it gives me might one would think, be the means of saving my life; but—God's will be done.

"Your excellency will know at least that my gratitude has lasted as long as has my life.

"I regret that it is not in my power to finish certain of my works which were to be dedicated to your Lordship, viz. '*The Garden Calendar*;'—'*The Great Bernard*;'—and the '*Last Part of Galatea*,' for which I know you have a sort of partiality. But, to accomplish all this, I had need beg of the Almighty to work a miracle in my favour; whereas my most earnest prayer is,—that He will keep your Excellency in his special care.

MICHAEL DE CERVANTES."

Madrid, April 19, 1616.

The twenty-third of the same month he died, aged sixty-eight years six months and some days.

He who could manifest upon so many trying occasions such spirit and intrepidity—could compose himself, when a captive, as Cervantes did—could write such a book as '*Don Quixote*,' and in a prison too—and could pen such a Dedication on his death bed—was certainly a man above the ordinary stamp.

On EPIGRAMMATICK COMPOSITION.

SCALIGER observes that an epigram in its original state was nothing more than an *inscription*, which the etymology of the word sufficiently proves. When the memory of an hero was immortalized by a statue or trophy, it was usual to prefix a short poem, as an illustration of the honour: Hence a sudden turn and quickness of thought necessarily arose from the narrowness of its extent, which was not improperly named the *sting*; though the generality of Greek epigrams are not so remarkable for the acuteness of their close, as a continued train of sublime thought.

This species of composition has long laboured under the contempt of modern criticks, and Addison, in his Allegory on True and False Wit, represents it stationed in the rear of the former, to prevent a desertion to the latter, as it was strongly suspected of disaffection. To dissent from an opinion established by such formidable authorities would almost seem presumption; yet though an epigram does not claim the most eminent part of Parnassus, it is difficult to say why it should be degraded to the lowest, unless the fondness, which juvenile writers betray for this line of poetry, may have drawn into disgrace: Yet a genius, when matured by age and experience, should not look back on its first essays as trifling, without reflecting how few excel in these trifles. The nicety attending its accomplishment evinces its ingenuity. Some species of false wit may be attained by intense application; such as that of including a poem within the exact symmetry of any particular form—

Where thou may'st wings display and altars raise,
And torture one poor word a thousand ways. *Dryden.*

But an epigram must flow with all the lightness of poetick fancy—a laboured thought or style destroys its fire, and the vivacity of an author is in nothing more conspicuous than in this lively production of unfettered genius. As it is not well adapted to the descriptive or pathetic, satire or panegyric seem best suited to its airy measures, which the writer may vary as his fancy prompts him; though there are numerous examples of good epigrams on more serious subjects. With respect to its extent, the strictest attention should be paid to brevity, as far as is allowable, without obscurity; for as it ought to have only one thought in view, it should not be stretched, at farthest, beyond the length of eight or ten lines.—On reading an epigram, the mind is led, from the nature of the composition, to expect conciseness, which if prolixity supercedes, it is too much fatigued by expectation to relish the sharpness of the close, which should be polished to the finest point of wit, and not inserted in a separate clause, but drawn out imperceptibly from the preceding lines.

In an interesting novel, when the contents of a chapter are prefixed at the beginning, the pleasing gratification of curiosity is destroyed; so if an introduction is required more copious than the epigram, anticipation robs us of its greatest beauty, viz. an expected turn of wit;

and it seems a paltry resource to tell the reader what a perusal would not discover. The following, though an epigram according to the strictest rules, lies under this predicament.

On a spacious Bridge built by the Duke of M—b—gh over a contemptible stream at B—nb—m.

The lofty arch his high ambition shews,
The stream an emblem of his bounty flows.

Though it may be justly alledged in excuse for this example, that being originally written on the bridge, it did not require the explanation, and lost its beauty only by being translated into a book.

Puns have been long reprobated as mere *nuga canora*, and it must be confessed that they do not heighten their dignity much by the ornamental dress of poetry. But such is the fluctuation of taste in literature, that Quintillian greatly commends a punning epigram of Cicero, (*Fandum Verro vocat, quod possunt mittere funda, &c.*) which according to modern judgment would disgrace a much inferior genius.— Addison recommends the translation of a piece of wit into a different language, which, like an assaying oven, would prove its purity, or baseness. This is an infallible method to detect a pun, and ancient as well as modern epigrams must sometimes feel its effects. Much cannot be advanced in the justification of a pun, though it does not wholly deserve the most abject contempt.—When a pun is introduced, the object of its aim is delight, and not defiance to the severe rules of criticism; and its design, if well conducted, is confessedly crowned with success.

The brevity, stile, and lightness of an epigram recommends it to judgment as a proper field for the first exercise of genius, and not feeling, or not acquainted with the severe beauties of criticism, a pun by almost the same qualifications appears to them in full brilliancy of wit, and is often immoderately indulged. But though the epigram, which bears Mr. Addison's test of truth, is considerably more deserving of praise, yet a pun ought not to be totally consigned over to contempt, since it requires some ingenuity to introduce it with ease, and without stretching its allusions too remotely: for as it requires delicate treatment, no species of false wit is more abject than a far fetched pun; like a dangerous medicine, which with skilful management may be used as a safe and infallible remedy, but if its qualities are mistaken, is attended with the most pernicious consequences.



MEMOIRS of LINNAEUS.

[By MR. COXE.]

CARL. Von Linné, or, as he is more known to foreigners, Linnaeus, the eldest son of Nils Linnaeus, a Swedish divine, was born on the 24th of May 1707, at Rastult, in the province of Smoland.

His inclination for the studies in which he afterwards made so wonderful a progress, commenced at a very early period of his life, and took its rise from the following circumstance:—His father used to amuse himself in the garden of his parsonage with the cultivation of plants and flowers. Linnaeus, while an infant, was soon led to take a share in this entertainment; and, before he was scarcely able to walk, expressed extreme satisfaction when he was permitted to accompany his father into the garden. As his strength increased, he delighted in digging and planting; and afterwards obtained, for his own use, a small portion of ground, which was called Charles's garden. He soon learnt to distinguish the different flowers; and, before he attained the tenth year of his age, made small excursions in the neighbourhood of Raskult, and brought many indigenous plants into his little garden.

Being sent, in 1717, to school at Wexio, under the tuition of Lannarius, by whom he was indulged with the permission of continuing his excursions, he passed his whole time in collecting plants, talking of them, and making himself acquainted with their names and qualities. He was so absorbed in this favourite pursuit, as totally to disregard his other studies; and made such an inconsiderable progress, that, upon his removal, in 1724, to the Gymnasium in the same town, his new master repeatedly complained of his idleness.

Urged by these remonstrances, his father conceived his son to have no taste for literature, and proposed to bind him apprentice to a shoemaker. This destination would have taken place, if a neighbouring physician, whose name was Rothman, struck with the boy's great genius, had not predicted, that he would, in time, become deeply skilled in a science, to which he seemed naturally inclined.

This sagacious observer, having prevailed upon the father of Linnaeus to continue his son's education, took the boy into his house, supplied him with botanical books, and instructed him in the first rudiments of physic, in which he soon made a considerable progress. When his father had assented to this advice, he had designed him for the church; and was not, without great difficulty, induced to agree, that he should apply himself to the study of botany and physic.

In 1727 he was sent to the university of Lund, where he acquired, under the celebrated Stobæus, the first systematic principles of natural history. Being lodged in that professor's house, he enjoyed many opportunities of improvement; and particularly from a curious collection of fossils, shells, buds, and plants.

In 1728 he was removed to the university of Upsala, where his narrow circumstances involved him at first in distresses unfriendly to the pursuits of science, but which did not, however, obstruct his usual exertions. About this period he began to arrange his *Bibliotheca Botanica*, his *Classes*, and *Genera Plantarum*; from whence we may collect, how early he had fixed the principles of that method, which he afterwards carried to such perfection.

His knowledge was considerably improved by a journey into Lapland in 1732, to which he was deputed by the Royal Society of Sciences at Upsala, in order to investigate the natural history of that unknown region. But as he received only a gratuity of about eight

pounds towards defraying this expence; he was obliged to travel almost the whole way on foot, which he performed with great alacrity and spirit.

He commenced this expedition on the 11th of May 1732; stayed some time at the mines of Falain; visited various parts of Lapland; underwent many hardships; escaped imminent perils; and returned to Upsala in the month of October of the following year, after having travelled near four thousand miles.

In 1741 he at length obtained the object of his warmest ambition, the professorship of botany in the university of Upsala. He turned his principal attention and care to the regulation and improvement of the botanical garden, which, at the time of his appointment to the professorship, scarcely contained forty exotics: but produced, in 1748, notwithstanding the obstructions arising from the severity of the climate, eleven hundred species exclusive of indigenous plants and varieties.

By his incomparable lectures he raised the university to the highest repute, and induced many foreigners to resort to Upsala. He was always attended by a numerous audience, and his great art was not only in satisfying the curiosity, but in gaining the affection and esteem of the students. His lectures were distinguished by the conciseness and precision so conspicuous in his works; and yet were delivered with a spirit and animation, which irresistibly caught the attention of the hearers; for he spoke with a persuasion, which was inspired by his deep insight, his just conceptions, and his zealous ardour for the knowledge of nature. He diffused a sudden spirit of enquiry, and kindled among his students—a new zeal for the study of natural history.

During the first years of his residence at Upsala, he gave public herborizing lectures in the spring and summer. In these botanical excursions he was attended with a band of trumpets and French horns, and sallied out at the head of two or three hundred students, divided into detached companies. When Linnæus was inclined to explain any curious plant, bird, or insect, which had either fallen under his own notice, or was brought to him by any of the students, the stragglers were called together by the sound of music, and, crowding round their master, listened in respectful silence, while he offered his observations.

His reputation was now so widely spread in foreign countries, that he received the most flattering invitations to Petersburg, to Göttingen, and particularly to Madrid, where he was offered, by the king of Spain, a very considerable stipend, the rank of nobility, and the toleration of his religion. But the prospect even of the most splendid advantages could not seduce him from his native country, where he had acquired the esteem of his sovereign, and the general respect of his countrymen, which he maintained until the day of his death.

His services, in promoting every branch of natural history, were acknowledged in the fullest manner; and every assistance afforded to his endeavours to improve and diffuse his favourite science. A new house was raised for him at the public expence, close to the physic-garden. He was occasionally deputed by the states to make excursions into various parts of Sweden, with a view to the advancement

of natural history. For this purpose, he, at different times, visited the islands of Gothland and Oeland; the provinces of Skone and West Gothland; and communicated to the public, in his native language, the itineraries of his travels, which are said to be replete with curious and philosophical observations; the general purport of which was principally directed in adapting natural history to economical uses.

Many of his scholars were also, under his auspices, dispatched to various parts of the world, at the expence of the public, or of particular societies; and they all seem to have caught from their beloved master a spirit of emulation and zeal for science. The communications, which he received from their unremitted labours, furnished him with such information, as enabled his comprehensive mind to appropriate, as it were, their discoveries, and to "exemplify in a more perfect and detailed manner his system of nature." Thus his genius may be said to have diffused itself through the most distant regions of the globe; and his spirit still continues to animate the zealous disciples of the Linnæan school.

In the year 1776, a paralytic stroke deprived Linnæus of the use of his right side, and confined him wholly to his bed. His strength gradually forsook him; his mental faculties were impaired; and an ague, attended by a dropsy, brought on a tranquil dissolution on the 10th of January 1778, in the seventy-first year of his age.

His remains were interred in the cathedral of Upsala, with all the funeral honours which gratitude and respect could inspire. The king of Sweden ordered a medal to be struck, expressive of the dejection of Science upon the death of Linnæus, and a monument to be erected over his ashes. His majesty also attended the meeting of the Academy of Sciences, in which his commemoration speech was delivered; and, as a still higher tribute to his memory, lamented, in a speech from the throne to the diet of 1778, the irremediable loss which Sweden had suffered from his death.

To the honour of his country and the present age, Linnæus reaped the advantage of his superior genius, by the unsolicited accumulation of wealth and honours. In 1753 he was created a knight of the polar star, and ennobled in 1756.

His writings brought him, on account of their number, no inconsiderable emolument; while his salary as professor, his practice as a physician, and the presents which he occasionally received from his scholars, rendered him easy and independent. He purchased, in the neighbourhood of Upsala, two estates, at Hanmarby and at Sæfja; at the former of which he built a villa; and at his decease bequeathed an ample provision to his widow and children. He left four daughters and one son, Charles Linnæus, who succeeded him in the professorship, and died on the first of November, 1783.

The name of Linnæus may be classed amongst those of Newton, Boyle, Locke, Haller, and other great philosophers, who were friends to religion. He always testified in his conversation, writings, and actions, the highest reverence for the Supreme Being; and was so strongly impressed with the idea of omnipresence, that he wrote over the door of his library, *Innocui vivite, numen ad est.*

December, 1792. D. d. d.

OBSERVATIONS on EXALTED and HUMBLE FORTUNE.

[Translated from the Spanish of Feijoo.]

THOSE were blind themselves who feigned Fortune to be blind; and they were unjust who accused her of partiality. This error is corrected by religion, when it teaches us, that what is meant by the word fortune is nothing else but the Divine Providence, which is all eyes, and proceeds in every thing from the justest motives: But, although the error is corrected in the essential, the deception is not so effectually dispelled, but there is still left remaining a faint appearance of the principle. The complainers of fortune compute the inequality of men's lots according to the greater or less parade and figure which they make among their fellow-creatures; and seeing that, in a great measure, this inequality is not proportioned to men's merits, the wicked attribute it to the chimerical force of accident, the idolaters to the caprice of a blind deity, and the true believers to the disposing will of a Supreme Providence.

These last conclude well, but they suppose ill; for thus it is: the circling wheel of fortune, and all its movements, are directed by a divine hand; and the raising up some, and casting down others, is so ordered and regulated with the most wise design. It is also certain (and this reflection is of infinite importance) that, with respect to many, we see but one half of the wheels turning, the remainder of its circuit being reserved for completion in the other world. We observe that fortune raises some, and never lowers them; and that it casts down others, without ever raising them. What is this? Nothing more than that Providence, in this mortal life, gives the wheel but half a turn; the round is concluded in the other hemisphere; so that those who rise here go down there, and those who descend here are there mounted up. This is the most ordinary course, although there is no rule without an exception.

But, supposing what I have just premised is admitted, notwithstanding all the solutions and precautions we can advert to, a serious and pernicious deceit continues to impose on, and in some sort govern the world, which is derived, as I have already observed, from those who conclude well, but suppose badly. In the distribution they make of happy and unhappy people, they suppose an inequality, which in reality does not exist; nor is it to be found in the fortunes of men. He who occupies posts of dignity; he who inhabits a magnificent palace; he who possesses great riches; and much more, he whose temples are adorned with a crown, is reputed the happiest of men. On the contrary, he who, beneath an humble roof, is scarce known to the world; who to subsist, and enable him to live, has no more than is absolutely necessary, is considered as unhappy. At least the fortune of this last is judged to be as much inferior to that of the other, as a little fountain is to the whole stock of waters confined in the Nile.

Very different was the sentiment of the oracle of Delphi, who, when he was asked by Gyges, king of Lydia, who was the happiest man in the world? replied, "Agalus Psophidius, the possessor of a

little estate in a confined corner of Arcadia, is the most happy man who inhabits the globe." The king, who expected to be told that himself was the happiest man, remained equally confounded and surpris'd.

Agathocles was a monster of fortune: From being the son of a poor potter of the city of Regio, he rose to the sovereign of Sicily; with all which, I believe, that, by comparing his fortune with that of his father Carcinus, we shall find that the father was the more happy man of the two. It is certain he did not live in that continual uneasiness which agitated the whole life of Agathocles; nor did he suffer any grief so intense, or of so long duration, as that of Agathocles, which was occasioned by the death of his sons, who were barbarously beheaded by his own soldiers.

Pliny, in his seventh book, speaking of those Romans, who, in some instances, were the most remarkable favourites of fortune; such as the dictator Sylla, the two Metulluses, and Octavius Augustus, points out, at the same time, so many counterpoises to their good luck, as to leave it doubtful whether the scale of their adversity or of their prosperity preponderated.

The labour would be infinite, if, by turning over history, you were to instance all those to whom the hand of fortune has alternately dealt the most cruel blows, and administered the most tender gratifications; nor would such an inquiry be of any avail to our purpose, because every one will readily grant there is no asylum in this world to protect us from the rigours of fate; nor is there any privilege annexed to high dignity, which exempts it from the jurisdiction of misfortune. The best method then is, to weigh the one and the other fortune, the exalted and the humble, and estimate them according to what, in their common and ordinary state, they are found to contain in themselves, abstracted from any extraordinary accidents, either favourable or adverse.

I say, then, that humble fortune, according to its intrinsic value, if it does not exceed, is at least equal to the exalted. In order to give at once a clear and solid proof of this fact, which may seem a mystery, it should be understood as a certain truth, that riches do not constitute happiness in men in proportion to their material magnitude, but in proportion to what is enjoyed of them, either with respect to convenience, or the pleasure they occasion. What is a rich man the better for having his table covered with a variety of delicate eatables, if he has lost his appetite? With all his dainties, he cannot be said to regale himself; and it fares much better, in point of gratification, with a poor man who eats of a coarse dish, if his palate embraces it with earnestness.

The comparison of relish with respect to food, may be applied to all other senses and faculties with respect to their objects; for, let these be gratified and delighted to whatever degree you can suppose, the pleasure produced in every individual will tally with the disposition of the organ; and therefore the greater or lesser degree of felicity of the subject, in the use of those objects, should be measured, not by the intuitive magnitude which is contained in them, but by the delight they afford. This being the case, you will find that vast riches do not furnish to an opulent man greater enjoyments, nor turn aside

from him more vexations, than is afforded to, and diverted from, a poor man with his scanty means; and you will conclude those are not more happy than these, and that consequently the fortunes of both are equal.

To estimate the felicity of any man, you should not consider the good he possesses, but the enjoyment he receives from the possession of them. Although the rich man always sits down to a splendid banquet, a poor man régales himself better than he, if, as is most commonly the case, he knows better what he eats. No man will say that the existence of riches without their use is of any value. It is necessary, in order to relish their sweets, that you should expend them. They are a good of such a nature, that they can only be enjoyed when you part with them. He who keeps his gold in a chest may receive some satisfaction in contemplating that he has it at his command; but that is much inferior to the inevitable chagrin which attends his continual care and anxiety. Horace chanted wisely, who held that convenience consisted more in the want than in the possession of such goods, which, through concern for their preservation, kept people in constant alarms and terrors night and day, lest a thief should break in and steal them, an unfaithful servant purloin them, or a fire consume them.

Quicksilver occasions continual tremors to him who works it in the mines—gold and silver to him who keeps and turns them over in a chest. There is no doubt but the pleasure of finding himself rich is greatest in a covetous man, but his care and anxiety exceed also in proportion to it. Besides this, he is not so much gratified by the goods he enjoys, as he is made uneasy by the desire of possessing those he is not master of. There is always in his heart an immense *vacuum*, as obnoxious to his avarice as a *vacuum* in all bodies is to nature; and his thirst is of the dropsical kind, so that the more he drinks, the more he craves.

Upon a supposition then, that, instead of convenience, there is evil and vexation in the mere possession of riches, let us proceed to take a **view** of the benefits that may result from their use. And, first, riches to a very large amount are exceedingly superfluous for furnishing the accommodations of life. If a man, possessed of a few thousand crowns, can find sufficient to purchase all that can be reasonably desired, of what use are the millions? To what purpose should he, who finds water sufficient for all his occasions in a little fountain, bring a river into his house. He would acquire nothing by such an act but the hatred and indignation of those who see that, without utility to himself, a man monopolizes a stock of water sufficient to accommodate a whole town, by doing which he exposes himself to the malicious designs that a wicked and perverse person may form to take away his life, in hopes that, by perpetrating the fatal deed, he might become master of his property; and it is certain that many persons, from such a motive only, have fallen victims to the knife or to poison; so that an excess of doubloons to the owner, are rather things of weight than things of worth. I mean that, instead of a convenience, they are dangerous, and an evil of life.

A CURIOUS DISSERTATION on the TONGUE.

THE Tongue, by Anatomists, is defined to be the instrument of tasting, speaking, and swallowing, made up of a fleshy and spongy substance, compassed about with a thin membrane, and is placed in the mouth and throat, a very convenient situation to discover the diseases that lie hid in the interior parts of the body. It appears to be not the only part susceptible of taste, as some who are possessed of it have none; instances of which there are many, in coughs, colds, &c. and some who have lost it by accident, or otherwise, have declared themselves not at all deficient in that sense.

The word tongue is often understood for its action; speech, or language, one of the greatest blessings we enjoy, being the channel or communication by which we convey our sentiments; which, when guided by reason, the most apparent distinction placed by the Deity to shew his excellent master piece Man from the brute creation: The benefits that we derive from it are innumerable; all the smaller divisions of trade would in a great measure be lost, if a stop was put to speech. And here it may not be amiss to observe how far nature exceeds art, by endeavouring to point out in what manner a deficiency of speech may be atoned for by the latter.—Writing, although it possesses the peculiar excellency of conveying thoughts to a distance, yet is far beneath speech; it may be misunderstood; and perhaps, by the casual omission of a stop, letter or word, convey a contrary meaning to what was intended: Besides, it takes up more time, as the same thing may be done by speech in a much shorter space, without the least possibility of misconstruction.—Chiromania, or the art of conversing by the hands, has been by many justly applauded, and numbers of dumb persons at this day make themselves understood by that means; yet I do believe if speech had not existed prior, Chiromania never would have had being: And suppose it possible, the difficulty of affixing an alphabet, and the time required to complete a language, would retard the progress of learning, that in regard to the conveniences of life we should have been by far worse off than the inhabitants of Otaheite or New Zealand.

The action of the tongue is divisible into many parts, as lying, flattery, oratory, grammar, and scolding; the first two of which I style common, because they are frequently used; the third a refinement of the tongue; the fourth contains certain rules for the better regulation of words; and the fifth, although a science practised by the passionate, ignorant, and women only, has been proved to equal, if not excel, the other four. Lying is a very ancient science, and was practised by the serpent on Eve, as is recorded in scripture: The success was great; she practised it in her turn upon Adam; and some contend even now, that the same chain of government exists.

“When Beelzebub first to make mischief began,

He the woman attack'd, and she gull'd the poor man.

This Moses has told us, and hence we infer

That Woman rules man, and the Devil rules her.”

Notwithstanding all that can be said against this action of the Tongue, yet lying is in its place very necessary for the divilhood of thousands of all descriptions; in short, it is the vital part of trade. Flattery is but a part of lying, and is called the science of courtiers; many by their excellency in this alone have been fortunate enough to ennoble and enrich themselves; but when made use of for such ends is, in my opinion, a most dangerous thing. It was the observation of a wise person, "That the tongue of man was made for the praise of God."—Oratory, the next part for consideration, well deserves the appellation given it, "the refinement of the tongue." Of oratory there are various kinds. A late wit declared it was divided into three parts, "that of the bar, the pulpit, and the gallows;" but I can bring no greater proof of the force of eloquence than our present ministers of the church of England; the converts they make for religion are permanent proofs of the solid learning and force of argument they possess; and I will be bold enough to say, that no age ever produced better or abler Orators than the present. The ancients boast of their Cicero, Demosthenes, Tully, and others; but our present divines as far exceed the ancients, as the cause they promote; and happy am I to affirm, that if vice gains ground, it is in no wise owing to the inability of the clergy. But to return to the subject, nothing has a greater effect on the mind of man, than a well timed oration gracefully delivered.

Grammar is the standard by which the degree of civilization of a country may be judged, and a person who is ignorant of its rules, is comparable to a labourer in a lead mine; whilst a grammarian is to be considered in the degree of an ingenious artificer and mathematician who knows its defects, excellencies, and the principles on which it operates.

Scolding, the last point to be considered, is supposed by the ancients to be a peculiar excellency of the goddess Juno; and it is affirmed that she once had a trial of skill with Jupiter, and, notwithstanding the noise and effect of his thunder, had nearly driven him out of heaven; and they generally upon that account, wrote on the front of her temple, "Juno has her thunder too." Nevertheless, this praise, in my opinion, is falsely attributed to her; and I am persuaded, if a third part of the husbands in this metropolis were assembled together, they could in one day produce five hundred Junos, far superior in this action of the tongue. To conclude: The tongue is by no means culpable; it is but a servant to the will; and if the will is subject to the passions, the tongue will, by flattery, lying, censure, and dissimulation, not only work woe and misery to others, but total destruction to the possessor. [European Mag.]

On GAMING: A FRAGMENT.

IT is somewhere recorded, that Cobilon the Lacedemonian, being sent to Corinth with a commission to conclude a treaty of friendship and alliance, when he saw the captains and senators of that city

playing at dice, returned home without doing any thing, saying, "That he would not so much sully the glory of the Spartans, as that it should be said they had made a *league* with *gamesters*." Hence it should seem that this honest heathen took every man addicted to gaming for a fool or a knave, and therefore resolved not to have any dealings with such, as neither of those characters could be depended on.

The perniciousness of *gaming* was so well understood by the grand impostor Mahomet, that he thought it necessary to prohibit it expressly in the Alcoran, not as a thing in itself *naturally* evil, but only *morally* so, as it is a step to the greatest vices; for, whilst we captivate ourselves to chance, we lose our authority over our passions, being excited to immoderate desire, excessive hope, joy, and grief; we stand or fall at the uncertain cast of the dice, or the turning up of a card; we are slaves to the feeblest wishes, which if they succeed not, we grow furious, profligate, and impious; banishing all prudence, temperance, and justice, we become impudent, and fit for the blackest crimes. Hence the cheats, the quarrels, the oaths, and blasphemies amongst the men and amongst the women, the neglect of household affairs, the unlimited freedoms, the indecent passion, and lastly, the known inlet to all lewdness, when, after an ill run, the fair one must answer the defects of the purse; the rule on such occasions holding true in play as it does in law.—*Qui non habet in crumena, luat in corpore*.

If christians have not humility enough to conform to the rule of life laid down in holy writ, let them at least have pride enough to be shamed out of this detestable vice by the example of Pagans and Mahometans.



On the *PATHOS* of *HOMER*, and the *CHARACTERS* of the *ILIAD*.

IT is generally allowed, I believe, that in true *pathos*, *Homer*, where he admits it, is superior to all uninspired writers. Some inquiry into the causes of this excellence, such at least as have escaped the notice of other writers, may not be unacceptable.

1. *Homer's Pathos*, always lies chiefly in the idea, or sentiment itself. It has seldom, or never, any artificial preparation, or affected language, which in general tend to defeat the purpose they are meant to serve. It will generally be found to consist of the most natural and affecting circumstances that the poet can supply; frequently familiar, which imparts a simplicity of the most becoming kind; and is always of a sort nicely adapted to the character of the speaker. "You could not," says *Andromache*, when dying, "stretch forth to us your hand from your couch, nor utter any advice or consolation that we might have repeated in remembrance of you, during the remainder of our sorrowful days and nights." This is at once a simple, natural, and highly affecting circumstance; and, like those of the best scenes of

our own admired dramatist, excites at one stroke an irresistible sympathy with the sufferer, and affords a memorable example of the triumph of nature over the frigidity of art.

The pathos of Priam is of a different kind, but equally in character. He is represented struggling with the Trojans, and with difficulty prevented from encountering all the horrors of war without the walls, in order to redeem the body of his son, whom he sees dragged in the dust by the savage Achilles.—“Let me go, my friends,” said he; “let me go among the Greeks, and entreat this outrageous and violent man. Peradventure he may reverence my years, and pity my misfortunes. For he has himself a father, old like me, who brought him up to be a pest to this country, and the whole Trojan race.” Here we may observe equal nature and simplicity, but somewhat more vehemence and manly dignity. Still more of both these latter requisites are conspicuous in the noble apostrophe of Agamemnon, who, after reproaching the Greeks for their former boastings, and their present cowardice, thus breaks forth:—“O Jupiter! what monarch didst thou ever thus suddenly deprive of all his hard earned glory, and subject to such ruin and slaughter! But, O Jupiter! at least fulfil this my humble vow. Suffer us now merely to escape; nor permit the whole Grecian people thus to be exterminated by their enemies.” The well known apostrophe of Ajax, so celebrated by Longinus, and admired by every reader, may serve as the apex of this scale of pathetic exclamation.

But, the great superiority of Homer over all other poets, in the genuine pathetic, shines no where brighter than in the so much celebrated interview of Hector and his wife, in the fifth book of the Iliad. The very powerful effect of which arises chiefly from what I deem a second cause of Homer's excellence in this species of writing; his occasionally putting the tenderest sentiments in the mouths of persons of heroic dignity and fierce demeanour. The wonderful heightening this imparts to the pathetic is no where better exemplified than in the Othello of Shakspeare; except it be in this beautiful incident of Homer. The tenderness the fierce warrior displays towards his little Astyanax:—his putting off his helmet on observing the child's alarm at the nodding plumes it was ornamented with; his speech to Andromache, full of a sad, yet resolutely-expressed presentiment of his own approaching fate, and the destruction of his native country; his solicitude for his wife's welfare, after his death; and, lastly, his prayer for that of his hapless infant, are all circumstances highly affecting, and, as yet, unequalled and unimitated by other poets.

A third cause of this pre-eminence in the pathos of Homer seems nearly allied to the last: the contrast these tender scenes receive from the surrounding horrors of pitiless war and continual slaughter. On this, as it every where occurs, and must sufficiently strike every attentive reader, it would be useless to dilate.

Virgil has also these opportunities; but seldom makes the like powerful use of them. His pathos is very much the effect of art, and is greatly enforced, if not often entirely created, by the sweet flowing pathetic cast of his general diction. It will seem no small presumption to censure a poet of such celebrity without some proof of this defect.

Let me venture to give one, which may serve for all;—where Anna in the very extremity of her grief, on beholding her sister in her last agonies, is made to exclaim, with the air of an orator who is looking around him for something to excite the commiseration of his audience, “*Quid primum, deserta querat?*” What, shall I thus deserted first begin to lament? How different this from the unaffected effusions in Homer; and how well will it confirm the truth of the above remark, to those who can distinguish well-concealed art from undisguised nature!

With respect to Homer’s characters, they have a vivid force that none of his successors have been at all able to emulate. Our Milton, evidently, from the nature of his plan, and the very small number of human characters it would admit; and Virgil, I suppose, from as evident an inferiority of genius, which would be still more conspicuous, were it not for his beautifully finished and nicely-adapted language. The characters of the former, have, however, been sometimes injudiciously compared with those of his illustrious predecessor. But, for such, Milton had no exemplar in writing. Of course all their sentiments, except the few that could be gleaned from holy writ, are new, and invented solely for them. To compare them with Homer’s deities, who mix in battle with more than human animosity, and rail at each other with more than vulgar vehemence, were a waste of time. In reading the poems of Homer and Virgil, we are frequently obliged to put on a temporary compliance with the prejudices of the poet, and of the age in which he lived. It is necessary to follow them to their wars, with all the interest we can excite in ourselves for their little contentions of a day. We must exult with them over a fallen enemy, and continually allow an importance to events which it is difficult for a philosophick mind to admire. In Milton no such compliance is necessary. The principal characters in him are of a kind that all must venerate. The incidents are such as must equally interest the christian, the philosopher and the man. The very human personages are of a superior class: They have, as yet, imbibed none of the little prejudices that have since adhered to their descendants. Their ideas are general, and of a dignified simplicity: such as best become the progenitors of mankind, while in a state of innocence, and purity.

Reading Homer with these reasonable allowances, we shall find he made human characters above all competition, and above all praise. They seem frequently to break through the calm inspiration of the poet, into all the pathos and vehemence of the most impassioned drama. “Others still are suffered to retain their spoils, cries the enraged Achilles; from me only has he ravished the reward of all my toils; the beloved maid in whom I found such delight.—Why have the Greeks attacked this city? Wherefore has Atreides collected so immense a force? Is it not for the sake of Helen? Do then the sons of Atreus alone, of all men, love their wives?” By strokes of nature like this, which are sparingly admitted by other poets, but copiously by Homer, the epic adds to its dignity, the excellencies of the drama. His characters seem every where naturally to develop themselves

almost without the assistance of the poet, and language, not like orators, but real personages. Even their wanderings and abruptness, which Pope has sometimes (perhaps judiciously enough) connected and smoothed down, have their effect on a lover of simplicity, and on one who willingly contemplates the remote unpolished age in which the poet wrote. No succeeding author seems to have possessed any comparable share of that vehemence of mind, and fervour of affections, which enabled Homer to mix with such peculiar warmth in all the actions, passions, and sentiments of his heroes.

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AN ESSAY ON THE ASCENT OF VAPOUR.

[From the *Annals of the Literary and Philosophical Society at Manchester.*]

THESE are few phenomena in nature, which have puzzled philosophers more, than the ascent of vapour: and the different theories laid down by Doctors Halley and Desaguliers, have been rejected, while another, not less liable to objections, has been almost universally received.

THE theory, which I shall presently mention, was at first invented by a French gentleman, Monsieur le Roi, and afterwards revived by Lord Kaimes, and doctor Hugh Hamilton. It is this— that the air dissolves water, as water does saline substances; the solution being perfect, the air will become transparent.

Objections. 1. Were this theory true, evaporation could not be performed without air; but Mr. Watt, contrary to the theory supported by Lord Kaimes and Dr. Hamilton, has proved, that when water in vacuo was boiled with a degree of heat very little greater than that of the human body, the steam came over, and was condensed in the refrigeratory. But he relates, that the evaporation was not quicker than in the open air.

2. Were the doctrine of solution true, the air would be heavier, the more water it contained; and, as clouds contain a great portion of water, they ought to float on the surface of the earth, and not in the higher regions, as we daily observe.

3. We never could expect any rain, unless the air was supersaturated with water; and it would only yield to us, what it could not retain in solution.

4. It is universally allowed, that heat contributes, very much, towards converting water into vapour, which is again condensed by cold. In what manner, will the doctrine of solution account for the spontaneous evaporation of water, and its being suspended in air, in the coldest weather, even when the thermometer is below the freezing point? Though I cannot allow of such a solution as above mentioned, I can, however, readily admit of a strong attraction betwixt air and water; for no air is found without water, and no water without air.

Water, which is eight hundred times heavier than air, by a very small degree of heat, may be converted into vapour, which vapour is one thousand eight hundred times lighter than air, according to Mr. Watt. It consequently follows, that vapour will rise up in the atmosphere, to the height of its own specific gravity; but, long before it could reach to so high a region, it would be condensed by cold, and return to the earth in rain, were it not for the latent heat it contains, and the electric matter in the air.

Whatever I mention concerning electricity, is from facts, and not from any theory, written about it, which is above my comprehension. But as the terms now in use, viz. positive and negative, or plus and minus, are generally best understood, I shall express myself by them. The Abbe Nollet has proved, that water electrified, will evaporate faster, than water which is not electrified. Does it not follow, that the more electric matter is in the air, the quicker the evaporation of water will be? And Mr. Cavallo has proved, that at all times the atmosphere is electrified, but much stronger in frosty, than in warm weather; and by no means less, in the night than in the day: it is likewise stronger in elevated, than in low places. From these facts we may be enabled to account, why evaporation is carried on during very cold weather. All the heat, contained in water, above what is sufficient to keep it in a fluid state, will convert it into vapour; which, in a north or north-east wind, when the electric matter greatly abounds, will be carried off with much rapidity; and, by the power of electricity, will be rendered still lighter, the higher it ascends: each particle repelling each other, and preventing the cold from condensing the vapour, in its ascent through the cold regions of the atmosphere. The higher it rises, the more space there is for expansion; and the more it is expanded, the clearer will the atmosphere appear, and probably, the higher the mercury will rise in the barometer.

It likewise appears, that the electric matter is more sensible near the surface of the earth, in cold northern countries, than in warm southern places. Mr. Volta, with a very simple apparatus, on the upper gallery of St. Paul's, produced an electric spark, which, he told me, in Italy could not be done, but on a very high mountain, or in a situation greatly elevated. This seems a wise provision in nature, that the electric matter should appear near the surface of the earth in cold climates, to raise up and suspend the vapour in the air, which otherwise, would be condensed by the cold; whereas, in warm countries, the heat of the earth will be sufficient to raise vapours to a great height, which are afterwards carried still higher, by the electric matter in the upper regions. This, perhaps, is the cause, why the air is so clear and transparent in warm climates. By making some observations on the falling of rain, we shall have other proofs, that the electric matter is the great cause, by which vapour is supported in the atmosphere.

Here I must observe a fact, well known, that bodies electrified, by the same electric power (no matter whether positive or negative) repel each other; and when electrified by the different powers, that is, the one plus and the other minus, attract each other: on coming

into contact, an equilibrium is restored, and neither of them will shew any signs of electricity.

From this it follows: If two clouds are electrified by the same power, they will repel each other, and the vapour be suspended in both; but when one is positive and the other negative, they will attract each other, and restore an equilibrium. The electric power, by which the vapour was suspended, being now destroyed by the mutual action of the clouds on each other, the particles of water will have an opportunity of running together into each other, and, as they augment in size, will gain a greater degree of gravity, descending in small rain, or a heavy shower, according to circumstances.

A cloud, highly electrified, passing over a high building or mountain, may be attracted by, and be deprived of its electricity, without or with a violent explosion of thunder. If the cloud is electrified plus, the fire will descend from the cloud to the mountain; but, if it be electrified minus, the fire will ascend from the mountain to the cloud.

In both cases, the effect is the same, and generally, heavy rain, immediately, or soon after follows; this is well known to the inhabitants of, and travellers among, mountains.

From this, we can easily account, why thunder-showers are often partial, falling near, or among mountains, and the rain in such quantities, as to occasion rivers to be overflowed; whilst, at the distance of a few miles, the ground continues parched up with drought, and the roads covered with dust.

It often happens, that one clap of thunder is not sufficient to produce rain from a cloud, nor even a second: in short, the claps must be repeated, till an equilibrium is restored, and then the rain must, of consequence, fall. Sometimes we may have violent thunder and lightning without rain, and the black appearance of the heavens may be changed to a clear transparent sky, especially in warm weather. To account for this, it must be remembered, as I lately said, that one or more claps of thunder are not always sufficient to produce rain from the clouds: so, if an equilibrium be not restored, little or no rain will fall, and in a short time, the electric matter, passing from the earth to the clouds, or the superabundant quantity in the air, will electrify those black clouds by which means the particles of vapour will be expanded, raised higher, and the air become clear. Clouds may be melted away; even when we are looking at them, by another cause, this is, by the heat of the sun. We know, that transparent bodies are not heated by the sun, but opaque ones are; the clouds being opaque bodies, are warmed by the rays of the sun striking on them, and any additional quantity of heat will rarify the vapour, and occasion its expanding in the air, which will soon become transparent. When vapour is made to expand, more than it would otherwise do, a certain quantity of absolute heat is necessary to keep it in the form of vapour; therefore, when the receiver of an air-pump is exhausting, it appears muddy, and a number of drops are found within it; the moisture contained in the air, in the form of

vapour, being made to occupy a greater space than what is natural to it, and receiving no addition of heat, a part of it is condensed*.

If therefore, the air is suddenly rarified, a few drops of rain will descend, as may often be observed in the summer season.

I have repeatedly observed, especially during the summer, when the wind is at north-east, that the weather is, in general, cold and dry, with a clear atmosphere. Should the wind suddenly change to south-west, in a few hours, black clouds begin to gather, vegetables look sickly, and droop their leaves: and, soon after, comes on a violent storm of thunder, with heavy rain.

This change, I imagine, is not so much owing to the south-west wind bringing rain, as to the atmosphere's being changed from an electric state, capable of suspending vapour, to a state of parting with its moisture.

As soon as the storm is going off, vegetables revive from their languid state, and the air recovers its usual aspect. From this we may conclude, that no instrument can be made to ascertain the quantity of moisture in the air: all that is, or ought to be expected from a hygrometer, is to shew, whether the air be in a state to retain, or part with its moisture. In apparent dry weather it may point to rain; and when it rains, it may point to fair. For this reason, the stones of halls, and smooth substances, are often bedewed with wet, in dry warm weather, (that is, the air is in a state to part with its moisture) and, vice-versa, they will dry in the time of rain.

I shall pass over those observations, which might be made on fogs or mists; a few excepted, which I shall subjoin in a note†. I shall, therefore, conclude with a short summary of the whole.

1. That, heat is the great cause, by which water is converted into vapour, which is condensed by cold.

2. That, electricity renders vapour specifically lighter, and adds to its absolute heat, repelling its particles; which particles would be condensed by cold; and that, electricity is the great agent by which vapour ascends to the upper regions.

* On this principle, we can readily account for the mist, which appears, on discharging an air-gun: the condensed air in the chamber of the barrel, on being set free, will expand suddenly, occupying a larger space, and no additional heat being acquired, the vapours must necessarily be condensed in the form of mist.

† Fogs are produced by two causes as different as their effects are opposite. A fog may be produced by a precipitation of rain, in very small particles, like a cloud floating on the surface of the earth. In this case the air is moist and damp, and never fails to wet a traveller's cloths; the stones of the street, painted doors, and hard, cool, smooth bodies are generally covered with moisture, which often runs in large drops; this, I dare say, has been observed by every person. Secondly, a fog may be produced by the absorption of moisture, when the air is too dry, and differs from the other just described; for it will not impart any of its moisture even to dry bodies, no damp is to be met with on stones, polished marble, &c. This fact is well known to the inhabitants on the sea coast of Fifeshire; who during their summer months, have frequent opportunities of observing a fog in the afternoon, driving up the firth of Forth, with a drying east wind, which often blasts the trees and young vegetables, and therefore, in a small degree, resembles the Harmattan in drying up the ground, and robbing vegetables of their moisture.

3. That, when the electric power, by which vapour is suspended in the atmosphere, is destroyed, a heavy mist, small rain or thunder-showers, will be the consequence. Had the advocates for the doctrine of solution, made heat and electricity, the solvents, their theory would have been less exceptionable.

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The FOLLY of SELF-TORMENTING.

MR. Addison says, that when people complain of weariness or indisposition in good company, they should immediately be presented with a night-cap, as a hint that it would be best for them to retire:—I own, I am one of those that have no idea of carrying either my cares, or my infirmities out of my own habitation, except in such instances as I am sensible they can receive relief, or mitigation: Why should I unnecessarily wound the good nature of my friend; or make myself contemptible to my enemies?—if the communication of my grievances really interrupts the satisfaction of those amongst whom I am cast, I have hurt them without benefitting myself; and, on the contrary, if they only dissemble with me, it is a species of ridicule which my mind is not calculated to sustain—but you will allow me to observe, that I confine myself on this occasion to the valetudinarian, and the magnifier of trifles into calamities—for to deny the severely attacked, whether mentally or corporally, the relief of complaining, would be to strike at the root of humanity, and forfeit the characteristics of our nature.

To come, however, more immediately to the point, I must tell you, that I have perhaps the most curious set of relations you ever heard of.—My mother, poor woman, her afflictions are sanctified by their poignancy and sincerity—the loss of the man she loved, and a consequential decay of constitution—but then I have an aunt that is evermore upon the rack of her own imagination; not a change of weather, or a change of situation, that does not produce some present or prospective agony.—If the day is fine, her corns inform her that we shall have rain to-morrow—if the sun is tolerably powerful, she expires with heat, or, if temperate, she anticipates the inconveniencies of an approaching winter—if she perceives a cloud, she is for running into an obscure corner to preserve her eyes from lightning—and when she beholds a clear horizon, trembles for the consequences of a drought. Not a melancholy intimation is dropped in her hearing, but she instantly recollects a thousand dreadful disasters she has either experienced or escaped; and when she is told of any extraordinary piece of good fortune's reaching people unexpectedly, she repines at the ungraciousness of her stars, that withholds every such blessing from falling to her share.

A brother of this lady's, consequently an uncle of mine, who had met with a cruel disappointment in love, at a very early period of his life, was so morose as to insist upon it, that women are universally unworthy, and universally unfaithful.—Tell a story to their advantage, and he is petulant; mention them with severity, and you apparently

near open his old wounds—if he was treated respectfully by them, they were deceitful, and if they behaved coolly, he complained of being despised—when the younger part of his relations were disposed to be merry, his head ached, and when they were serious, they treated him as if he was a bug-bear—when he was consulted what he would chuse for dinner, he was teased, and when unconsulted, he was neglected.—But to sum up all—after years of assiduity and attention, on the part of all his relations, excepting your humble servant, whose independent spirit frequently incited him to raillery, he died, and left me every shilling of his fortune as a reward for my sincerity.

A young fellow, who stands in the relationship of cousin-german to me, is what may justly be entitled a constitutional self-tormentor—for he was so from his infancy: When a school-boy, whatever was in another's possession, was always considered by him as much better than his own—his top never spun so well, nor his marbles rolled so dexterously as those of his companions—his task was always harder than any body's else, and his repetition of it listened to with prejudiced ears by our master.

On entering into life, this strange humour increased upon him; he conceived every dinner he was not a partaker of, much more excellent than the one he participated—Every tailor, if he changed a dozen times in a month, was smarter than those he employed, and every estate he heard of, happier situated, and better improved than his own, though the rents were absolutely inferior to what he was in the receipt of. He attached himself to a fine accomplished girl, but soon found out that her sister was much more charming. The sister had a young friend who had as much the advantage of her, and that friend a relation that surpassed them all. His strange humour and inconsistency soon marked him for an object of contempt; and however, out of respect to his family, he is to this day received in some few houses; he is tolerated, not approved; pitied, not honoured, notwithstanding his birth, education, and estate.

I have a sister, which is the last oddity I introduce to you at this period, that is evermore labouring under some imaginary disease—She sits down to table without an appetite, it is true—but then she has been eating all the morning—her complexion is extremely fine—but the bloom of nature is called a hectic—her voice, that is naturally sweet, is changed into an affected whine, and her nerves are so delicate, that one of my honest laughs are sufficient to throw her into hysterics—I have taken great pains to convince her of her folly, but if I attempt to rally, she bursts into tears, and I am hurried out of the room as the greatest of all barbarians. I make daily resolutions to renounce all connection with so ridiculous a groupe of wretches; my resolutions, nevertheless, (barbarian as I am) are dissolved by their applications to return to them, though the infallible consequence of our re-union is an abrupt separation.

Is it not astonishing, that people in no degree deficient in understanding, and blessed with affluence, should be spite enemies to their repose, that instead of attending to the distresses of others, which they have the power so amply to relieve, they thus defeat all the gracious

purposes of Providence, where their own happiness is concerned, and neglect all the opportunities of doing good, that lie before them ?

GEORGE GOOD-FELLOW.



A PLAN for the general REFORMATION of MANNERS.

IN the few nations that serve as examples, we find government with punishment in one hand, and rewards in the other, always attentive to, and operating upon, every class of the community. On one side are seen deprivations, degradations, disgrace, and chastisements of every kind; and, on the other, pecuniary gifts, public distinctions, precedency, titles, statutes, and crowns: vices fly at the approach of correction, and virtues assemble at the prospect of gratification.

Punishment and recompence must therefore be continually in search of vice and virtue, in order to do justice to both; the great difficulty lies in carrying on this inquiry with equity, constancy and perseverance. If the matter in question concerned only a little republic, where every thing is brought into a narrow compass, the regulation would be almost as easy as in a private family; but when it relates to an empire of vast extent, what is the plan to attain it ?

This plan must be sought for in history; for by adhering to facts we run no risk of roving into systems. Had Descartes, in his attempt to discover the laws of the physical world, taken experiments for his guide, he would have been the Newton of France, and of all other nations. But to reduce the moral world to order by a consistent plan, is a work of much greater importance; and such as has not been attempted by any moralist. They all cry out, make the people virtuous, if you wish they should be happy and respected; nay, if you mean they should be triumphant and illustrious. Government is perfectly sensible of this; but the more a remedy is thought of, the more they despair of success, from the difficulties that present themselves. We are not unacquainted, say they, with the force of rewards and punishments; but there are so many vices to be rooted out, and so many virtues to be planted, that the clearest sight is confound and lost in the chaos. But the light of history has dissipated much obscurity.

In these virtuous nations I have mentioned, while government is incessantly occupied in rewarding and punishing, its attention is, at the same time, employed in facilitating the execution and distribution of both. By dividing and subdividing large societies into small bodies, a superintendant may be appointed to each.

We learn from Diodorus, that in Egypt, all the citizens being registered, served as a guard upon each other; and that the whole body of the state was, by a judicious distinction, united against the profligate. The Persians, under Cambyfes, were divided into tribes; each tribe had its president, and every subdivision its overseer; and when Cyrus, the son of Cambyfes, by enlarging his father's plan, had

re-united the empires of Babylon, and of the Medes, in the Persian, he was able to support these virtuous institutions through a widely extended monarchy.

Athens, before the time of Solon, had no regulation of public manners; by distributing the citizens into as many classes as was requisite to enable the Areopagites and Archons to administer a good police, universal order was established. The prophecy of Anacharsis to Solon, that his laws resembled cobwebs, wherein the weak would be entangled, but which the rich and powerful would break through, was not fulfilled till the springs of government were relaxed, and the legislator's plan forsaken.

The Roman nation was subdivided into wards, or hundreds; so that every hundred men, notwithstanding the amazing increase of people in the flourishing times of the republic, had a centurion over them, who could easily discover those that merited punishment or reward.—Charlemagne, who collected together the corrupted remnant of the Roman empire, felt the necessity of dividing such a multitude of people into many districts, which he increased in a suitable proportion to the wholesome regulations he designed to establish. Before his time, these districts were intrusted to the management of one duke only; but he foresaw, that one magistrate alone, at the head of each province, would either neglect his duty, or abuse his power; and, therefore, divided the administration among several earls; in order to render it more easy and exact. He went farther; officers, selected out of the order of prelates, and nobility, called Royal Envoys, were directed to visit each district every three months, and give an account of their inquiries to the prince. In such a constitution, the manners of individuals could hardly escape the notice of the magistrates; and the magistrates themselves were narrowly watched. If Charlemagne did not fully succeed in his design, it was owing to his prosecuting only one part of his plan.

Alfred carried the division of his subjects farther, for the benefit of regulation. The whole nation was distributed into counties, the counties into hundreds; and every head of a family was made answerable for the conduct of his children, his servants, and even his guests. The ten heads that lived nearest together, formed a sort of community, and were responsible for one another; by which means every individual found his own security in watching over the behaviour of his neighbour; and in some measure guaranteed the probity of his own class. It is thus that, in an army of one or two hundred thousand men, by dividing them at first into brigades, brigades into regiments, regiments into battalions, battalions into companies, and by placing vigilant officers at the head of each grand or lesser division, in subordination to each other, military licentiousness is repressed, and a discipline established, which, in the opinion of competent judges, confers more honour on a general than a victory; because it is, in itself, the foundation of victory.

It is with the establishment of manners as with the culture of the earth; grant large tracts of land to one man, and he will cultivate only such a portion as produces most profit with the least expence;

December, 1792.

divide this territory among a thousand husbandmen, every part will be cultivated and produce something. In like manner, large political societies must be divided into such small bodies, that each may feel the hand of government by means of their immediate director; and this will form a set of moral people. Our divisions into provinces, generalities, and governments, have relation only to geography, revenue, and military disposition, but are not in the least relative to manners. Even those jurisdictions that seem to aim at this point, what effect do they produce? Without taking cognizance of merit, crimes are punished, and yet vices still subsist.



OF THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

A PROJECT for UNIVERSAL LIBERTY.

THE principles of freedom are as extensive as animal existence, this general principle, renders it a subject worthy of examination and attention; such is the importance of the subject, that the most able pens have been employed in its service, and the finest pencil to present its native beauty to an interested world.

The bravest minds have engaged to procure and defend it, at the expence of life and property; death brandishes its sword with a feeble arm when compared with slavery—freedom has inspired her offspring with such courage that they oppose any enemy, hazard any experiment, and brave any danger in defence thereof—If at any time overpowered, they are at no time conquered—To die in the defence, or live the possession of freedom—is their motto.

The united states were early honoured, with those sparks of liberty which have been so accumulated, as not only to illuminate this continent, and the contiguous islands, but the brightness thereof has dispelled the clouds in the eastern world, and its power has dismounted kings from their thrones, their armies have been put to flight before the standard of liberty.

Something still remains to be done, to render freedom universal, shall we sit at ease and behold so many of the same species in chains of slavery in the united states? what may the tyrants of the east say: may they not say to us, that we are guilty of the same or worse crimes than they are, while we profess to be the friends of freedom, we retain in slavery all in our power, as much as they do—is your land free, where three-fifths of the black inhabitants of some states are held in perpetual servitude; when America shall emancipate her negroes, than she may become arbitress between us and our subjects, but until that is done we stand on equal ground. If our subjects are in subjection, they are not consigned to perpetual ignorance like the slaves in the united states. Let Americans not only profess but shew themselves the friends of liberty—let an unhappy race be free, let them be educated, let us shew liberty in practice as well as in theory, let us set a fair copy before the admiring world, at this important hour, when thrones of kings, and the bulwarks of slavery, are no longer an asylum to the tyrant. Many powerful objections may be

offered against the general emancipation of the negroes. Many have their whole property in slaves, if they are set at liberty, such families are ruined—unaccustomed to labour themselves, and their families depending on the labour of the slaves, they would at once be deprived of that subsistence and comfort they were born to enjoy; this would render them and their families miserable. It may be observed, that no man in his senses would have his property solely of this sort, unless he deemed himself of no other use in the world, but to hold others in slavery; and if they are only a part of his property, the remainder of it may be otherwise improved, if not to render his interest so great, it would at least be more honourable.

Were objections of this sort admissible, they are more applicable to kings and tyrants, who hold themselves born to power, and who require pomp and equipage to prevent the eye from beholding the monster in full view.

But why emancipate negroes, say some, they are more happy than if they were free: every thing is provided for them: how this may be in fact with some, I cannot say; but if I rob a man of all his property, and that he shall spend his life more happy without it, than I should in the use of it, will that justify robbery? it may well show him to be a better man than I, but it will never, with regard to me, obliterate the crime.

We are told that they have not that love of liberty that would justify their emancipation and that they could not govern themselves or enjoy it with prudence. The first part of this objection contradicts a principle common to mankind; and examples are at hand to shew that some of them, after paying for their own freedom, have purchased it for their children at the expence of every thing comfortable and dear to them, and often at the highest price; the question is, whether the seller or the buyer was most possessed of the love of liberty and humanity? If we consider the last part of the objection, it is the language of the duke of Brunswick to the freemen of France, or rather the whole is the language of tyrants and kings to those under their yokes, the brave king of Poland excepted.

Others have recourse to the sacred book, and produce examples of slavery mentioned therein, they may as well vindicate murder because we have many examples recorded therein; these examples of the vices of mankind shew the ancient and universal depravity of our nature, to which the precepts of the sacred volume are every where opposed. Not so in this case, say some, the Mosaic dispensation required the Children of Israel to take slaves from the nations around them. These objectors do not consider that the divine command was to punish those nations, and at the same time afforded them the knowledge of the truth as amongst the Jews, and at the end of every seven years give them liberty to return into their own nation, by which means they might promulgate the true religion among the nations around them. If slaves are taken from among the Indian tribes around us, on the same terms and for the same purposes, then perpetual slavery is no more.

But for what purpose is complaint raised without a project for removal of the causes?—The following is humbly offered to pave the way for a better.

Let a general tax be laid for the immediate purchase of a certain number of slaves; as the sales are general, it is not probable that more will be wanted than shall be offered. This annual sum appropriated, will accumulate by adding to the number of freemen, the objects of taxation, and diminishing the number of slaves. Or if practicable, to borrow a sum sufficient to emancipate the whole in a short time, would be more desirable. No freeman deserves the name, who would not cheerfully contribute his share, to render the blessing of natural liberty universal in the united states. Such noble exertions and disinterested benevolence, would be an example sufficient to inspire the whole world with the love of freedom.

Surely it would be an insult to the good understanding of Americans to suppose that any person would refuse his share for the payment of this debt, a debt which we owe to nature; nature's laws requires it. Have we bought liberty to ourselves, shall we not show the invaluable estimate we put upon it, in constant endeavours to cause its sweets to be known and enjoyed by those who have an equal claim to it.

The possible amount would be small, compared with the object to be obtained. If we regard the law of nature, the principles of freedom, or the liberty of our children, we will be zealous in this business. Can the cause of liberty flourish in the midst of slavery? will our children grow up with sentiments favourable to liberty, while surrounded with slaves?

Let us dread slavery as a Canker-worm that will finally blast the fruit of liberty, and penetrate into the vitals of freedom.



FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

The PREMATURE ADVISER.

MR. EDITOR,

TO give such advice, as may suit the temper, views, and interests of the person advised, is a task replete with delicacy and difficulty. Yet we daily find, that what might puzzle a sage is undertaken without hesitation by every pretender to prudence, and every dabbler in maxims. Alphonzo, who was gilded in his youth, instead of apathy in age has recourse to invectives against courtship and matrimony; and, in the true style of exasperated disappointment, exclaims, that none but a fool or a knave would marry. A young man applies to him for advice on this momentous subject; he seems to listen with due attention; then shakes his head in disgust, and summons every common-place argument against this (generally) delightful union. Silk, laces, and ribbons; the abused economy of the kitchen, and unseasonable visits, whether received or paid, are objects of his cynical animadversions.

“If you marry, says this Pseudo-philosopher, one who is inferior to you in circumstances, you will experience the levity of upstart consequence; if you marry an equal with respect to property, she will

undoubtedly contest with you the palm of superiority ; but should you unfortunately espouse a woman superior to yourself in wealth, and connexions, you will, after a very short space, be compelled to bid adieu to earthly happiness, at least during her existence." As a man, who is a candidate for matrimony, must infallibly wed either an inferior, an equal or a superior in property, it inevitably follows from the arguments of this adviser, that matrimony ought to be annihilated. The young man however marries, and is competently happy.

Hilarius, possessed of an active mind and a decent capital, applies to this monitor for counsel with respect to that route of commerce, which he might pursue with the greatest probability of advantage. The countenance of the cynic assumes on this occasion a double portion of austerity ; and, displaying all his importance, he thus delivers his sentiments in a tone of voice now deep, now querulous ; expressive of the growl of the mastiff and the yelping of the cur. "Young man ! you tell me that you are possessed of three thousand pounds. Is not the interest, which will arise from this capital, sufficient to support you in ease ? It certainly is ; and what more can you, consistently with reason, require ? Should you be successful in trade, you will be exposed to the wiles of flattery and deceit, against which even men of experience are not always on their guard. But should you prove unsuccessful, think but for a moment on the condition of the unfortunate man. Although he has approved his integrity and industry, obloquy will be his bitter portion, Talk not to me of those benefits, which by your commercial exertions you may confer on your country. Your country may ultimately enroll you amongst the denizens of an alms-house, unless private charity should prevent you from being a charge to the public."

Such is the advice of this splenetic man ! were it generally followed, emulation in trade, manufactures, arts and sciences would languish, and at length be totally suppressed. The candidate for wealth, disregarding, however, the opinions of Alphonso, is now an ornament to the commercial part of the world.

It must be acknowledged, that in the instances, which I have adduced, Alphonso is not altogether worthy of censure, inasmuch as his counsel was applied for. But his obtruded advice is highly reprehensible ; and let me tell him, that he has never derived esteem or respect from it ; but on the contrary, disregard and even contempt.

Yours, &c.

W.



To make a SHORT SWORD LONG ENOUGH.

A King of Arabia shewing his courtiers a Damascus sword that had been presented to him, it was the opinion of them all, that the only fault it had was its being too short. The king's son, who was present, observed, that there was no weapon too short for a brave man, as there needed no more but to advance one step to make it long enough. — The sufficiency of the heart supplies whatever is wanting.

T H E

Columbian Parnassiad.

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

A BURLESQUE PASTORAL.

OVIS and HIRCA; or the CONTENTING
LOVERS.

THE Arcadian shepherd dropt his
beams from high,
Rising the fervid zenith of the sky:
O'er the parch'd fields, no lowing oxen
strayed,
No sheep were bleating, and no zephyrs
played;
Its lay, no more the feather'd songster
weaves,
But silent droops beneath the placid
leaves.

'Twas now that Ovis o'er a fountain
stood,
Her beauteous phiz admiring in the flood;
Hirca—the fairest of the goaty kind,
Upon the bank, thro' indolence reclined;
While in her eyes, love's gentle powers
shone,
She thus to *Ovis* spoke in charming tone.

"Ovis! you love; I too a flame confess
For one, whose beauties are than thine not
less;
Therefore I dare you to yon grateful
shade,
Form'd by the branches of the rising
glade;
Thy lover's charms I dare thee there to
sing,
The praise of mine shall make the meadow
ring.

O V I S.

Nor dar'st in vain: with pleasure I as-
sume,
To sing the charms, which round my lo-
ver bloom,
I'll bet the wool, that o'er my bosom
flows,
More soft than down, more white than
driven snows,

That brighter charms around my *Ramus*
rove,
Than deck the proudest monarch of your
love.

H I R C A.

I'll stake the graceful beard upon my chin.
My lover's worth from thine the palm
will win.
Gruntus, who now in yonder mire lies,
To judge the contest, at our wish, will
rise.

Now with judge *Gruntus*, to the shade
they mov'd,
To sing the lustre of the swains, they
lov'd.

G R U N T U S.

Ovis! 'tis your's the contest to commence:
And mine the prize with justice to dis-
pense.

O V I S.

Had I the voice of oxen—all around
Should with thy charms, oh *Romus*! loud
resound:
Thy martial forehead and thy winning
eyes,
I'll bellow forth, and echo thro' the skies.

H I R C A.

Could I as loud as regal lions roar,
The hills should catch thy beauties, o'er
and o'er—
Dear *Frisicus*! then those charms should
be express,
Which play, such havoc in my tender
breast.

O V I S.

Beside my love—o'er all the flock su-
preme,
Niggard and mean his stateliest subjects
seem.
'Twas when against a huge rebellious foe,
With iron head, he aim'd a fatal blow,
I saw—admiring saw the grand affray:
But ah! the conqueror stole my heart
away.

HIRCA.

O'er all the herd, my *Friscus* also reigns—
Supreme o'er hills; supreme o'er all the
plains.

'Twas when the herd together met to try,
What one could leap most actively on
high,

Them all my capering lover far outshone,
Ah! could I see; and call my heart my own.

OVIS.

Soft is the down, which flows upon my
love;

Grand are his horns, and tower far above;
Sweet is his voice—far sweeter to my ear;
Than to my eye, the vernal flowers ap-
pear.

HIRCA.

Sleek is the hair, which o'er my lover
glides;

Soft is his skin, his hair smooth-gliding
hides;

Burnish'd the horns, which on his brow
appear,

Sweeter his fragrance than the vernal air.

OVIS.

When I appear among the fleecy throng,
My *Ramus* hails me with his sweetest
song:

Stately he moves, till I assume my feat;
Then, proudly humble, crouches at my
feet.

HIRCA.

Whene'er I move and frolicsome appear,
My lover skips and prances thro' the air;
But when sedately I my footsteps guide,
He capers not, but muses by my side.

OVIS.

For me alone, he every danger braves,—
Brouses the grass, and in the wild brook
laves;

For me alone he snuffs the fragrant gales,
And spurns the fair, who rove amid the
vales.

If any beauties on the plain reside,—
These he deserts to gambol by my side.

HIRCA.

Friscus, my love that he alone may share,
Mounts the wild rocks, and wanton's
thro' the air;

O'er craggy steep he leaps, from brow to
brow,

Capers aloft, and spurns the void below.

No charms in any other he espies,
But views all beauties, center'd in my
eyes.

GRUNTUS.

Cease---cease your prating: by my snout
I swear,

You nought but grossest falsities declare:
Begone! nor dare such themes to sing
again;

Such themes are phantoms of a madden'd
brain.

Now *Ovis* bleated; *Hirca* frisked with
ire;
And *Gruntus* waddled to his bed of mire.

BELCOUR.

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

The REVOLUTIONS of FASHION.

THE *zone of beauty* long has been re-
nown'd;

The graces poets gloried to resound.

This Venus lent to *Jove's* imperious wife,
The ills to soften of connubial life.

It turn'd the tide of passion in the dame;
Anger it banish'd, and reviv'd love's
flame;

It gave the brightest lustre to her eyes;
It added soothing softness to her sighs;
It harmoniz'd the temper of her mind;
And *Jupiter* grew fond---for she was kind.

Those married dames, *Discretion's* rules
who own,

Admire the magic charms of *Beauty's*
zone.

Old *Homer*—ladies! venerate the sage—
By fable wish'd to hush connubial rage;
And taught these morals to each thinking
mate:

“Mildness alone can bless the married
state,

“Shape, air, and features some attention
claim;

“But softness only can preserve love's
flame.”

Fashion, intent our wonder to excite,
Seems nature for the marvellous to flight,
Now on the head the bonnet soars, de-
sign'd

To show a towering, bold, ambition mind.
Now swells the petticoat, a spacious round,
And now in length three yards, or more,
is found.

They, like the Titans, heaven appear to
scale,
As Fashion's arbitrary laws prevail;
The stars' sharp peak with star-like lustre
glows,
And the paste-buckle glitters on the toes.

These wanderings of taste we may excuse;
Assisting by Politeness Beauty's views.

Powder!—below thy cleanly, cheering
Be Nature's tresses amiably displayed!
But may no curling-tongs heat that brain,
Where cool discretion should in triumph
reign.

Still will those follies! frame tyrannic
laws!

Now dealing in cork-hips, and now in
Must delicacy to thy power submit?
Will it not yield ample scope for sneering
wit?

The fair shall never suffer in my verse;
And simply thus a cynic's thoughts re-
hearfe.

“There was a time (perhaps, that time
remains)

“When feathers gave the ton to female
brains.

“Each whim the fair with readiness em-
brac'd;

“Since to be flighty was a proof of taste,
“There was a time, attach'd to liberal
arts,

“When ladies' sooth's our minds, and
cheer'd our hearts.

“By moderate art, ye fair! preserve
your reign;

“Prudence alone your empire can main-
tain.

“From delicacy hope sincere applause;

“Your hearts men wish to gain, but flight
your ~~craves~~ craves.

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

LINES addressed to a LARK.

CHILD of nature! freely fly;
Skim the earth, or mount the sky.
Shelter'd listen to the gale,
Roaring over hill and vale;
And at times, in pensive mood,
Hear the rushing of the flood.

In the grove, or cultur'd bower,
Taste the fragrance of each flower.

True to Nature ever found,
Let the woods thy thanks resound
Thanks, which instinct still inspires,
Glowing with celestial fires.

Man, of passion oft the slave:
Dares forbidden dangers brave,
With some rays of reason blest,
More his follies shine confess'd,
Than to instinct if allied,
He had! Reason! scorn'd thy pride.

See him over ocean roll,
And despise the freezing pole!
See him, fond of useless ore,
Earth! thy hidden depths explore!
And, for follies to atone,
See him weep, and hear him groan!

Now he bids, in fancy wise,
Lofty roofs ascend the skies.
But, too often weak, the base
Sinks the owner in disgrace,
Or the roof, by tempests torn,
Leave the haughty wretch to mourn.

Does he at Ambition's fane
Hope reward and fame to gain?
E'er the summit he ascends,
Scornful foes and envious friends—
On his conduct shall reflect;
These condemn, and these suspect.

Does he glow with love's true flame,
And expect a parent's name?
Wife and children often prove
False to duty, false to love.
Lark! since blest in Nature's plan,
Weep the woes of reasoning man.

Yet thy sorrows, Lark! repress;
Suffering man still heaven shall bless.
Thou wert form'd to mount the skies;
Man on bolder wings shall rise;
And, whilst cherubims applaud,
Shine before the throne of God.

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

The DISTRESSED MAIDEN.

BRIGHT were the prospects of my
earlier days—
My parents' comfort, and the theme of
praise.

Taught admiration, as a right, to claim,
Say, who my youthful levity could blame?

I danced, the envy of the maiden throng,
And sweetest music warbled from my tongue.

Willing the old and young at once to please,

With grace I rallied, or I spoke with ease.
At once I chanced, in converse formed to shine,

The ready lawyer and the grave divine.

O happy state of youth! were youth but wise,
And would the snares of vanity despise!

The unworthy flattered—one at length stood forth,

Praised for his genius, honoured for his worth,

Formed to delight, by nature and by art,
He charmed my fancy, and he won my heart.

Soothed by his tongue, which promised faithful love,

With him I trod the lawn, or pierced the grove:

He wished to see me in each circle shine;
And at the ball his ready hand was mine.

The day was fixed, when Hymen should unite

Hearts, formed each other fully to delight—

The day was fixed—but horror interposed,
And my bright scenes of bliss for ever closed.

Ah! who on Hope's gay vision can depend!—

Death snatched away my lover and my friend!—

In vain from books my mind some comfort sought;

For calumny was now my hapless lot.
Envy, her rage by Innocence unquelled,

Had long our happy intercourse beheld;
And guilt imputed to this hapless breast,
Solely by virtue, honour, love possessed.

Since converse can no longer ease supply,

Far from the cheerful haunts of men I fly—

My wish to live unknown—in peace to die.

Philadelphia, 1792.

On DELIA.

AN epigram brisk Delia doth prefer;
And why?—'Tis very short and smart,
like her.

December, 1792.

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

On the Gout.

BE GONE! approach not! (thus to Gout I spoke)

Haste to the men who revelry invoke;
Seek the vile scenes which passions oft disclose,

Or in the lap of luxury repose.—
Wilt thou not quit me?—still I feel thy rage—

Dar'st thou with moderation to engage?
Ever obedient, Temperance! to thy power,

Calm was my morn, my noon, my mid-night-hour.

Tell me—-a parent's legacy art thou?
Or must I to my own sad follies bow?

Prompted to act by reason on life's scene,
Mild were their days; their nights alike serene:

Of vice unconscious, all their lives applaud;
They bowed to reason, and to reason's God.

Gout! tell me then (in fury thus I cried)
Whence can proceed thy pains?—Thus

Gout replied—

Shun idleness, thou wretch! plant,

plough, or sow,
Level the harvest, and the meadow mow;

Walk, ride, run, labour—Nature gave for use.

Talents, to gen'ral good which must conduce.

Scorn in excess your fellows to surpass;
Tom bears his bottle, William scarce his

glass.

If single, of intemperance be afraid;
If married—-but I think enough is said.

Thus spoke the power of Gout—my nerves confessed

How much my mind by horror was oppressed,

And, though to temperance bowing, yet my toes,

In fancy oft th' approaching ill disclose.

Philadelphia, 1792.

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

HYPOCRISY UNIVERSAL.

HYPOCRISY in all things may be seen;

Hence oft the zealot is beheld serene;

The miser seems to sympathize with woe,
Statesmen, at times, some moderation
show;
Beauties no admiration wish to raise,
And modest author's shun the voice of
praise.

Religion! then, no longer bear the blame;
Since all are hypocrites--tho' not in name.

Philadelphia, 1792.

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

HYMN.

SING Jehovah's praise aloud;
Bend to him, ye strong and proud!
Bow to him, ye learned and wise,
Ruler of earth, seas and skies!

Hear his voice the world alarm;
See his bare and outstretched arm!
Rage o'er Europe's wretched coasts
Shows the offended LORD of Hosts.

Ah! be war by all abhorred,
Nations! drop the cruel sword;
Bid the cannon cease to roar,
Stain the fields with blood no more.

Far as earth's remotest bound
Be each milder virtue found--
When, dire rage and faction cease,
All shall hail the GOD of PEACE!

Philadelphia, 1792.

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

VERSES for the CLOSE of the YEAR 1792.

RASH is the bard who dares to praise
That land,
Which e'en from envy must applause com-
mand;
Yet custom orders (custom all revere)
To hail with genial strains the coming
year.

Hushed are the trumpet's notes; and,
Peace, thy strain
Sounds in each grove, and echoes o'er each
plain;
Where once the sword with cruel lustre
shone,
The plough-share shines, with lustre all its
own.

Where late the cannon threatened earth
and skies,

The maiden listens, as her lover sighs.
Wisdom her happy, favoured sons calls
forth,

And education forms each mind to worth.
(Ah! could the muse but cast Oblivion's
veil

O'er Indian wrath, and all their wrongs
repeat;

Then should her verse with tenfold rap-
ture rise,

And paint our land an emblem of the skies.
Oh! may the approaching year hid
slaughter cease,

And western plains exult in heaven-born
peace!)

Blest be that era, when the world was
taught

That freedom never can be dearly bought.
Tho' in the conflict many a patriot died,
Others survive, a nation's steps to guide;
Ambitious of true fame, the world they
tell,

Those should preside, in wisdom who ex-
cel,

Genius too often is conjoined with pride;
But worth and wisdom ever are allied--
Yet Genius too is ours. Ye Arts! pro-
claim

Each candidate for excellence and fame--
So great the crowd, the attempt I must
decline,

And to some abler pen, the task resign.

Yet, whilst we view the lofty mast as-
cend,

The state's mansion rise, the forest bend;
Commerce adorning, Delaware! thy tide,
Each harvest flourish, and the shuttle glide,
Cold must that bosom be, which does not
feel

The sacred warmth of patriotic zeal.

December, 1792.

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

ANACREONTIC.

FROM the cellar bring that beer,
Meant our thirsty hearts to cheer--
Hast thou brought but *one*!--there's plen-
ty.

Blockhead! haste, and bring up *twenty*.

Perfected by skill and care,
See the toils of honest *Hare*!
To my frame it ease dispenses,
And invigorates my senses.

Lo! it foams above the glass—
Name thy friend, or toast thy lass,
Let us mirth from reason borrow,
Since too soon will come to-morrow.

Bacchus! can thy juice compare
With this draft of worthy Hare?
Thou canst weaken all our senses;
He found health and wealth dispenses.

This best produce of our lands
Every patriot's praise demands;
Since, while beer and freedom charm us,
Foreign foes shall ne'er alarm us.

Philadelphia, 1792.

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

*The COUNTRY SWAIN'S ADDRESS to his
CITY CHARMER.*

COULD I in my verse combine
All the graces which are thine;
Could I rose and lily blend,
Nature's beauties to commend,
Those perfections, all would say,
Were but stars, compared with day.

Fancy! dare not here intrude;
She at once is fair and good.
Hear that tongue, which sense refines;
See that form where beauty shines;
In the tablet he combined
All the graces of the mind.

Music in her words is heard,
And morality revered;
Genius, bending from his throne,
Bows to her, and her alone.
From her tongue, which all revere,
Truth is rendered doubly dear.

Since the city little yields,
Seek with me the distant fields;
Where, if Delia should prove kind,
I to toil will bend my mind;
Cleave the logs and turn the soil—
Love will pleasure yield to toil.

Gentle Delia! be but mine;
We no courtiers shall outshine;
But, with every virtue blest,
Rise in joy, repose with rest.
Pride, ambition, we resign—
Be contentment yours and mine!

Delia! listen to my strain;
Bless with mutual love thy swain,

Who the forest will subdue,
And will only bend to you.
Be this truth by all confessed—
Love and virtue make us blest.

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

The SUPERANNUATED MAIDEN.

MILD Thyrsis at forty to me paid his
vows,
And promised to make me the happiest
spouse.

Such starchness appeared in this gay an-
cient beau,
That I smiled at his offers, and muttered
"No; no!"

I then was just twenty, and scarcely fur-
nished,

That by wrinkles my forehead should e'er
be surpris'd;
Health bloom'd on my cheek, and so gay
was my mien

That many imagin'd I scarce was fifteen.

Young Damon approach'd me, and chant-
ed his pains

With passion, express'd in sweet melody's
strains.

I listened; but said 'twas a sorrowful
truth,

That in age want oft flow'd from bright
genius in youth.

By dozens oblig'd silly fops to discard,
'Twixt Thyrsis and Damon I shar'd my
regard;

But coquetted so long, that, bereft of each
heart,

Both Damon and Thyrsis I forc'd to de-
part.

But must I, the worst of all miseries speak?
The sorrows of age are sunk deep in my
cheek;

And, whilst I still chat with the flirt and
the beau,

My cheeks look like buff, and my locks
are like snow.

Philadelphia, 1792.

TRUTH an EPIGRAM.

TRUTH! should I try to trace thee to
thy fane,

Where every virtue owns thy happy reign.

Where shall I find thy glories best express'd?
In Henry's head, or Mira's gentle breast?

On hearing the accomplished Miss MARIA B--
sing "Mary's Dream."

To its left pap, th' evenom'd reptile
pratt,

Which gnaw'd and worm'd into its tor-
tur'd breast,

A Cherub's face; an angel's air
Meekly grace the charming fair;
Whose voice--- blest music of the sky!--
Proclaims a lovely seraph nigh;

The desperate suicide, with pain,
Writh'd to and fro, and yell'd amain;
And then, with hollow dying cadence,
cries--

Thrilling, swelling, quav'ring, dying:
Murm'ring, sweet as zephyr sighing,
Melts at will the soften'd soul,
Or bids wild throbbing rapture roll.

"It is not of this asp that ENVY dies;
'Tis not this reptile's tooth that gives the
smart;
'Tis other's happiness that gnaws my
heart."

As from her lips, where proudly glows
The charms which blushes o'er the rose,
The heaven-descending accents glide,
Upon the floating breeze's tide;
On its happy bosom flowing,
With ambrozial fragrance glowing,
They sighing gently rise on high:
And flutter to their native sky.

SONNET: TO MARIA.

'TIS not thy flowing hair of orient
gold,
Nor those bright eyes, like sapphire gems
that glow,

BEL COUR.

Nor cheek of blushing rose, nor breast of
snow,
The varying passions of the heart could
hold:

FOR THE UNIVERSAL ASYLUM.

On SATIETY.

Those locks, too soon, shall own a filly ry
ray,
Those radiant orbs their magic fires fore-
go;

AM I not with plenty blest?
Might not rapture swell my breast?
Yet that plenty I disdain,
And that rapture turns to pain.
Thus I feel those pangs of woe,
From satiety which flow.

Infatiate Time shall steal those tints away;
Warp thy fine form, and bend thy beau-
ties low;

Philade phia, 1792.

But the rare wonders of thy polish'd mind
Shall mock the empty menace of decay;
The gem that in thy spotless breast en-
shrind,

E N V Y.

Glow with the light of intellectual ray;
Shall, like the brilliant, scorn each bor-
row'd aid,
And, deck'd with native lustre, never fade!

OH never let me see that shape
again!
Exile me rather to some savage den,
Far from the social haunts of men!

Horrible phantom! pale it was as death!
Consumption fed upon its meagre
cheek,

B E A U T Y.

And ever as the fiend essay'd to speak,
Dreadfully steam'd its pestilential breath!
Fang'd like the wolf, it was, and all a-
gaunt,

CO tell the vain, the insolent, and fair,
That life's best days are only days
of youth of care; that as
That beauty, flitting like a painted fly,
Owes to the spring of youth its first die;

And still it prow'd around us and
around,
Rolling its squinting eyes askant,
Wherever human happiness was found.

And the poor insect wither in decay;
Gobbi'd the giddy phantom learn from
The establishment of thee, to con-
That Virtue only braves mortality;

Furious threat, the self-tormenting
sprite
Drew forth an asp, and (terrible to fight) i

POLITICAL REGISTER.

REPORT of the SECRETARY of the TREASURY, respecting the REDEMPTION of the PUBLIC DEBT, and the REIMBURSEMENT of the LOAN made of the BANK of the UNITED STATES.

IN obedience to two resolutions of the house of representatives, one of the 21st instant, directing the secretary of the treasury to report a plan for the redemption of so much of the public debt as by the act entitled "an act making provision for the debt of the united states," the united states have reserved the right to redeem; the other of the 22d instant, directing him to report the plan of a provision for the reimbursement of the loan made of the bank of the united states, pursuant to the Xth section of the act entitled "an act to incorporate the subscribers to the bank of the united states;" the said secretary respectfully submits the following

R E P O R T.

THE expediency of taking measures for the regular redemption of the public debt, according to the right which has been reserved to the government, being wisely predetermined by the resolution of the house of representatives referring the subject to the secretary, nothing remains for him but to endeavour to select and submit the most eligible means of providing for the execution of that important object.

With this view, the first enquiry, which naturally presents itself, is, whether the existing revenues are or are not adequate to the purpose

The estimates which accompany the report of the secretary of the 14th instant, will shew, that during the continuance of the present Indian war, the appropriations for interest and the demands for the current service, are likely to exhaust the product of the existing revenues; though they afford a valuable surplus beyond the permanent objects of expenditure, which it is hoped may, ere long, be advantageously applied to accelerate the extinguishment of the debt.

In the mean time, however, and until the restoration of peace, the employment of that resource in this way, must of necessity be suspended; and either the business of redemption must be deferred, or recourse must be had to other expedients.

But did no such temporary necessity for resorting to other expedients exist, the doing of it would still be recommended by weighty considerations. — It would appear, in the abstract, adviseable to, leave the surplus of the present revenues free, to be applied to such casual exigencies as may, from time to time occur; to occasional purchases of the debt when not exhausted by such exigencies, to the payment of interest on any balances which may be found due to particular states upon the general settlement of accounts; and finally, to the payment of interest on the deferred part of the debt, when the period for such payment arrives.

There is a reasonable prospect, that if not diverted, it will be found adequate to the two last important purposes.

Relinquishing, then, the idea of an immediate application of the present revenues to the object in view, it remains to examine what other modes are in the option of the Legislature.

Loans, from time to time, equal to the sums annually redeemable, and borrowed on the same revenues, which are now appropriated to pay the interest upon those sums, offer themselves as one expedient, which may be employed with a degree of advantage. As there is a probability of borrowing at a lower rate of interest, a material saving would result; and even this resource, if none better could be devised, ought not to be neglected.

But it is obvious, that to rely upon this resource alone would do little towards the final exoneration of the nation. To stop at this point would consequently be neither prudent nor satisfactory. The interests as well as the expectations of the union require something more effectual.

The establishment of additional revenues is the remaining resource. This, if the business is to be undertaken in earnest, is unavoidable; and a full confidence may reasonably be entertained, that the community will see with satisfaction the em-

ployment of those means, which alone can be effectual, for accomplishing an end, in itself so important, and so much an object of general desire. It cannot fail to be universally felt, that if the end is to be attained, the necessary means must be employed.

It can only be expected that care be taken to choose such as are liable to fewest objections, and that in the modifications of the business in other respects, due regard be had to the present and progressive circumstances of the country.

Assuming it as the basis of a plan of redemption, that additional revenues are to be provided, the further inquiry divides itself into the following branches:

I. Shall a revenue be immediately constituted, equal to the full sum, which may at present be redeemed, according to the terms of the contract?

II. Shall a revenue be constituted, from year to year, equal only to the interest of the sum, to be redeemed in each year—coupling with this operation an annual loan, commensurate with such sum? Or,

III. Shall a revenue be constituted each year, so much exceeding the interest of the sum to be redeemed as to be sufficient, within a short definite term of time, to discharge the principle itself; coupling with this operation also, an annual loan, equal to the sum to be annually redeemed, and appropriating the revenue created to its discharge, within the term which shall have been predetermined?

The first plan, besides being completely effectual, would be eventually most economical; but considering to what a magnitude the revenues of the united states have grown in a short period, it is not easy to pronounce how far the faculty of paying might not be strained by any sudden considerable augmentation, where-soever immediately placed; while the rapid progress of the country in population and resource seems to afford a moral certainty, that the necessary augmentation may be made with conveniences by successive steps, within a moderate term of time, and invites to temporary and partial suspensions, as capable of conciliating the reasonable accommodation of the community with the vigorous prosecution of the main design. For these and for other reasons which will readily occur, the course of providing immediately the intire sum to be redeemed, is conceived *not* to be the most eligible.

The second plan, though much more efficacious than that of annual loans, bottomed on the revenues now appropriated for the payment of interest on the sums to be redeemed, does not appear to be sufficiently efficacious. The schedule A. will shew the effect of it to the 1st of January 1802, when the deferred debt will become redeemable in the proportions stipulated. Supposing the investment of the interest which is each year liberated, together with that which has been, and will be released by purchases, pursuant to provisions heretofore made, in the purchase of 6 per cent stock; a sum of principle equal to 2,043,837 dollars and 7 cents would be sunk, and a clear annuity, equal to 459,212 dollars and 82 cents would be created, towards further redemptions; but the fund then necessary for the future progressive redemption of the debt, according to the right reserved, would be 1,126,616 dollars and 44 cents, exceeding by 667,403 dollars and 62 cents, the amount of the redeeming fund.—Something more effectual than this is certainly desirable, and appears to be practicable.

The last of the three plans best accords with the most accurate view which the secretary has been able to take of the public interest.

In its application it is of material consequence to endeavour to accomplish these two points: I. The complete discharge of the sums annually redeemable within the period prefixed, and the reimbursement within the same period of all auxiliary loans which may have been made for that purpose. II. The constituting by the expiration of that period, a clear annual fund competent to the future redemption of the debt to the extent of the right reserved.

The period to which it is conceived the plan ought to refer, is the first day of January, 1802; because then, the first payment on account of the principal of the deferred debt, may rightfully be made.

In conformity to these ideas, the following plan is most respectfully submitted: Perceiving that the sum redeemable for the first year of the 6 per cent stock, bearing a present interest, is computed at 550,000 dollars.

Let an annual fund be constituted, during the present session, equal to 103,199 dollars and 6 cents, to begin to accrue from the first of January, 1793. Let the

sum of 550,000 dollars be borrowed upon the credit of this annuity, reimbursable within five years, that is, by the first of January 1799. The sum borrowed to be applied on the first of January 1794, to the first payment on account of the principal of the debt.

The proposed annuity will reimburse the sum borrowed with interest by the first of January 1799, and will be thenceforth free for any further application.

The sum redeemable the second year, that is on the first of January 1795, is computed at 583,000 dollars.

Let an annual fund be constituted during the second session after the present, equal to 109,391 dollars and 60 cents, to begin to accrue from the first of January 1794. Let the sum of 583,000 dollars be borrowed upon the credit of this annuity reimbursable within five years, that is, by the first of January 1800; the sum borrowed to be applied on the first of January 1795, to the second payment on account of the principle of the debt. The proposed annuity will reimburse the sum borrowed with interest by the first of January 1800, and will be thenceforth free for any further application.

The sum redeemable the third year, that is, on the first of January 1796, is computed at 617,980 dollars.

Let an annual fund be constituted during the third session, after the present, equal to 115,955 dollars and 17 cents, to begin to accrue from the first of January 1795. Let the sum of 617,980 dollars be borrowed upon the credit of this annuity, reimbursable within five years, that is, by the first of January 1801.

The sum borrowed to be applied on the first of January 1796, to the third payment on account of the principal of the debt.

The proposed annuity will reimburse the sum borrowed with interest by the first of January 1801.

The sum redeemable the fourth year, that is on the first of January 1797, is computed at 655,058 dollars and 80 cents.

Let an annual fund be constituted during the fourth session, after the present, equal to 122,912 dollars and 48 cents; to begin to accrue from the first of January, 1796. Let the sum 655,058 dollars and 80 cents, be borrowed upon the credit of this annuity, reimbursable within five years, that is by the first of January 1802. The sum borrowed to be applied on the first of January 1797, to the fourth payment on account of the principal of the debt.

The proposed annuity will reimburse the sum borrowed with interest by the first of January 1802.

The sum redeemable the fifth year, that is on the first of January 1798, is computed at 694,362 dollars and 33 cents.

Let an annual fund be constituted during the fifth session, after the present, equal to 152,743 dollars and 12 cents, to begin to accrue from the first of January 1797. Let the sum of 694,362 dollars and 33 cents be borrowed upon the credit of this annuity, reimbursable within four years, that is by the first of January 1802. The sum borrowed to be applied on the first of January 1798 to the fifth payment on account of the principal of the debt.

The proposed annuity will reimburse the sum borrowed with interest by the first of January 1802.

The sum redeemable the sixth year, that is on the first of January 1799, is computed at 736,024 dollars and 7 cents.

Let an annual fund be constituted during the sixth session, after the present, equal to 197,680 dollars and 20 cents, to begin to accrue from the 1st of 1798. Let the sum of 736,024 dollars and 7 cents, be borrowed upon the credit of this annuity, reimbursable within three years, that is by the first of January 1802. The sum borrowed to be applied on the first of January 1799 to the sixth payment on account of the principal of the debt.

The proposed annuity will reimburse the sum borrowed with interest by the 1st of January 1802.

The sum redeemable the seventh year, that is, on the 1st of January 1800, is computed at 780,185 dollars and 52 cents.

Let an annual fund be constituted during the seventh session, after the present, equal to 272,843 dollars and 38 cents, to begin to accrue from the 1st of January 1799. Let the sum of 780,185 dollars and 52 cents be borrowed upon the credit of this an-

nity, reimbursable within two years, that is, by the 1st of January 1802. The sum borrowed to be applied on the 1st of January 1800 to the seventh payment on account of the principal of the debt.

The proposed annuity will reimburse the sum borrowed with interest, by the 1st of January 1802.

The sum redeemable the eighth year, that is, on the 1st of January, 1801, is computed at 826,996 dollars and 65 cents.

Let an annual fund be constituted during the eighth session, after the present, equal to 423,583 dollars and 64 cents, to begin to accrue from the 1st of January 1800. Let the sum of 826,996 dollars and 65 cents be borrowed upon the credit of this annuity, reimbursable within one year, that is, on the 1st of January 1802.

The sum borrowed to be applied on the 1st of January 1801 to the eighth payment on account of the principal of the debt.

The proposed annuity will reimburse the sum borrowed with interest on the 1st of January 1802.

The sum redeemable the ninth year, that is, on the 1st of January 1802, is computed at 1,126,616 dollars and 44 cents. The then existing means for the discharge of this sum, arising from the operation of the plan, will be

1st The amount of the annuity constituted the third year, which will have been liberated by reimbursement of the third loan.

2d The arrears of interest not previously appropriated, and which are computed at 200,000 dollars. There will consequently be a deficiency this year of 810,661 dollars and 17 cents, which will require to be supplied by a temporary loan to be reimbursed out of the surplus of the fund which on the 1st day of January 1802 will exist for future redemptions, and which surplus will be sufficient to reimburse this temporary loan in about thirteen years and an half.

It may be proper to remark, that this deficiency upon one year, is suffered to exist to avoid an unnecessary augmentation of revenue, materially beyond the sum permanently requisite. No inconvenience ensues, because this temporary deficiency is made up by the surplus of the permanent fund, within the period mentioned. And that fund, from the 1st January 1802, is adequate to all future redemptions, in the full proportion permitted by the contract.

The table in the schedule B, herewith submitted, will shew in one view the principles and operation of this plan.

The schedule C will exhibit the means of constituting the several annuities proposed to be established. From it will be seen, that the proposed annuities are to be composed, partly of taxes to be successively laid, at the respective periods of creating them, partly of the surplus dividend to be expected on the stock belonging to the government, in the bank of the united states, beyond the interest to be paid on account of it, and partly of the funds heretofore pledged for the payment of interest, which will have been liberated upon so much of the debt, as will have been extinguished.

The respective amounts of the taxes to be severally laid, will be:—In the first year 43,199 dollars and 6 cents; in the second year 109,391 dollars and 60 cents; in the third year 115,955 dollars and 17 cents; in the fourth year 102,912 dollars and 43 cents; in the fifth year 102,743 dollars and 12 cents; in the sixth year 107,680 dollars and 20 cents; in the seventh year 109,649 dollars and 32 cents; making together 691,530 dollars and 95 cents.

The sum which will have been redeemed prior to the first day of January 1802, will be 5,443,607 dollars and 37 cents. The sum redeemable on the first of January 1802, will be 1,126,616 dollars and 44 cents; and the fund which will thenceforth exist for the purpose of future redemption, (as is particularly shewn by the schedule D) will be 1,210,744 dollars and 34 cents, exceeding the sum strictly necessary by 84,127 dollars and 90 cents—a fund, which, including the interest from year to year liberated, will, as already intimated, be completely adequate to the final redemption of the whole amount of the 6 per cent. stock, (as well the deferred as that bearing a present interest) according to the right which has been reserved for that purpose.

In the mean time, a further impression will be made upon the debt by the investment of the residue of the funds heretofore established, in the purchase of it, and it is hoped, that the restoration of peace with the Indians will enable the applica-

tion of the surplus of the existing revenues, together with the proceeds of the ceded lands in our western territory, to the same object. These, whenever they can be brought into action, will be important aids; materially accelerating the ultimate redemption of the entire debt. The employment of these resources, when it can be done by increasing the interest fund, will proportionably lessen the necessity of using the resource of taxation for creating the proposed annuities, if the government shall judge it advisable to avail itself of the substitute, which may accrue from that circumstance.

Having now given a general view of the plan, which has appeared upon the whole the most eligible, it is necessary in the next place, to present to the consideration of the house the requisite funds for commencing the execution of it. These will embrace a provision for the first annuity only; that alone quitting, by the plan, immediate provision. With regard to a provision for the subsequent annuities, which is proposed to be successive, the secretary will content himself with this general observation, that he discerns no intrinsic difficulty in making provision for them, as fast as shall be necessary, with due convenience to the people, and consistently with the idea of abstaining from taxing lands and buildings (with the stock and implements of farms) reserving them as a resource for those great emergencies, which call for a full exertion of all the contributive faculties of a country.

The following means for constituting the first annuity, are respectfully submitted, viz.

Annual surplus of the dividend on the stock of government in the bank of the united states, beyond the interest to be paid out of the said dividend estimated at

Dollars 60,000

Tax on horses, kept or used for the purpose of riding or of drawing any coach, chariot, phaeton, chaise, chair, sulkey, or other carriage for conveyance of persons

Excepting and exempting all horses which are usually and chiefly employed for the purposes of husbandry, or in drawing waggons, wains, drays, carts, or other carriages for the transportation of produce, goods, merchandize, commodities, or in carrying burthens in the course of the trade or occupation of the persons to whom they respectively belong, and the horses of persons in the military service of the united states, viz.

For very horse not above excepted or exempted, at the rate of one dollar per annum, where only one is used or kept by the same person; with an addition of fifty cents per annum, per horse, where more than one and not more than two horses are kept or used by the same person—with an addition of one dollar per annum, per horse, where more than two, and not more than four, are kept or used by the same person—and with an addition of one dollar and a half dollar per horse, per annum, where more than four are kept or used by the same person.

Provided, that this addition shall not be made in respect to horses usually employed in public stages, for the conveyance of passengers.

This progressive increase of rates on the higher numbers, has reference to the presumption of greater wealth which arises from the possession of such higher numbers.

The product of this tax will probably be about equal to the residue of the proposed annuity, which is 43,199 dollars and 6 cents. How near the truth this estimate may prove, experiment alone can, in so untried a case, decide. An aid to this fund may be derived from the surplus dividend on the bank stock, for the half year ending the last of December next, which, it is presumed, will not be less than 20,000 dollars. Should a deficiency appear, upon trial, it can be supplied by a future provision. Proper regulations for the collection of this tax, will, it is believed be found not difficult, if the tax itself shall be deemed eligible. Its simplicity has been a considerable recommendation, of it. Qualified, as it is, it is not likely to fall on any but such who can afford to pay it. The exemption from the tax, in regard to horses which are appropriated to the purposes of husbandry, or of any trade or occupation, or to the transportation of commodities, seems to obviate all reasonable objection.

If, however, there should appear to the legislature, reasons for preferring a tax on carriages for pleasure, which, it may be observed, will operate on nearly the

December, 1792.

H h h

same description of persons, the sum required may, it is believed be produced from the following arrangement of rates, viz. Upon every coach, the annual sum of four dollars—Upon every chariot, the annual sum of three dollars—Upon every other carriage for the conveyance of persons, having four wheels, the annual sum of two dollars—and upon every chair, fulkey, or other carriage for the conveyance of persons, having less than four wheels, the annual sum of one dollar.

The collection of this tax will be as simple and easy, and perhaps more certain, than that which has been primarily submitted.

With regard to the second object referred to the Secretary, namely the plan of a provision for the reimbursement of the loan made of the bank of the united states, pursuant to the XIth section of the act by which it is incorporated, the following is respectfully submitted, to wit. That power be given by law to borrow the sum due to be applied to that reimbursement; and that so much of the dividend on the stock of the government in the bank as may be necessary, be appropriated for paying the interest of the sum to be borrowed.

From this operation, it is obvious, that a saving to the government will result, equal to the difference between the interest which will be payable on the new loan and that which is payable on the sum now due to the bank.

If the proposed loan can be effected, at the rate of those last made in Holland, the nett saving to the government may be computed at the annual sum of 35,000 dollars; which saving, whatever it may be, is contemplated as part of the means for constituting the proposed annuities.

The benefit of this arrangement will be accelerated, if provision be made for the application of the proceeds of any loans heretofore obtained to the payment suggested, on the condition of replacing the sums which may be so applied, out of the proceeds of the loan or loans, which shall be made pursuant to the power above proposed to be given.

It will also conduce to the general end in view, if the Legislature shall think proper to authorize the investment of the funds destined for purchases of the debt, in purchases of 6 per cent. stock, at the market price, though above par. The comparative prices of the several kinds of stock have been and frequently may be such, as to render it more profitable to make investments in the 6 per cents, than in any other species of stock.

All which is humbly submitted.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON,
Secretary of the Treasury.

Treasury Department, Nov. 30, 1792.

—A—

TABLE showing the effect of a sum annually created, equal to the interest of the sum to be redeemed within each year, for a period of nine years, commencing from the first of January, 1793—on the supposition that the interest on the sum annually redeemed be invested, as it is liberated, in the purchase of 6 per cent. stock, at the price of 22 shillings on the pound.

Periods of Redemption		Sums annually Redeemable	Interest annually liberated	Sums annually purchased
		Dols Cts.	Dols. Cts.	Dols. Cts.
January 1st,	1794	550,000.	35,000.	291,172. 04
ditto	1795	583,000.	34,980.	262,523. 05
ditto	1796	617,980.	37,078. 80	231,916. 56
ditto	1797	655,058. 89	39,303. 52	199,233. 86
ditto	1798	694,362. 33	41,661. 73	164,349. 20
ditto	1799	736,024. 07	44,161. 44	127,129. 15
ditto	1800	780,185. 52	46,811. 13	87,432. 33
ditto	1801	826,996. 65	49,619. 79	45,180. 90
ditto	1802	1,126,616. 44	67,596. 41	61,451. 28
Interest on debt paid in and purchased.			65,000.	578,520. 79
			439,212. 82	2,043,837. 07

Treasury Department, November 30, 1792.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON, Secretary of the Treasury.

T A B L E exhibiting a View of the proposed Plan of Redemption.

Periods of Redemption, or Payment.	Sums redeemable.		Temporary Loans.			Amount of Sums borrowed, with compound Interest to the respective Periods of reimbursement.	Years when annuities begin to accrue.	Years Annuities.	Annuities.	
	Dols.	Cts.	Years.	Times of Reimbursement.	Years duration.				Dols.	Cts.
January 1 st , 1794	550,000.		1799	5	5	701,954.	1793	6	103,199.	06
ditto 1795	583,000.		1800	5	5	744,071.	1794	6	109,391.	60
ditto 1796	617,980.		1801	5	5	788,715.	1795	6	115,955.	17
ditto 1797	655,058.	80	1802	5	5	836,938.	1796	6	122,912.	48
ditto 1798	694,862.	33	1802	4	4	843,997.	1797	5	152,743.	12
ditto 1799	736,024.	07	1802	3	3	854,021.	1798	4	197,680.	20
ditto 1800	780,185.	52	1802	2	2	860,154.	1799	3	272,848.	38
ditto 1801	826,996.	65	1802	1	1	868,346.	1800	2	423,583.	64
ditto 1802	1,126,616.	44	1802							
Total Sum redeemed by the 1 st of January, 1802.	6,570,223.	81								

N. B. All the Calculations in this Table, proceed upon a Rate of 5 per Cent. Interest.

Treasury Department, November 30th, 1792.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON,

Secretary of the Treasury.

C

Mode of Constituting the proposed Annuities.

		Dols.	Cts.
1793.	Surplus dividend of the bank stock, beyond the interest which will be payable, estimated at	60,000	
	Tax	43,199.	06
1794.	Tax	103,199.	06
1795.	Tax	109,391.	60
1796.	Part of annual interest converted into annuity	115,955.	17
	Tax	20,000	
	Tax	192,912.	48
	Tax	122,192.	48
1799.	Part of annual interest converted into annuity	50,000	
	Tax	102,743.	12
		152,743.	12
1798.	Part of annual interest converted into annuity	199,000	
	Tax	107,680.	20
		197,680.	20
1799.	Part of annual interest converted into annuity	60,000	
	Annuity of the first year now liberated by reimbursement of the first loan	103,199.	06
	Tax	109,649	32
		272,848.	38
1800.	Part of annual interest converted into annuity	220,000	
	Annuity of second year now liberated by reimbursement of 2d loan	109,391.	60
	Part of arrears of interest to be applied for balance of annuity of this year	94,192.	04
		423,583.	64

But a supplementary provision will be to be made for the second year, equal to the sum of 94,192 dollars and four cents, as the fund in that particular is not annual. This may also arise from the arrears of interest.

The payment to be made on the first of January 1802, may proceed from the following funds.

Amount of annuity of 3d year liberated by reimbursement of 3d loan	115,955.	17
Unappropriated arrears of interest	200,000	
Temporary loan	810,661.	27
	1,126,616.	44

Treasury Department, November 30th, 1792.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON,

Secretary of the Treasury.



View of Redeeming Fund, to and upon the 1st January 1802.

Interest which will have been liberated by purchases and payments into the Treasury, exclusive of redemptions, according to the proposed plan,

			Dols.	Cts.
Jan 1st, 1794,	by redemption of	550,000	65,000	
ditto 1795,	by ditto of	583,000	33,000	
ditto 1796,	by ditto of	617,980	34,980	
ditto 1797,	by ditto of	653,058. 80	37,078. 80	
ditto 1798,	by ditto of	694,362. 33	39,303. 52	
ditto 1799,	by ditto of	736,024. 07	41,661. 73	
ditto 1800,	by ditto of	780,185. 52	44,161. 44	
ditto 1801,	by ditto of	826,996. 65	46,811. 13	
ditto 1802,	by ditto of	1,126,616. 44	49,619. 79	
			67,596. 98	
			<hr/>	
			459,473.	39

Taxes which will have been laid.

1793	dollars	43,199.	06
1794	—	199,391.	60
1795	—	115,955.	17
1796	—	102,912.	48
1797	—	102,743.	12
1798	—	107,680.	20
1799	—	109,649.	32
		<hr/>	
		691,530.	95

Surplus dividend of bank stock beyond the interest which will be payable out of it

		60,000
		<hr/>
	Dollars	1,210,744. 34

Amount of Interest converted into Annuities.

1796	dollars	20,000
1797	—	50,000
1798	—	90,000
1800	—	220,000
		<hr/>
		380,000

Annual sum at the end of 1800

Treasury Department, November 30, 1792.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON,

Secretary of the Treasury.

Secretary of the Treasury.

The CHRONICLE.

FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE.

Extracts from Leyden Gazettes of the 9th and 12th October, 1792.

B O N N, (Germany) October 5.

THE necessity in which the generals of the combined armies in France have been under, of drawing successively to them all the German troops which were on the Rhine, first, the army of general prince de Hohenloe Reichberg, then the corps which had remained under the orders of count d'Erback, has left the field open to the French, not only on the side of Thionville where they carried off a considerable convoy, but also on the Rhine: Having come from Stratsburgh and Fort-Louis, they attacked with a far superior force the 3000 Austrians which formed the garrison of Spire, killed or made them prisoners, took possession of the city, and sent the military stores that were in it to Landau; the alarm was spread to Mannheim, Worms, and even to Mentz. The inhabitants are taking to flight, and the consternation is general. This expedition took place on the 29th September. Above, on the Moselle, the French have made a second irruption into the electorate of Triers; 5000 Frenchmen with 9 cannon entered Metz on the 29th, at 7 o'clock A. M. forced the garrison to evacuate, destroyed the provisions, &c.

Extract of a letter from Mentz, 2d October.

“The invasion which general Custine* has made, by order of general Biron, into the territory of the empire; and the taking of Spire†, with the general magazine of military stores for the Imperial army; has spread terror and consternation through all this part of Germany. Our city is shut up; no one can enter or go out of it. Even the navigation of the Rhine is stopped, to the great detriment of commerce. The number of fugitives come here from Heidelberg, Worms, and all that part of the Rhine, is considerable. Out of 3000 men who, under the orders of general Winkelmann, guarded Spire and the military stores, very few have escaped. They were almost all killed, drowned in the Rhine, or made prisoners, they did not however give up without making the bravest defence. The French, the greatest part of whom came out of Landau, were a body of 17 or 18,000 men. Their superiority was therefore too great to be resisted. It is said they intend to pursue their march to this city. Having advanced to the distance of one league from Kirchem Pohland, where the prince of Nassau Weilbourg resides, the court retired in haste at 10 o'clock at night, with their most precious effects, and arrived at Weilbourg. It was on the 30th of September that Spire was taken, a stroke which must be considered as a most important, if not a decisive one.”

L E Y D E N, October 11.

We are now no longer in an uncertainty respecting the success of the French armies.

Late advices received by way of London, that the combined armies, after attempting a negociation without success, had retired with so much haste that they had left 4 or 5000 sick in the hospitals, lost 200 prisoners, and abandoned 20 waggons loaded with provisions and ammunition; that instead of forcing the French army to capitulate, they had been pursued themselves in their retreat; and that from the direction of the march of part of their forces, it was probable they would meet general Custine, who is now master of all that part of Germany which borders the Rhine, from Spire to Mayence.

* Formerly the count de Custine. He was colonel of the regiment of Sainctonge, in general Rochambeau's army, in America.

† An imperial city in the electorate of Trier.

On the 12th of Oct. General Dumourier delivered the following speech to the National Convention.

"CITIZEN LEGISLATORS,

"LIBERTY is every where triumphant; guided by philosophy, it will overspread the universe, and it will establish itself on all thrones, after having crushed despotism and enlightened the people.

"The constitutional laws which you are about to frame, will form the basis of the happiness and fraternity of nations. This war will be the last, and tyrants and privileged orders, mistaken in their criminal calculations, will be the sole victims in this struggle of arbitrary power against reason. The army, which the confidence of the nation entrusted to my command, have deserved well of their country. Reduced when I joined them, on the 28th of August, to 17,000 men, and disorganized by traitors, whom punishment and shame every where pursue, they were neither intimidated by the number, discipline, threats, barbarity, nor first successes of 80,000 satellites of despotism. The armies of the forest of Arden were the Thermopylae, where this handful of soldiers of liberty made a respectable resistance for fifteen days to that formidable army. More fortunate than the Spartans, we were supported by two armies, animated by the same spirit, whom we joined at the impregnable camp of St. Menehould. The enemy, in despair, wished to attempt an attack, which adds a new victory to the military career of my colleague and friend Kellerman.

"In the camp of St. Menehould, the soldiers of liberty displayed other military virtues, without which courage even may be hurtful—confidence in their chiefs, obedience, patience and perseverance. That part of the republic which consists of a dry soil, destitute of wood and water, the Germans will remember it; their impure blood will perhaps fertilize these barren plains which are now drenched with it. The season was uncommonly rainy and cold; our soldiers were badly clothed; were destitute of straw to lie upon; had no covering, and remained sometimes 2 days without bread, because the position of the enemy obliged our convoys to take a long circuit, by cross-roads, which are very bad at all seasons, and which were then spoiled by the long rains; for I must do justice to the purveyors of provisions and forage who, notwithstanding all the obstacles of bad roads, wet weather, and the secret movements, which I was obliged to conceal from them, supplied us in abundance, as far as was possible; and I am happy in declaring; that we are indebted to their care for the good health of the soldiers. [Applauses.] I never heard them murmur. Songs and joy would have made one take this formidable camp for one of those camps of pleasure, where the luxury of kings formerly embodied automats for the amusement of their mistresses and children. The soldiers of liberty were supported by the hope of conquest; their fatigues and sufferings have been rewarded; the enemy have sunk under famine, misery and disease. This formidable army, diminished one half, has fled; the roads are strewn with the carcasses of horses and dead bodies; Kellerman is in pursuit of them with more than forty thousand men, while I shall march, with a like number, to the assistance of the department of the North, and of the unfortunate and respectable Belgians and Liegeois.

"I have come to spend four days here, only for the purpose of settling, with the executive council, the plan of the winter campaign. I embrace this opportunity of presenting my respects to you. I shall not take any new oath—I shall shew myself worthy of commanding the children of liberty, and to support those laws which the sovereign people are going to establish for themselves, by you their representatives."

DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE.

Extract of a letter from Brigadier General Wilkinson, to the Secretary at War, dated at Fort-Hamilton, 6th November, 7 o'clock P. M.

Just as I was about to dispatch this, I received a letter from Major Adair, commandant of the Kentucky mounted infantry, of which the enclosed is a copy: If the check which the enemy experienced in this little affair, will produce good effects, and the event reflects honour upon the major and the yeomanry of Kentucky; but the immediate consequence will be an entire stop to the transport of forage to the advanced post, as our pack horses are either destroyed or disabled, and the riflemen dismounted. In this situation, I am perplexed by difficulties, as from my ignorance of the designs of government, and for the want of explicit orders, I am at a loss whether to direct the purchase of more pack horses, or to encourage the riflemen to remain themselves. On these points I shall duly deliberate, and will make such decision as my judgment may direct, relying confidently on the liberality of government, for

an excuse, should I err; and in the mean time, I shall urge forward the transport of forage from Fort Washington to this post, by every means left in my power.

As this affair happened near to and in sight of Fort St. Clair it may be inquired why the commanding officer did not support major Adair? The answer is short, and will, I hope, prove satisfactory—The garrison under his command is posted for defence, and not offence, and altho' it appears that in this instance to have hazarded would have been judicious, yet as I have considered it safest for the national interests to confine my subordinate officers by rigid orders to defensive measures solely, they are bound to hazard in no case whatever, which does not immediately and essentially interest the safety of the trust which may be confided to them; and it may be added that in the instance before us, the attack was a most daring one, and that neither the number or ultimate object of the enemy, could be developed, before it was discovered that Major Adair was a full match for him.

I have this moment dispatched twenty of my mounted infantry, who will reach St. Clair before day-light, to aid in bringing in the wounded and the weary.

Copy of a letter from Maj. John Adair, to Briga. Gen. Wilkinson, dated Fort St. Clair, Nov. 6.

SIR,

This morning about the first appearance of day, the enemy attacked my camp, within sight of this post, the attack was sudden, and the enemy came on with a degree of courage that bespoke them warriors indeed, some of my men were hand in hand with them before we retreated, which however we did about eighty yards to a kind of stockade intended for stables; we there made a stand, I then ordered Lieut. Madison to take a party and gain their right flank if possible, I called for Lieut. Hail to send to the left; but found he had been slain; I then led forward the men who stood near me, which together with the ensigns Buchanan and Flinn, amounted to about twenty-five, and pressed the left of their center thinking it absolutely necessary to assist Madison. We made a manly push, and the enemy retreated, taking all our horses except five or six. We drove them about six hundred yards through our camp, where they again made a stand, and we fought them some time, two of my men were here shot dead.

At that moment I received information that the enemy was about to flank us on the right and on turning that way, I saw about 60 of them running to that point. I had yet heard nothing of Madison. I then ordered my men to retreat, which they did with deliberation, heartily cursing the Indians who pursued us close to our camp, where we again fought them until they gave way; and when they retreated our ammunition was nearly expended altho' we had been supplied from the garrison in the course of the action. I did not think proper to follow them again, but ordered my men into the garrison to draw ammunition. I returned however, in a few minutes to a hill, to which we had first driven them, where I found two of my men scalped, who were brought in. Since I began to write this, a few of the enemy appeared in sight, and I pursued them with a party about a quarter of a mile, but could not overtake them, and did not think proper to go farther. Madison, whom I sent to the right, was on his first attack wounded, and obliged to retreat to the garrison, leaving a man or two dead.

To this misfortune I think the enemy are indebted for the horses they have got; had he gained their right flank, I once had possession of their left, and I think we should have routed them at that stage of the action, as we had them on the retreat. I have six killed and five wounded; four men are missing. I think they went off early in the action on horseback, and are, I suppose, by this at Fort Hamilton. My officers and a number of men distinguished themselves greatly.—Poor Hail died, calling to his men to advance. Madison's bravery and conduct need no comment; they are well known. Flinn and Buchanan acted with a coolness and courage which does them much honour. Buchanan, after firing his gun, knocked down an Indian with the barrel. They have killed and taken a great number of the pack-horses. I intend following them this evening some distance, to ascertain their route and strength, if possible. I can with propriety, say, that about fifty of my men fought with a bravery equal to any men in the world, and had not the garrison been so high as a place of safety for the faithful, I think many more would have fought well.

The enemy have no doubt as many killed as myself; they left two dead on the ground, and I saw two carried off. The only advantage they have gained is our horses, which is a capital one, as it disables me from bringing the interview to a more serious and satisfactory decision. I am Sir, yours, &c.

I N D E X

TO THE

UNIVERSAL ASYLUM, &c.

From JULY to DECEMBER, 1792, inclusively.

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